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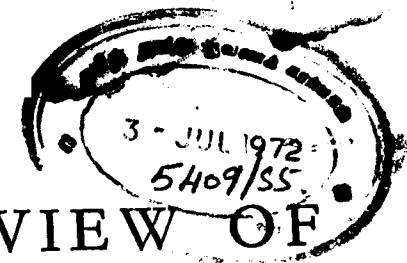
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CALCUTTA

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EDITORIAL

Indian Council of Historical Research :

We had referred in our previous issue to a project mooted by the Government of India to establish a National Council for the promotion of historical studies. The body was inaugurated in New Delhi, under the name 'The Indian Council of Historical Research', on 27th March. The objects of the new organisation, as stated in the Memorandum of Association, are :

(a) to foster objective and scientific writing of history such as will inculcate an informed appreciation of the country's national and cultural heritage;

(b) to review the progress of historical research from time to time and indicate neglected or new areas where research needs to be specially promoted;

(c) to sponsor historical research programmes and assist institutions and organisations engaged in historical research;

(d) to provide technical assistance for the formulation of historical research programme by individuals or institutions and to support institutional arrangements for training in research methodology;

(e) to develop and support centres for documentation and reference service on historical research;

(f) to maintain a National Register of research workers in History and their fields of specialisation;

(g) to initiate measures, in co-operation with State Archives and Regional Record Survey Committees, for the location, survey, listing and preservation of historical material in private custody or in institutions lacking the necessary facilities;

(h) to indicate periodically areas and topics on which historical research is to be promoted and adopt special measures for the development of research in neglected or new areas of historical research, such as economic and social history, historical geography, history of science and technology, history of arts, etc;

(i) to co-ordinate research activities in the field of historical research;

(j) to act as a clearing house of ideas or information on historical research in India and abroad;

(k) to organise, sponsor and support seminars, workshops and conferences for the promotion and utilisation of historical research;

(l) to promote publications of historical research of a high standard and to undertake publication of digests, periodicals and journals, devoted to such research;

(m) to encourage the production of popular

lar literature which would foster an objective understanding of India's cultural heritage;

(n) to undertake the compilation and publication of source material such as would facilitate historical research and historical writing;

(o) to institute and administer scholarships and fellowships for historical research;

(p) to develop a body of talented young historians and to identify and encourage research talent, encourage the young teachers in Universities and other research organisations;

(q) to advise the Government of India on all such matters pertaining to historical research and training in history methodology as may be referred to it from time to time, including co-operational arrangements in historical research and training facilities with foreign academic bodies.

For the achievement of these objects, the Indian Council of Historical Research was set up as an autonomous body registered under Societies Registration Act (Act XXI of 1860).

The Council is to consist of the following members :

(a) an eminent historian nominated by the Government of India — Chairman;

(b) eighteen historians nominated by the Government of India;

(c) representative of the U.G.C.;

(d) Director-General of Archaeology;

(e) Director, National Archives;

(f) four persons to represent Government, who shall be nominated by the Government of India, including one representative each of the Ministry of Education, the Department of Culture and the Ministry of Finance;

(g) Member-Secretary (a whole-time salaried post).

In our previous issue we had welcomed the

proposal of setting up an all-India body for the promotion of historical studies. But knowing the lines of official thinking and governmental ways of doing things, we expressed our apprehension that the new body might be one more of those giant institutions sponsored, financed and controlled by the Government, much too familiar in New Delhi in recent days. In the interest of the promotion of historical studies on a wide and effective basis, we had humbly suggested that the new body should function mainly as a fund-granting agency and not undertake directly any of those activities which are now being done by the numerous historical institutions spread all over the country. The work of the new body, in our opinion, should be confined to giving necessary financial assistance to non-official historical associations, to co-ordinate their activities on a national level, and to help them with needed technical assistance and guidance. In short, the new body should recognise the fact that there are numerous non-official historical associations in the country which have been doing useful and constructive work for many years and whose contribution to the sum-total of historical research in India is not altogether negligible. Instead of duplicating their work on a grander scale, the new Council should function *vis-à-vis* these non-official institutions much in the same way as the U.G.C. does in relation to the Universities. The new Council should undertake direct academic activity only in those fields in which research has been neglected till now, or which are beyond the capacity and resources of the existing institutions. We have been consistently stressing the point that whatever may be the arguments in favour of the public sector in the economic sphere, the extension of government enterprise to the academic sphere results in inefficiency, bureaucratisation and waste of public funds. It has another ruinous effect, namely, the killing of private enterprise and that spirit of devotion which has built up and sustained the numerous non-official institutions in the country.

The objects of the Indian Council of Historical Research, as stated above, show a very ambitious scheme of not only guiding and co-ordinating the work done by different historical institutions in the country, but also of directly undertaking academic activities, not necessarily confined to new or neglected fields of study. There is no doubt an assurance of helping non-official institutions and organisations, both with funds and with technical assistance and guidance. But at the same time it is clear that the new Council also intends to do directly much of the work which is now being done by numerous non-official historical institutions. It is too early yet to say how exactly the new Council will look upon its functions. One can only hope that greater stress will be given on helping other institutions and co-ordinating their work and not on trying to do most of the things by itself. From our experience of the working of Government-sponsored and Government-controlled agencies, it is doubtful whether the hope will be realised.

It is the fashion these days to set up what are really Government agencies as autonomous registered bodies. The Indian Council of Historical Research is no exception to this general practice. It was designed and created by the Government, by a resolution and not by an Act of Parliament. It is not known to us whether opinions were sought from different historical associations in the country or even from a large circle of historians. In fact, there was hardly any time gap between the first mooted of the scheme and the formal establishment of the Council. Then again, in this supposedly autonomous body, registered under Act XXI of 1860, the composition is completely determined by the Government. The Chairman will be nominated by the Government, and there will be seven official members, three ex-officio and four specially nominated by the Government. The rest, eighteen historians, will again be nominated by the Government. It is difficult to under-

stand how such a body can be really termed autonomous. We do not want to make any comment on the composition of the first Council, except that it reflects the influence of the *Nouvelle Vague* in the field of historical studies. One thing is clear, that the Government which provides the funds wants to keep the Council completely under its control, through members who are all nominated as individuals and not as representatives of different historical associations.

We, however, wish the new Council all success, and we hope that its activities will promote historical studies in the country in a very real sense. On our side, we offer our co-operation, whenever needed, to the new body, so as to be able to make whatever humble contribution we can to the furtherance of the cause of historical studies.

Discussion Meetings :

Since the publication of our last issue, two Discussion Meetings were held, one in March and another in April. At the first meeting Lt. Col. (Retd.) B. N. Majumdar spoke on *The Bangladesh War and its Impact on Indian Defence*. It was a most interesting and informative talk, coming not only from a professional soldier but also from one who is specially interested in the history of warfare and has undertaken an ambitious project of writing a comprehensive history of decisive battles in India. In his talk Lt. Col. Majumdar outlined India's defence problems before the Bangladesh war and then referred to the implications of the new situation after the creation of Bangladesh. He concluded that although some of the older problems had been removed, some new problems might arise and there was no room for complacency and lack of vigilance.

In the second meeting Dr. Miloslav Krasa of the Oriental Academy, Prague (Czechoslovakia), spoke on *The Relations between*

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the Indian National Congress and the Wafd Party of Egypt. Dr. Krasa has been a Fellow of the Institute for many years and had visited and lectured at the Institute on two earlier occasions. It is a pleasure to get the opportunity of meeting our Fellows from foreign countries from time to time. In his talk at the Institute, Dr. Krasa spoke about the early contacts between Indian and Egyptian Nationalists in the period following World War I, the closeness with which the Egyptians watched India's National Movement and the advice the Wafd leaders sought from Nehru and the Indian National Congress for strengthening their own liberation movement. Dr. Krasa also referred to the attitude of the Indian leaders, particularly Nehru, towards Egypt, and brought out how Independent India's foreign policy *vis-a-vis* Egypt and the Arab World had its roots in the pre-independence period.

Dictionary of National Biography :

We had already announced in our earlier issue that Vol. I of the Dictionary of National Biography covering about 350 biographical sketches from 'A' to 'D' had been sent to press in January. We are happy to report that the printing work is going on according to schedule and as speedily as one could wish. If the present pace of progress is maintained, it may be hoped that printing of Vol. I will be completed by the end of June. The subsequent three volumes will also be taken up immediately, and they are expected to be out at intervals of three months only. The preparation of Vol. I has naturally taken more time than what is envisaged for the other three volumes, because for Vol. I we had to

devote some time to fixing some standards, of arrangement, printing and general get-up, which will be mechanically followed for the other three volumes. A full list of Contributors for all the four volumes will be given in Vol. I; and also a separate list of Contributors for each volume will be given in that particular volume. For the convenience of readers, copious cross-references have also been given to find out any wanted name easily and quickly.

We had already made an announcement in our previous issue about the pre-publication price of the DNB. We are giving the information again for those who might have missed the earlier announcement.

The full set of the DNB (4 volumes) has been priced at Rs. 400/- in India; and U.S. \$ 80, or its equivalent in any other currency, in foreign countries. Postage will be charged extra. It has been decided also to receive a limited number of pre-publication orders at reduced prices — Rs. 250/- in India; and U.S. \$ 60, or its equivalent in any other currency, in foreign countries. Postage will be charged extra. We shall not accept more than 200 pre-publication orders. Those who want to avail themselves of the pre-publication price are to send their orders by 24th June, 1972, with a remittance of the full amount. The amount is to be sent either by M.O. or a cheque or a draft on a Calcutta Bank. For outstation cheques, the usual Bank collection charge (Rs. 2.50) is to be added. Since the number of pre-publication orders to be accepted is very limited, those who want to place orders should better do so as early as possible.

A SEPARATE HOMELAND FOR THE MUSLIMS OF INDIA

AMALENDU DE

(Jadavpur University, Calcutta)

It is generally believed that Jinnah was the initiator of the scheme of a separate state for the Indian Muslims. But we can simply dismiss this idea by stating the fact that he did not even start any theoretical discussion on this subject. Poet Muhammad Iqbal, the Cambridge Group and Dr. Sayyid Abdul Latif infused this idea into his head. Then, like an efficient lawyer and politician, Jinnah organised the Muslim League in support of the demand for Pakistan and guided the movement. Poet Iqbal put forward a scheme in his Presidential Address at the twenty-first session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad on 29 December 1930. It is often said that the idea of partition had its origin in this address. Iqbal asserted: "It cannot be denied that Islam, regarded as an ethical ideal plus a certain kind of polity — by which expression I mean a social structure, regulated by a legal system and animated by a specific ethical ideal — has been the chief formative factor in the life-history of the Muslims of India. It has furnished those basic emotions and loyalties which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups, and finally transform them into a well-defined people, possessing a moral consciousness of their own... Is it possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity in favour of national politics in which the religious attitude is not permitted to play any part? This question becomes of special importance in India where the Muslims happen to be in a minority."

Iqbal answered this question. He assumed that the Muslims were determined to remain true to the spirit of Islam. And he believed that religion played a vital part in the life of individuals as well as states. He observed: "The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore the construction of a polity on national lines if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim. This is a matter which at the present moment directly concerns the Muslims of India." Iqbal asserted that the Indian Muslims like all other groups were entitled to full and free development on the lines of their own culture and tradition. If this principle was recognised, the Muslims would stake their all for the freedom of India. Actually, this principle was not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism. In fact, without the fullest cultural autonomy and communalism in the higher aspect it would be difficult to create a harmonious nation in a country like India.³ Iqbal's political thought was very much influenced by Ernst Renan, who was of opinion that both religion and geography played an important part in the formation of nationhoods. Iqbal took the cue from Renan and then applying it to the Indian situation demanded a separate state for the Muslims. Judged by this criterion the Hindus and the Muslims did not belong to a single nationhood. Rather they were

sharply divided and in future there was no possibility of merging their identities. Thus Iqbal thought that "Muslim India constituted a nation by itself".⁴

Iqbal stated that the emotional and psychological homogeneity which were very much essential to create a nation never existed in India. Akbar or Kabir could have achieved that if they had been successful in inspiring the vast masses. But the powerful religious groupings and the caste-ridden Hindu society had rejected their experiments. Various Caste-units and religious units in India were so much zealous of their collective existence that they showed "no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole". Referring to this diversity, Iqbal emphasised the necessity of evolving unity of Indian nation through mutual harmony and cooperation of many. The fate of India as well as of Asia really depended on the recognition of this basic fact and on the successful move in this direction. Because "India is Asia in miniature." The Hindus had cultural affinities with the nations of East and South-East Asia; while the Muslims had their ties with the Middle and West Asia. So, he believed: "If an effective principle of co-operation is discovered in India it will bring peace and mutual goodwill to this ancient land which has suffered so long, more because of her situation in historic space than because of any inherent incapacity of her people. And it will at the same time solve the entire political problem of Asia."⁵

It is clearly revealed from Iqbal's analysis that he believed in two-nation theory which was already in nascent form in the Muslim political thought in India. This idea was propounded by Sir Syed Ahmed in 1888, and thereafter Maulana Muhammad Ali also suggested it.⁶ This theory was at first explicitly developed by Iqbal in 1930 when he declared in his address to the Muslim League

Session at Allahabad: "The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India is, therefore, perfectly justified. The resolution of the All Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is to my mind wholly inspired by the noble ideal of a harmonious whole which, instead of stifling the respective individualities of its component wholes, affords them chances of fully working at the possibilities that may be latent in them. And I have no doubt that this house will emphatically endorse the Muslim demand embodied in this resolution. Personally, I would go further than the demands embodied in it. I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India."⁷

In spite of the ambiguity of language it is clear that Iqbal did not contemplate a separate sovereign state for the Muslims. He only wanted to consolidate the Muslims of North-West India in one political unit within the structure of an all-India federation or of a Confederal India. It would be clear from the following observation of Iqbal: "To my mind a unitary form of Government is simply unthinkable in a self-governing India. What is called 'residuary powers' must be left entirely to self-governing states, the Central Federal State exercising only those powers which are expressly vested in it by the free consent of federal states. I would never advise the Muslims of India to agree to a system whether of British or of Indian origin, which virtually negatives the principle of true federation, or fails to recognise them as a distinct political entity."⁸

According to Iqbal, the only possible way to secure a stable constitutional structure in India was to create 'autonomous states' based on the unity of language, race, history, religion and identity of economic interests and for that he recommended proper redistribution of territory. Iqbal stated: "Proper redistribution will make the question of joint and separate electorates automatically disappear from the constitutional controversy of India. It is the present structure of the provinces that is largely responsible for this controversy.... The Muslims of India can have no objection to purely territorial electorates if provinces are demarcated so as to secure comparatively homogeneous communities possessing linguistic, racial, cultural and religious unity."⁹ He said that he had submitted this proposal to the Nehru Committee. But they rejected it on the ground that the proposed Muslim state would be of very unwieldy size, because its population would be much less than some of the Indian provinces.¹⁰

Iqbal had visualized a separate Muslim State which would simultaneously serve the best interests of India and Islam. It would remove internal tensions and stabilise peace and security in India. At the same time it would provide an opportunity for Islam "to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian Imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its laws, its education, its culture and to bring and with the spirit of modern times."¹¹ We then into closer contact with its original spirit can trace the mixture of modernism and fundamentalism in Iqbal's idea. But from this we should not conclude that he thought of a secular state for Muslims like Turkey. After thoroughly studying the history of Islam he came to the conclusion that "at critical moments in their history it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not vice-versa."¹²

Thus Iqbal in his address of 1930 envisaged a Muslim India within India. He was very much conscious of the position of the Muslims as a minority and from that standpoint

he sought for the solution of India's problem. In discussing Iqbal's idea of a federation or confederation, Professor R. Coupland stated, "He was not contemplating a separate sovereign Moslem state but only the consolidation of the Moslem North-West in the political unit of an all-India federation."¹³ Another British author, H. V. Hodson, observes, "clearly this was neither the two-nation theory nor the true idea of Pakistan."¹⁴ Unfortunately, none of them examined the views of Iqbal on Islam in India and the position of the Muslims as a distinct cultural unit. Coupland only referred to the ambiguity of the language, but did not go further. So their comments are partly true. If we study Iqbal's proposed scheme in an isolated way from the other parts of his address, we shall not be able to form a clear idea about the actual views of Iqbal. In 1930 Iqbal thought of an Indian federation only after securing adequate guarantee for the Muslims as a separate group. Naturally the germs of separatism were very much alive in his address. How can we ignore the fact that from 1908 to his death in 1938 Iqbal was a staunch supporter of Pan-Islamism? For this he associated politics with religion and culture.¹⁵ It is to be noted that immediately after his Presidential Address at Allahabad, Iqbal was adored by the Muslim politicians as their philosopher and guide.

Both Iqbal and Jinnah came close to each other during the period 1936-1937. Iqbal wrote several letters to Jinnah in which he gave advice to Jinnah on different issues concerning the Muslim interest in India.¹⁶ He suggested that Jinnah should organise the Muslims to achieve the object of a separate land for them. On 20 March 1937, Iqbal wrote that Jinnah should give an effective reply to Pandit Nehru's address to the All-India National Convention. He observed: "You must restate as clearly and as strongly as possible the political objective of the Indian Muslims as a distinct political unit in

the country. It is absolutely necessary to tell the world both inside and outside India that the economic problem is not the only problem in the country. From the Muslim point of view the cultural problem is of much greater consequence to most Indian Muslims. At any rate it is not less important than the economic problem... It would further make it clear to the Hindus that no political device, however subtle, can make the Indian Muslim lose sight of his cultural entity."¹⁷ On 28 May 1937, Iqbal wrote to Jinnah that the Muslim League should enlist the support of the masses by assuring them that they would solve the problem of Muslim poverty by the enforcement of the Law of Islam and this should be the best reply to the atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal Nehru. He was, of course, confident that Pandit Nehru's Socialism would not receive much response from the Muslims. Iqbal observed: "But the enforcement and development of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim State or States. This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India. If such a thing is impossible in India the only other alternative is a civil war which as a matter of fact has been going on for some time in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots. I fear that in certain parts of the country, e.g., N. W. India, Palestine may be repeated."¹⁸

Again, on 21 June 1937, Iqbal wrote to Jinnah: "We are actually living in a state of civil war... In these circumstances it is obvious that the only way to a peaceful India is redistribution of the country on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities... I remember Lord Lothian told me before I left England that my scheme was the only possible solution of the troubles of India, but that may take 25 years to come... To my mind the new constitution with its idea of a single Indian federation is completely hopeless. A

separate federation of Muslim provinces, reformed on the lines I have suggested above, is the only course by which we can secure a peaceful India and save Muslims from the domination of Non-Muslims. Why should not the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal be considered as nations entitled to self determination just as other nations in India and outside are? Personally I think that the Muslims of North-West India and Bengal ought at present to ignore Muslim minority provinces. This is the best course to adopt in the interests of both Muslim majority and minority provinces."¹⁹ Here we find that Iqbal revised his original scheme of 1930 and added Bengal to the proposed federation of Muslim provinces.

It would be clear from these letters that Iqbal very much influenced Jinnah and from time to time he had supplied points to him. Jinnah himself had admitted that under the influence of Iqbal Muslim League demanded a separate state and ultimately it was ventilated through the Lahore Resolution. In his foreword to Iqbal's letters Jinnah wrote in 1943: "It was a great achievement for the Muslim League that its lead came to be acknowledged by both the majority and minority provinces. Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a very conspicuous part, though at times not revealed to public, in bringing about this consummation."²⁰ Again, in paying homage to Iqbal Jinnah said on 9 December 1944: "With his firm conviction of and faith in the ideals of Islam, he was one of the few who originally thought over the feasibility of carving out of India such an Islamic state in the North-West and North-East zones which are historical homelands of Muslims."²¹ There was no doubt that Iqbal's scheme of 1930 through a zigzag course in Indian politics was transformed into a demand for Pakistan. For this reason he was rightly called the Father of Pakistan.

The views of Iqbal drew the attention of a

group of Indian students at Cambridge (in England) who founded the Pakistan National Movement, with Choudhari Rahmat Ali as its President, in 1933. Choudhari Rahmat Ali hailed from the Punjab. He claimed that he was the founder of this movement. On 28 January 1933 he published an eight-page pamphlet entitled 'Now or Never' from 3, Humberstone Road, Cambridge, England, in which the word 'Pakistan' was used for the first time.²² This pamphlet was signed by Rahmat Ali (Choudhari), Mohd. Aslam Khan (Khattak), Sheikh Mohd. Sadiq (Sahibzada) and Inayat Ullah Khan (of Charsaddah).²³ They coined the word Pakistan or land of the pure from the names of Muslim majority provinces of the North-West India — Punjab, North-West Frontier (Afghan) Province, Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan. This pamphlet was privately circulated in the form of an appeal on behalf of the thirty million Muslims of Pakistan who lived in the above five units of India and demanded "the recognition of their national status, as distinct from the other inhabitants of India, by the grant to Pakistan of a separate Federal Constitution on religious, social and historical grounds."²⁴

They condemned the Muslim delegates at the Round Table Conference who had accepted a constitution based on the principle of an all-India federation. This was an act of betrayal to the cause of Islam and of Muslims in India. This Cambridge Group wrote: "India, constituted as it is at the present moment, is not the name of one single country; nor the name of one single nation. It is, in fact, the designation of a state created by the British for the first time in history. It includes peoples who have never previously formed part of the Indian nation at any period of its history, but who have, on the contrary, from the dawn of history till the advent of the British, possessed and retained distinct nationalities of their own. One of such peoples is our own nation."²⁵ They said

that the Muslims of North-West constituted a separate nation and their ways of life were fundamentally different from those of the other peoples of India. They stated: "We do not inter-dine; we do not inter-marry. Our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress are different."²⁶ The Muslims of Pakistan, with distinct marks of nationality, would be reduced to a minority of one in ten, in the proposed Federation. It sounded the death-knell of this nation. To emphasize the magnitude of this catastrophe they referred to the fact that the total area of Pakistan was twice the size of France. Moreover, about one-tenth of the whole Muslim world lived here. So, they demanded the recognition of a separate national status for this area.²⁷

The Cambridge Group clearly stated that this demand was basically different from the scheme proposed by Poet Iqbal in 1930. They wrote: "While he proposed the amalgamation of four out of the five above-named provinces into a single state forming a unit of the all-India Federation, we propose that all those five provinces should have a separate Federation of their own outside India. We are convinced there can be no peace and progress in India if we, the Muslims, are duped into a Hindu dominated federation in which we cannot be the masters of our own destiny and captains of our own souls."²⁸ Opposing the scheme of Indian Federation they concluded the pamphlet with the following observation: "The history of the last century is full of open warnings to us, and they are as plain as were ever given to any nation. Shall it be said of us that we ignored all those warnings, betrayed our ancient nationhood into the Indian Federation, and let our Islamic heritage perish throughout the sub-continent of India?"²⁹

Just in the beginning these ideas could not influence Indian politics. Because this Cambridge Group had no close link with it. This was proved from an incident in August 1933.

At that time representatives of the All-India Muslim Conference and the Muslim League met the Joint Select Committee. Then, they clearly stated that the scheme of Pakistan was merely "a student's scheme," and they "considered it chimerical and impracticable."³⁰

Nevertheless, the Cambridge Group did not remain idle. In July 1935, Choudhari Rahmat Ali published another pamphlet, in which he reiterated the previous arguments.³¹ Before a meeting of the Supreme Council of the Pakistan National Movement at Karachi in 1940, Choudhari Rahmat Ali made a statement in which he analysed the views of this group. This statement was published in the form of a pamphlet from England.³² The ideas expressed in the pamphlets were as follows: (1) The Muslims were Pakistanis. They were not Indians. They considered themselves as Asians. (2) The Muslim Community or millat were facing the problems of "reconstruction in India." In the past 'Indianism' spiritually corrupted the standards of Islamic values, and politically it deprived the Muslims of their imperial authority and ultimately reduced them to a minority. Therefore, in the future 'Indianism' would crush them. (3) Without severing all ties with India it would not be possible to save the millat. The leaders of the movement now talked of 'three independent nations of Pakistan' viz., North-West India (already mentioned in 1933), Bang-i-Islam (i.e. Islam in Bengal, with its hinterland of Assam) and Usmanistan (or the state of Hyderabad. The family name of the Nizam was Usman).³³

According to the Cambridge Group the Muslim nationalism would not only acquire Muslim-majority areas, but also include Indian states ruled by Muslim princes and also sacred areas like Ajmer. With these 'individual Muslim nations' 'Pak Common-wealth of Nations' would be formed. In this way India would be converted into Dinia or Faithland and finally, this Dinia would unite with

a Pan-Islamic 'Pakasia'. But Choudhari Rahmat Ali did not define the term 'Pakasia'.³⁴

Choudhari Rahmat Ali discussed the ancient tradition of Pakistan state. He wrote that North-Western parts of India were the birthplace of ancient civilization. Naturally, Pakistan could be proud of this place. Established at this old seat of culture this state would protect the soul of Islam from the British-Bania conspiracy. At the same time it would save Muslim-Asia from the menace of Indianism. His conception about Pakistan state would be clear to us from the following passage written by him: "Again it is this Pakistan which in its eternal conviction stands to-day, spiritually as the Frontier-guard of Muslim-Asia against the mortal menace of 'Indianism'; nationally, as the leader of the Muslims' fight against their 'minorization', 'communalization', and 'Indianization'; internationally, as the sponsor of the national integration and independence, each in its own fatherland, of all the peoples in the continent, including the nations of the Millat in Bangistan, Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haidaristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safistan, and Nsaristan; and ideologically, as the crusader for the conversion of the 'country of India' into the 'Continent of Dinia', for the organization of the Continent of India and its Dependencies into the cultural Orbit of Pakasia; and above all, for the re-dedication of one hundred million Muslims to the achievement of the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her divine mission throughout the Orbit of Pakasia."³⁵

Thus from 1933 to the foundation of Pakistan state this group campaigned in favour of it. The Pakistan state of their imagination would always pursue an 'anti-Indian policy. Though in the beginning this group had no contact with the Muslim masses or the political life of Muslim India, yet the educated Muslims were gradually influenced by

their writings. So, the importance of ideological struggle conducted by them for Pakistan cannot be ignored by us.

Thus the ground was prepared by Iqbal and the Cambridge Group. An influential section of the Muslim League of North-West India was very much influenced by the theory of 'Two Federations' — Muslim and non-Muslim. The Muslim League of Sind, under the active guidance of Sir Abdullah Haroon, declared in 1938 that India was not a country, but a 'Sub-continent'. It was openly announced through a resolution that India was inhabited by two nations — Hindus and Muslims, and that India should be divided into two federations. It is interesting to note that Jinnah presided over that session of the Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference at Karachi on October 10, 1938, in which the following resolution was adopted: "The Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference considers it absolutely essential in the interests of an abiding peace of the vast Indian Continent and in the interests of unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment and political self-determination of the two nations, known as Hindus and Muslims, that India may be divided into two Federations viz., — a Federation of Muslim States and a Federation of Non-Muslim States.

"This Conference, therefore, recommends to the All-India Muslim League to devise a scheme of constitution under which Muslim majority provinces, Muslim Native States and areas inhabited by a majority of Muslims may attain full independence in the form of a Federation of their own with permission to any other Muslim state beyond the Indian frontiers to join the Federation, and with such safeguards for non-Muslim minorities as may be conceded to the Muslim minorities in the non-Muslim Federation of India."³⁶

This scheme was the product of hopes and aspirations simmering in the minds of the

Muslim community since their representatives lost political authority in the country. Just at that time a pamphlet entitled 'The Cultural Future of India' (Bombay 1938), written by Dr. Sayyid Abdul Latif, Ph.D. (London), Ex-Professor of English, Osmania University, Hony. Secretary Muslim Cultural Society (Hyderabad, Deccan) and Vice-President of the Hyderabad Academy, appeared. The main theme of this pamphlet was that India lacked that 'common moral consciousness permeating the life of the entire body of the people who would love to live together as a nation.'³⁷ There was no ethnological homogeneity. In fact Islam and Hinduism stood asunder.

According to him, Islam was 'monotheistic democracy' which for the sake of uniting humanity removed all barriers of colour, language, race and geography. Whereas Hinduism was a "federation of religions and cultures, a social imperialism holding under its powerful grip through its Brahminic ritual people standing at every stage of intellectual development."³⁸ India was torn between the cultural assertiveness of the Hindus and Muslims. Linguistic provincialism prevailed everywhere. Under the circumstance a common language of the right sort would not prosper and touch all the people in the country.³⁹ Dr. Latif brushed aside the joint efforts of the Hindus and Muslims as close neighbours for centuries in different spheres of Indian life. He was determined to break the idea of a unity in state which was long reared up on the foundation of common interest. It may be mentioned here that the Congress through its resolution on Fundamental Rights passed at Karachi Session in 1931 guaranteed the civil and cultural rights of every unit, individual or communal, of the people of India. Dr. Latif regarded these safeguards as "a denial of the organic unity" of India and he argued: "Religion, personal law and culture cover most of the major fields of life's activity — the spiritual, the social, the

economic, the educational (or the intellectual, moral and aesthetic), and in the case of the Muslims, professedly the political as well. It is governed by their all-embracing code of life called the Sheriyat. Under the Congress promise the interests of their Sheriyat will have to be safeguarded... with cultural safeguards conceded to the Muslims, and in like manner to the Hindus, Christians and others, you really establish a federation of culturally autonomous nationalities and do not form a single nationality."⁴⁰ Dr. Latif believed that India was not a single composite nation and he ruled out the federal provisions of the Act of 1935 and the programme of the Congress. To give a logical shape to his ideas Dr. Latif proposed in his pamphlet that India should be divided into eleven Hindu Zones and four Muslim Zones and an 'All India Confederacy of Free States' should be formed with the states inside these Zones. At first he demarcated the Muslim Cultural Zones and then put the rest of the country into the Hindu Cultural Zones. The divisions of Muslim Cultural Zones were : (1) North-West Block — It comprised Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, and the Indian States of Khairpur and Bahawalpur. Dr. Latif wrote that "this area may be converted into a single autonomous state formed on the basis of federal relationship between the six units, thereby allowing over 25 millions of Muslims a free home of their own." (2) North-East Block — It comprised East Bengal and Assam. Dr. Latif considered it "a solid block of Muslims in Eastern Bengal and Assam of over 30 millions, who may be assigned a free political existence." (3) Delhi-Lucknow Block — The Muslims were unevenly distributed in between the North-West and North East Blocks. Naturally, those who lived nearer to these blocks would be "attracted for naturalisation to the one nearer to them." The rest of the people lived in the United Provinces and Bihar. The Muslims of this area, numbering about 12 millions, would be "concentrated in a block

extending in a line from the eastern border of Patiala to Lucknow, rounding up Rampur on the way." It was called Delhi-Lucknow Block. (4) The Deccan Block — It would include the "Muslims scattered all over the South in colonies of varying size, exceeding 12 millions in number." Dr. Latif wrote : "Such a zone the dominions of Hyderabad may provide with a strip of territory restored to them in the South, running through the districts of Kurnool, Cuddapah, Chittoor, North Arcot and Chingleput down to the city of Madras." He also stated that such a strip of territory "with an opening to the Sea will be found absolutely necessary to settle the large Muslim mercantile and marine community living for ages on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts." This large area was demanded for the small number of Muslims on economic grounds. Hyderabad was still undeveloped. It was covered by forests and barren rocks. Dr. Latif contemplated that the Muslims would concentrate in the Deccan Block from Orissa, Central Provinces, Bombay and Madras Presidencies, Mysore, Cochin and Travancore. Naturally there would be a phenomenal increase in population and this factor should be kept in mind. Moreover, this area would provide shelter to the surplus Muslim population of the North-East and the Delhi-Lucknow Blocks, where the Muslims were confined within narrow zones. Besides that, Dr. Latif also referred to the 'Minor Muslim Centres', viz., the states of Bhopal, Tonk, Junagadh and others, and the Free City of Ajmer. He said that the Muslims living in Rajputana, Gujarat, Malwa and the Western India states would gather in these centres. According to his scheme, the minor communities, viz. the Christians, the jungle tribes and the Harijans, would stay in that area where they were protected or enjoyed the status of privileged communities.⁴¹

The rest of India would belong to Hindu Cultural Zones. The implementation of this scheme would be possible by the re-demarca-

tion of territories and the migration of population from one zone to another. But the transfer of population should be voluntary and spread conveniently over a number of years. Dr. Latif admitted that it would "create a wrench in the heart of many a person, Hindu and Muslim. But every incidental inconvenience should cheerfully be borne by everyone concerned in view of the hope that a new sentiment of an immeasurably higher and nobler form than that of earth-rootedness will be the inevitable reward."⁴² But this scheme would permanently assure the Hindus and the Muslims to enjoy complete freedom in their own homelands. Dr. Latif safeguarded the personal and cultural interests of those individuals, who would be compelled to stay in their ancestral places or where they were staying, under a 'Public Law of Indian Nations' passed by the Central Government. Similarly, the Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Harijans, Parsees and Buddhists would be provided with "all the necessary religious or cultural and economic safeguards" in each Free State.⁴³ So much about the scheme discussed by Dr. Latif in the pamphlet mentioned above. He also wrote two other pamphlets — 'A Federation of Cultural Zones of India' (Secunderabad, 1938) and 'The Muslim Problem in India' (Bombay, 1939). Besides that, he submitted a statement to the Sub-Committee of the Muslim League.⁴⁴ From these documents we get a thorough idea about his scheme. In 'The Muslim Problem in India' he gave a concrete shape to the general plan outlined in 'The Cultural Future of India'. In this pamphlet he envisaged : "The Indian states interspersed all over the country may be distributed between the different Zones in accordance with their natural affinities. Each Zone will form a homogeneous state with a highly decentralised form of government within... but fitting along with similar states into an all-India Federation."⁴⁵ Dr. Latif knew that a homogeneous nation for India was not possible so long as the Hindus and the Muslims followed their own

cultures, which were fundamentally different from one another. Yet he was hopeful that the "two communities might form a nation of the type of Canada" where they would live in two separate zones and work "together for a common country."⁴⁶ So, he suggested that a federation of culturally homogenous states or zones should be established and for this he even recommended an exchange of population. He, of course, "made it clear that this was to be restored to as a last thing and only when every other means was exhausted to frame a constitution agreeable to every party concerned, a constitution such as might not allow any community, or combination of units to dominate the rest. As a basis of compromise, he even outlined a constitution alternative to the Act of 1935 such as might fulfil the above condition."⁴⁷ Thus Dr. Latif for the first time nursed the idea of cultural zones.

This plan caught the imagination of the League leaders. Sir Abdullah Haroon, a member of the Working Committee of the Muslim League, was greatly impressed by Dr. Latif's ideas. He wrote that in the Preface of Dr. Latif's pamphlet 'The Muslim Problem in India' (1939). Sir Haroon invited Dr. Latif to Lahore to place his views before the members of the Foreign Committee of the Muslim League which met there on 29 January 1939. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab, Nawab Sahib of Mamdote and Sir Feroz Khan Noon attended this meeting, and Dr. Latif had conversations with them on his plan. All the members present requested him "to prepare a scheme under which the goal suggested might be reached by successive stages." Accordingly, Dr. Latif framed a constitution for India and this draft constitution along with a comprehensive introduction was submitted to the Executive Council of the All-India Muslim League for their consideration.⁴⁸

As Chairman of the Muslim League's

Foreign Committee Sir Haroon had circulated widely the pamphlet 'The Muslim Problem in India' both in England and India. On 5 January 1940, he wrote a letter to Dr. Latif in which it was mentioned that his book was favourably received in England. A large section of public-minded people considered it as "an excellent representation of Muslim opinion". Sir Haroon wrote: "I must express my utmost thanks for the labour you undertook for the supreme cause of Mussalmans by evolving such a scheme which, if materialised, embodies in itself the separate and free Home-lands for Mussalmans in India."⁴⁹ The British reaction to Dr. Latif's plan would be known from the observations of Professor Rushbrook Williams, who contributed an editorial review to the *Great Britain and the East* of 14 December 1939. He recommended this book to the British public for careful study. He wrote: "This little book is important because it is not written from the British point of view, nor from the Pan-Islamic point of view, but the Indian point of view. The author counts himself as good a nationalist as anyone else; but he is determined to oppose the kind of nationalism which eliminates Islam as a political force in India. We commend it to those well-intentioned critics who believe that the minority problem is a nettle which needs only to be grasped firmly and with courage in order to render the spines impotent. This particular spine is far more likely to pierce the hand which fails to show it proper respect."⁵⁰

Immediately after the publication of Dr. Latif's scheme, several schemes generally known as 'Pakistan', particularly from the Punjab and U.P., were published. The authors of these schemes generally accepted Dr. Latif's basic idea of separate zones, but they "suggested various amendments to his plan." In the summer of 1939 a booklet entitled 'Confederacy of India' was published anonymously under the name 'A Punjabi' (author's name was Nawab Sir

Muhammad Shah Nawaz Khan, an eminent Muslim of the Punjab). He summed up Dr. Latif's Scheme as "theoretically perfect but impracticable". Because the proposal for transfer of population would complicate the entire issue. Keeping the people in the places where they were, he proposed to divide India into five countries: "(1) The Indus Regions, (2) Hindu India, a Central Block comprising all that is not covered by the other 'countries', (3) Rajasthan, containing the states of Rajputana and Central India, (4) the Deccan states, mainly Hyderabad and Mysore, and (5) Bengal, without its present Hindu districts but including parts of Assam and a number of disconnected states." Then, a federation of these 'countries' should be established. He believed that "the Muslims all over the world are a single nation (millat) just as the Jews are a single nationality." Naturally, Afghanistan and other Muslim States would welcome the creation of a Muslim state "as the first practical step towards the liberation of Asia from the hands of Europe", and also as "the dawn of the long-cherished ideal of Pan-Islamism." In spite of that the author did not propose to sever connection with India and suggested that the Muslims should be "Separationists-cum-Confederationists." The necessity of forming a 'confederacy of India' with all the separate states was emphasized by him. Coupland wrote: "It is not clear whether the author makes the usual distinction between a federation and a confederacy." Anyway, to frustrate the danger of Hindu domination in the field of economy, the author empowered the confederate authority to control the fiscal policy.⁵¹ The members of the confederacy had to share the defence expenditure, but no procedure was suggested for the collection of money for this purpose.⁵²

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab, propounded a scheme in a pamphlet entitled 'Outlines of a Scheme of Indian Federation' (Lahore, 1939). It was elabo-

rately explained by him on the floor of the Punjab Legislative Assembly on March 11, 1941.⁵³ He accepted the regional idea of Dr. Latif's plan. He upheld the federal principle though in a different way from the Act of 1935. He contemplated a loose federation in which the powers of the centre would be reduced to the minimum and the provinces would enjoy the maximum possible autonomy. He divided India into seven zones almost on the basis of the existing provinces and states and prepared a tentative list of them. This was "(1) Assam, Bengal (less certain western districts), Bengal States and Sikkim; (2) Bihar and Orissa and ceded Bengal districts; (3) United Provinces and its States; (4) Madras, Madras States, Travancore, and Coorg; (5) Bombay, Hyderabad, Mysore, Western Indian States, Bombay States, and Central Provinces States; (6) Central Provinces, Rajputana States (less Bikaner and Jaisalmer), Gwalior, and the States of Central India, Bihar and Orissa; (7) Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Kashmir, Punjab States and Bikaner and Jaisalmer."⁵⁴

There should be a Regional legislature consisting of the representatives of the Provinces and States for each zone mentioned above. The Provincial legislatures would elect their representatives in accordance with the procedure laid down by the Act of 1935 and the rulers of States would select their candidates. "The members of the Regional legislatures would collectively constitute the central or Federal Assembly." Sir Sikander clearly defined the subjects entrusted to the Regional legislatures and the Central or Federal Assembly and mentioned the proportion of elected and nominated members. It was expected that the Governor-General would appoint a Prime Minister and Cabinet following the normal parliamentary procedure. But he gave him wide powers in the formation of the Central Executive through the preservation of the dyarchic provisions of the Act of

1935. At least one representative should be taken from each zone and one-third of the members of the Cabinet should be Muslims. The States should be represented by two or three members in the Cabinet.⁵⁵ Sir Sikander thought of a united Indian Federation within the British Commonwealth, because India would be benefitted by the close contact with Britain.⁵⁶

Sayyid Zafr al-Hasan and Afzal Husayn Qadiri propounded a scheme known as 'Aligarh Scheme', which "advocated the absolute partition of the country into independent Muslim Zones and independent Hindu Zones."⁵⁷ They wanted to create three Muslim states with North-West India, Bengal and the Hyderabad State.⁵⁸ Sir Abdullah Haroon, in his scheme of 1938, only spoke of the formation of a Muslim Federation consisting of the North-West areas and Kashmir. He did not refer to the problems of Bengal and Hyderabad.⁵⁹ Asadullah also put forward a scheme.⁶⁰ It is interesting to note that peculiar demands were incorporated in these schemes. The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League thoroughly studied these schemes before the adoption of the Lahore Resolution.

Dr. Latif tried to persuade the Congress leaders to resolve their differences with the Muslim League "on the basis of an agreed constitution for India on the lines indicated by him." There was an exchange of letters between him and the Congress leaders. But he failed to persuade them to accept his zonal plan.⁶¹ He felt that unless a federation of culturally autonomous states was formed in India, the demand for a separate Pakistan state would gradually gather strength and thereby the image of Indian unity would be totally destroyed. He expressed this apprehension after studying the minds of Jinnah and his ardent followers. For this reason, Dr. Latif gave a friendly warning to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a letter on 10 January 1940 : "The idea of cultural zones is a mild idea

compared with that of Pakistan. But that will be thrown into the limbo of oblivion, and the spectre of Pakistan alone will stare you in the face to-morrow, if to-day you fail to use your opportunities to frame a constitution for the country agreeable to all."⁶² In this letter Dr. Latif clearly stated that he was against "the Pakistan movement as conceived by its original promoters," which he considered as "a separatist movement."⁶³ The Pakistan movement would create two federations in India, whereas he was determined to preserve India as "a single political entity". So, he favoured the idea of a single federation composed of culturally autonomous states.⁶⁴

In 1936-37 Dr. Latif actively took part in politics. He visited different parts of the country and exchanged his views with others. To propagate his own ideas he founded the 'Muslim Cultural Society' at Hyderabad in 1937. By that time he became known to the Muslim intelligentsia all over the country for his literary and cultural studies and they regarded him as one of the foremost theoreticians of Muslim India.⁶⁵ Naturally, Jinnah gave a patient hearing to his views. During this time Poet Iqbal invited Dr. Latif to Lahore. He lived there for a few days with the Poet and they had a long discussion over the question vitally affecting the Muslims. But Dr. Latif could not accept Iqbal's scheme proposed in 1930, in which he had entertained the idea of bringing North-Western India into a single administration. Because it would not solve the problems of the Muslims of the

whole of India. So, he suggested that such a scheme should be devised by which the needs of the Muslims scattered all over the country would be comprehended.⁶⁶ But the Indian political scene was abruptly changed with the adoption of the Lahore Resolution in March 1940. Since then Jinnah and other Muslim League leaders attached no importance to Dr. Latif's Zonal plan. They asserted that Pakistan would sever all connections with India. In 1943 Dr. Latif wrote that he was not opposed to the idea of Pakistan or the formation of sovereign states in the North-West and the North-East India. But he felt that the policy of isolation and severance of connection with India would be a suicidal step for Pakistan and this policy would jeopardize the interests of the Muslims. He observed: "Mr. Jinnah insists that the Pakistan states should remain in isolation and should have no constitutional relation with the rest of India. I, on the other hand, hold that such an attitude will prove suicidal to the Pakistan states. I firmly believe that in the abiding interests of these states themselves and of the thinly distributed Muslim minorities in Hindu Zones, they should, while enjoying perfect freedom or autonomy in their internal affairs, link themselves to the rest of India to administer with others on terms of equality a minimum of subjects indispensably common to the whole of India."⁶⁷ But Dr. Latif lacked organizational strength to oppose Jinnah and the separatist movement which got a new momentum in March 1940.

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(1) A federal system should be the basis of the new constitution. In it the constituent states should enjoy complete autonomy and the residuary powers should be vested in them. (2) The system of separate electorates should continue as before. (3) 33 per cent seats in the Central Federal Assembly should be reserved for Muslims. (4) Sind should enjoy the status of a separate province and the N. W. F. P. should be given reforms. (5) There should be no change in the constitution without the concurrence of all states constituting Indian Federation. (6) The Indian Mussalmans should not accept any constitution

- which is not conformable to the principles embodied in this resolution (vide Majumdar, R. C. (ed.), *Struggle for Freedom*, Bombay, 1969, p. 460; Das, Durga, *India from Curzon to Nehru & After*, London, 1969, p. 129).
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ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE NORTH-EAST FRONTIER OF INDIA IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

DR. DEBA PROSAD CHOUDHURY

The north-east frontier of India is today undergoing momentous changes and it is natural that the economy of this area is experiencing the same process. One can reasonably assume that by the end of the present century the tribal economy of this area will bear marks of fundamental difference with what it was before 1947. It would therefore be interesting to note what the tribal economy here was like during British rule. Our present study will be confined to the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth centuries. Since the whole area was left more or less in isolation up to the end of the British rule, there is enough reason to assume that the economic life here did not witness any important change even after the early years of the present century. Our sources of information on the subject are far from adequate but they throw sufficient light on the broad outline of the economy of this frontier.

The economic life of the tribesmen of this area was different from that of the plainsmen. And in no respect was this difference more marked than in the method of agriculture which was the most important economic pursuit in the hills. The method of cultivation which was typical here was quite primitive and was known as *jhum* cultivation. Furer-Haimendorf, who visited the frontier in the 1940s, observed, "Shifting cultivation of the slash-and-burn type is the only kind of tillage practised by such tribes as Mishmis, Abors, Miris and Daflas, and one can travel for weeks in the Eastern Himalayas without ever encountering any other method of cultivation".¹ This method of cultivation consisted

of clearing and burning the jungle and undergrowth of a hillside. Crops were then raised on the clearing for two or three years in succession. Then the land was left fallow to recover its fertility and, during this period, cultivation was shifted to some freshly cleared land. This was a wasteful method as it seriously denuded the hillsides of jungles which were necessary for the prevention of soil erosion.

But there was a very remarkable exception — possibly the only exception at the time — to the general pattern of *jhuming*. This exception was to be found in the country of the Apa Tanis — a small valley of about twenty square miles drained by the river Kele. The first detailed picture of the Apa Tani agriculture was provided by Furer-Haimendorf. As he found, there was no trace of shifting cultivation in the Apa Tani country. The Apa Tani villages were surrounded by carefully irrigated rice fields which extended right up to the foot of the hills surrounding the Apa Tani valley. The Apa Tani methods of irrigation, soil preparation, classification of fields for different varieties of crops and a meticulous attention to every crop testified to highly specialized agricultural activities. "The agriculture of the Apa Tanis is thus not only of interest as the basis of an economy different from that of all surrounding populations, but it provides us also with an example of an elaborate and most efficient system of soil exploitation developed by a people cut off from the material development of Indian high cultivation. . . . Indeed, to come from the land of these cultivators [i.e. the neighbour-

ing tribes practising the *jhum* cultivation] of frequently shifted hill-fields, carved as it would seem haphazardly from the jungle and abandoned again after one or two years, into the Apa Tani valley with its purposeful order and evidence of the loving care bestowed on virtually every square yard of ground is like jumping thousands of years of man's development and stepping from an age of barbarism into an era of a highly developed civilization."²

Since settled agriculture was the mainstay of Apa Tani economy, land was naturally highly prized among the people. The influence and social prestige of an Apa Tani depended largely on the size of his holding. In this respect the Apa Tanis differed fundamentally from their neighbours who lacked the concept of private ownership of land. Besides the private land, there were two other categories of land — clan land and common village land. The private lands comprised practically all the cultivated lands as well as house-sites and sites for granaries. The clan lands consisted of pastures and forests where the members of the clan alone had the right to hunt. In the Apa Tani valley there were only a few and comparatively unimportant tracts which were owned by all the clans of a village. These were common village lands and were used as pastures. Also on the edge of the valley there were large forests claimed by individual villages. These were used as hunting grounds.³

Among the Apa Tanis the ownership of land was clearly known. There was a clear distinction between pastures and hunting grounds owned by a clan or village, and the privately owned fields or gardens. The Daflas — a neighbouring tribe who practised *jhuming* — did not however recognize, barring a few exceptions, permanent individual rights in land. Whoever cleared a piece of land gained by virtue of his initial effort the right to cultivate it for the next period of cultiva-

tion which extended rarely beyond three years. When the land reverted to jungle, this right lapsed, and consequently there existed no permanent proprietary rights in land.⁴

The tribesmen supplemented their poor economy by hunting, fishing, rubber-tapping and elephant-catching in the land at the foot of the hills north of the Brahmaputra. But during British rule this land was affected by the expansion of tea plantation and creation of reserved forests. This twin process seems to have exercised an adverse effect on the economy of the tribesmen. British claims on this land became the most fruitful source of tribal outrages.

By the turn of the present century thousands of acres were taken up by tea plantations in Darrang and Lakhimpur — the two districts facing the frontier. Since the entire district of Darrang and the North Lakhimpur subdivision of the district of Lakhimpur lay north of the Brahmaputra, all the tea gardens in these areas were also north of the river — probably near or at the foot of the hills. The first tea plantation in Darrang seems to have been opened in 1854 at Balipara. In Lakhimpur the cultivation of tea was first undertaken by the Government in 1835 at Sadiya. By 1901 there were 137,829 acres of tea gardens in Darrang and 21,272 acres in North Lakhimpur subdivision.⁵ Once these lands were brought under tea cultivation they were presumably closed to the hillmen, though in at least some of them the hillmen must have had free access formerly.

Similarly they lost access to the forests which were declared as Reserved Forests. Once a reserve was declared, it became a punishable offence under the Assam Forest Regulation, 1891, to hunt, shoot, or fish, or to fell or cut any tree, or to collect any forest produce in the Reserved Forest.⁶ The first reserves in Darrang were possibly gazetted in 1874. In Lakhimpur the first reserved

forest seems to have been created in 1887. By the turn of the twentieth century there was a considerable area of reserved forests in Darrang and North Lakhimpur. In 1901 the total area of reserves was 321 sq. miles in Darrang and 29 sq. miles in North Lakhimpur.⁷

Trade was quite important in the economic life of the area. One striking characteristic of trade on this frontier was the absence of any through traffic between Tibet and the plains except by two routes. The more important of these routes was the Tawang route that passed via Tawang and Tsona Dzong. Much less important was the Lohit Valley route which linked Assam with the Tibetan province of Zayul. The tribesmen living in the northern parts of the frontier traded with Tibet and those living in the southern parts traded with the plains. When in 1911 Captain F. M. Bailey, an officer of the Government of India's Political Department, travelled from China to Assam through the Mishmi country, he found the tribesmen living near the plains going south to obtain their supply of salt which was scarce in the hills, while those living near Tibet were going north for this necessary commodity.⁸ This horizontal stratification among the tribes was also observed by Furer-Haimendorf in 1944-45 during his tours in the Subansiri region. He found that the dividing line between the tribes trading respectively with Tibet and the plains of Assam for salt and iron ran in a north-easterly direction, roughly midway through the Subansiri region.⁹ It looks as though there were three broad regional divisions among the tribesmen. The northern division had contact with Tibet, the southern division with the plains, while the one between the two had little direct contact with the outside world.

The cause of this stratification was economic. The tribesmen living near Tibet or the plains would not allow the interior tribes to

have an outlet in either direction, since both were interested in maintaining their lucrative position as intermediaries in the trade between the interior tribes and the outside world. Consequently, there were numerous barriers on the frontier which blocked free movement of trade. The only two exceptions seem to have been the Tawang and Lohit routes. These trade blocks were particularly prominent in the Abor country where one tribe after another insisted on being the sole intermediary in trade and were extremely jealous of even the passage of strangers through their territory.¹⁰ Such obstacles often forced trade into circuitous routes, and sometimes even in the opposite and unnatural direction. For instance, the Pangis — an Abor tribe — who inhabited the left bank of the Yamne within view of the plains, were compelled to trade northward.¹¹

The British realized that the remedy for this harmful aspect of tribal economy lay in establishing trade centres in the hills and in constructing roads which would afford easy and safe passage to the trade centres in the hills as well as to the plains. These measures, it was felt, would lift the curtains which blocked trade with the plains, and would eventually lead to normal relations with the tribes through regular trade contact. A similar idea had been held by the British administrators in their policy of encouraging the north-west frontier tribes to have free trade contacts with the plains. In 1912 the Assam Government proposed the establishment of a trade post in the Abor country to be held for at least several months in the year by a guard of 100 rifles.¹² Later they suggested that the trade post, which had been sanctioned by the Government of India, should be gradually moved forward into the Abor country along with the extension of a road. The construction of a road in the Siyom valley also was strongly recommended in 1914 for the removal of trade blocks.¹³ But in spite of such talks of

removing the trade barriers, they continued to exist.

Trade with the plains was important in tribal economy. Annual fairs were held at different centres. Three important centres were Udalguri, Daimara and Sadiya. Udalguri and Daimara were situated in Darrang. Fairs at these two places were chiefly attended by the Monpas of Tawang and, in lesser numbers, by the Akas and Daflas. The Udalguri fair was far more important than the Daimara fair. The latter was visited principally by those Monpas who were at the time called Charduar Bhutias and are today known as the Sherdukpens. The Sadiya fair was held in Lakhimpur and was attended by the Daflas, Abors and Mishmis.

Of the exports from the plains to the hills, the more important were iron, salt, rice, silk and cotton piece-goods. Among the principal imports from the hills were ponies, cattle, salt, blankets, caoutchouc and a famous febrifuge called the Mishmi *illa* which was mainly available in the Mishmi hills. Caoutchouc was by far the most important import in the trade with the Akas, Daflas, Abors and Mishmis. The supply of rubber often fluctuated due to a variety of reasons such as inter-tribal feuds, border troubles, fluctuation in the price of rubber in the plains, and the increasing exhaustion of the submontane rubber forests.

No accurate figures for the volume of this trade, during the early years of British administration in Assam, are available, since registration of this trade was often faulty at the beginning. But the method of registration slowly improved over the years. Trade at Udalguri and Daimara was registered by the frontier *manzadars*, but at Sadiya the trade statistics seem to have been gathered from the traders. The figures furnished by the *manzadars* were probably reliable to some extent, but little reliance could be placed on those collected from the traders, since they

could be hardly expected to disclose the state of trade in which they were interested. The Government knew that this system of registration was defective and that more reliable figures could only be obtained if paid agents were employed for the purpose. But they were reluctant to incur the expenditure which, they may well have thought, would be more than the worth of the result. However, the method of registration, which slightly improved by 1908, was claimed to have recorded the important elements of the frontier trade. In 1912-13 the method was further improved by employing paid trade registrars at Orang and Behali in Darrang, and at Sadiya in Lakhimpur; these registrars, along with the frontier *manzadars* and police officers, recorded the frontier trade. From May 1913 trade registration was placed under the control of the Deputy Commissioners of the neighbouring districts and the Political Officer at Sadiya. Returns were sent by the registrars to their offices where they were checked and consolidated for submission to the Director of Land Records and Agriculture.

The following specimen figures are available in some of the contemporary reports. Although we should not accept them as accurate for the reasons stated above, they nevertheless give us at least a rough idea about the volume of frontier trade during the period under study.

A word of explanation is necessary regarding the figures given. One notices a general preponderance of the figures for imports from the hills over those for exports from the plains. This was, however, not a true reflection of the state of trade. While it was not difficult to record the merchandise from the hills which the tribesmen disposed of at the trade fairs, it was nearly impossible to record the major part of what they took home, since, after buying the necessities anywhere in the plains, they used to return to the hills by the

	Total imports into Assam from		
	Tawang	Aka & Dafla Hills	Abor, Mishmi, etc. Hills
1899-1900 ...	Rs. 19,240	Rs. 100,079	Rs. 84,905
1900-1901 ...	Rs. 13,518	Rs. 96,551	Rs. 76,083
1901-1902 ...	Rs. 26,134	Rs. 27,188	Rs. 106,540
1902-1903 ...	Rs. 9,181	Rs. 28,301	Rs. 33,602
1903-1904 ...	Rs. 75,328	Rs. 35,144	Rs. 125,858
1904-1905 ...	Rs. 27,838	Rs. 42,793	Rs. 212,360

	Total exports from Assam to		
	Tawang	Aka & Dafla Hills	Abor, Mishmi, etc. Hills
1899-1900 ...	Rs. 16,786	Rs. 17,341	Rs. 5,183
1900-1901 ...	Rs. 17,068	Rs. 16,710	Rs. 2,280
1901-1902 ...	Rs. 10,503	Rs. 2,740	Rs. 2,673
1902-1903 ...	Rs. 10,200	Rs. 6,617	Rs. 4,094
1903-1904 ...	Rs. 10,580	Rs. 18,971	Rs. 1,859
1904-1905 ...	Rs. 15,069	Rs. 16,690	Rs. 3,365

nearest passes without again assembling at any given centres. Further the figures for the Abor, Mishmi, etc. Hills related not only to the trade with the Abors and Mishmis but also to that with the Khamtis (or Hkamtis), Singphos and Nagas.¹⁴

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BRITISH ROLE IN THE SELECTION OF THE NIZAM'S DEWAN IN THE 19TH CENTURY

AJIT NEOGY

(*Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan*)

In 1884 the Government of India found itself involved in a very difficult situation arising out of the question of selecting the First Minister or the *Dewan* of the Hyderabad State. The Office of *Dewan* in Hyderabad was very old. The uninterrupted continuity of the post was only disturbed when the Nizam Afzal-ud-Dowla died in 1869 and his minor son, Meer Mahbub Ali, ascended the *gadi* of the State.¹ A Regency, sanctioned by the Paramount Power, began to administer the State under the direct supervision of the Resident. The administration of the State was carried on in this manner for 16 years. In 1884 the Government of India decided to invest the young Nizam with full powers of administration on his attaining the age of 18. Necessary arrangements for the purpose were made beforehand and the Government of India, considering the youth of the Nizam and the welfare of the Hyderabad State, wished to revive the office of *Dewan* which was abolished in 1869 when Afzal-ud-Dowla died. The British Government believed that an experienced *Dewan* would be very much useful to the new Nizam and would be able to assist and advise him in the execution of administrative business of so large a State as Hyderabad. There were, however, two aspirants to this exalted post, namely, Kurshid Jah Amir-i-Kabir and Nawab Mir Laik Ali, Salar Jung Bahadur (the eldest son of Sir Salar Jung). The Government of India critically estimated the character and qualifications of both the persons and gave its considered opinion in favour of Salar Jung. While commu-

nicating this decision, the Secretary to the Government of India wrote to the Resident that the final choice, however, would rest with the Nizam and that the opinion of the Government of India was not, at least on this issue, binding on the Nizam because the treaty of 1800 conferred upon the British Government no right to interfere in the selection of a *Dewan* at Hyderabad. The views of the British Government on this issue were also echoed in the following remark made by Lord Ripon:

"It must be remembered that our right to oppose the appointment of a *Dewan* does not rest on treaty; that it is at the utmost a right to veto; and that in several cases Governors-General though disliking the choice of the Nizam, have refused to interfere in any way beyond advice, even when that advice has not been taken".²

In order to judge the correctness of the stand taken by the British Government on the issue in 1884, it becomes necessary to analyse the earlier cases of British interference to veto or support a particular minister against the Nizam's wishes.

Azim-ul-Urma

Azim-ul-Urma, the Minister of Nizam Ali, was a friend of the British Government and towards the end of his reign he had acquired a complete ascendancy over his master. Nizam Ali died in 1803 and was succeeded by his son Sekunder Jah. The latter's hostility

to the English alliance was notorious. Azim-ul-Urma died in 1804 and Sekunder Jah refused to appoint any successor and intended to retain the administration in his own hands. The British Government regarded this policy with disfavour though the treaty of 1800 (Article 15) provided that the East India Company's Government "... have no manner of concern with any of His Highness's children, relations, subjects or servants, with respect of whom His Highness is absolute."³ Sekunder Jah desired to confine his relations with the British Government strictly according to the letters of the treaty. The British Government interpreted this attitude of the Nizam as dangerous, for this might tend to diminish British influence at his court. At this juncture the British Government held that the guarantee thus given against interference did not mean that the Nizam was free to carry on his internal administration in a manner prejudicial to the whole object of the treaty alliance. Therefore the British Government strongly recommended Sekunder Jah to appoint Mir Alam (the grandfather of Salaf Jung) as a suitable successor of Azim-ul-Urma.⁴ The Nizam disliked Mir Alam and was particularly apprehensive of being overshadowed by a powerful Minister. He was also irritated at the interference implied in the advice given to him by the British Government which he declared to be contrary to the aforesaid provision of the treaty. He was, however, induced by the Resident, at an interview, to give his consent to Mir Alam's appointment (July-August, 1804). There is no doubt that Mir Alam owed his appointment to British interference with Sekunder Jah.

Mir Alam

In 1805, Lord Cornwallis, during his second administration, announced his policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of Hyderabad, observing that the circumstances under which Mir Alam had been made Minister were exceptional and therefore

would furnish no precedent for future. At the same time the Nizam was urged to provide for the maintenance of order in his dominion; he was plainly told that otherwise he could not expect the protection of the British Government. George Burrow affirmed this policy in 1806 in spite of the Resident's advocacy of the opposite course. Nevertheless, Burrow was compelled at the end of 1806, when Mir Alam's position became threatened, to reluctantly abandon the policy pursued by the Government of Cornwallis in 1805. Mir Alam (with Chandulal as his *Peshkar*) was for a time on good terms with the Nizam. But it became necessary, for certain reasons, to scrutinise the accounts of Raja Mohipat Ram, Governor of Berar. He was a powerful man with a strong anti-British party at the court and was an enemy of Mir Alam; he succeeded in poisoning the Nizam's mind against Mir Alam and the English alliance was almost on the verge of dissolution. Mir Alam told the Resident that he could not hold office without active support from the British Government. Though the British Government was not inclined to curb the general independence of the Nizam, it firmly asserted its right of opposing evil mentors inimical to the alliance of 1800. On the strength of this, it made the specific demand that Mir Alam should be retained in his office.

The negotiations, held in accordance with the Governor-General's instructions, were quite successful, the Nizam offering less objection than was expected. The decision of the British Government, referred to above, was delivered to the Nizam by the Resident.⁵ The Governor-General's despatch to the Nizam embraced, among others, two important points—(1) the discharge of Mir Alam's enemies; and (2) a promise of full support on the part of His Highness to the Minister. Sekunder Jah only demanded that he must retain his authority as a ruler and the Resident agreed to it. By the end of 1806, there-

fore, Mir Alam had been restored to favour with powers at the instance of the British Government though he was a total failure as an administrator.^{6a} The Resident later repented for propping up Mir Alam against the Nizam's wishes. Henceforth both the Company's Government and the Nizam always tried to come to an agreement on the appointment of a minister.^{6b} The Company's Government would not thrust upon the Nizam a minister not liked by him, nor would the Nizam appoint a minister without the previous approval of the Company's Government. But this spirit of compromise did not work long.

Monir-ul-Mulk

Mir Alam died in December, 1808. At that time Chandulal was *Peshkar* with large powers, and the two potential candidates for Dewanship were Monir-ul-Mulk (Mir Alam's son-in-law) and Shams-ul-Umra.⁶ Sydenham, the Resident, carefully abstained from giving any advice to the Nizam about the choice of Minister. But His Highness sought British advice and the Governor-General then expressed his opinion delicately that Shams-ul-Umra would be the best selection, but recommended to maintain unimpaired the administrative authority of Chandulal. When the Nizam was informed about the recommendation of the Governor-General, he became anxious to appoint Monir-ul-Mulk as his Minister instead of Shams-ul-Umra.⁷ He thought that by appointing a minister who was not being supported by the Company's Government he would be able to secure the service of an anti-British and loyal minister.⁸ When this appointment was made, the Resident stipulated that the new minister should formally undertake to promote the English alliance, and this was done. The Nizam, at the same time, of his own accord, announced that the ordinary executive administration would remain in the hands of Chandulal, and Monir-ul-Mulk executed a formal agree-

ment to this effect also. The British Government naturally became annoyed at the rejection of the advice which had been voluntarily sought, but did not consider it profitable to remonstrate with Sekunder Jah on this issue, and his choice was reluctantly acquiesced in. In this case the Governor-General had to give the Nizam full freedom in the choice of his minister.

Monir-ul-Mulk and Chandulal

The result of the administrative scheme on Mir-Alam's death was to make Monir-ul-Mulk nominal minister and to give all real power to Chandulal. The dual administration lasted from 1809 to 1832 when Monir-ul-Mulk died. The nominal minister did not relish his position, and at once set to work to intrigue against Chandulal, and by the middle of 1810 succeeded in alienating the Nizam from him, mainly on the ground that Chandulal's friendship with the British Government implied disloyalty to Hyderabad.⁹ The British Government struck to its policy of supporting Chandulal. Without Chandulal, the British Government apprehended, the whole alliance would be ruined. And the right of interference was explicitly claimed on the special ground that the Governor-General's advice had been sought in regard to the successor of Mir Alam and that the Resident had become a party to the dual administration eventually adopted. But the letters, addressed by the Governor-General to the Nizam and Monir-ul-Mulk to the effect, were never delivered because the Resident succeeded in defeating locally the intrigue against Chandulal.

Chandulal continued, however, to need the support of the British Government. His administration was reckless and extravagant. There was public resentment against him; still the British Government lent its support to him in view of the violent temper of the Nizam and his almost insane antipathy to the

English. The Court of Directors fully endorsed the stand taken by the Governor-General in Council. This state of things continued for sometime, but in 1817 the Resident stated that if the British Government were to lose its control over Hyderabad administration, Chandulal would certainly be stripped of his authority, and would probably lose his life. In 1820, however, the Resident was authorised to supervise the internal administration of the State, and to assure Chandulal effective support in carrying out the necessary reforms. A band of European officers were appointed to look after proper implementation of the reforms scheme.

Chandulal badly needed support, chiefly because his rule was extravagant and oppressive. The Nizam was reported to hate him, but Charles Metcalfe doubted the veracity of the report except in so far as Chandulal was a Government protégé,¹⁰ though he himself had a low impression about Chandulal. When he was asked whether he would advise his removal, he could not, rather declined, to reply in the affirmative. He only suggested that the policy of supporting a minister rather than the Nizam should be abandoned. He also expressed the opinion that without demanding Chandulal's removal the Nizam should be told that his choice of a minister was quite free. The British Government at the same time withdrew its support from Chandulal. Metcalfe also inaugurated a system of administrative supervision, but his policy fell through on account of the death of Sekunder Jah in 1829.¹¹

Nasir-ud-Dowlah's regime was important for many reasons. From that time a very decided change in the views of the British Government as to its responsibility for the Nizam's choice of a minister was apparent and had been steadfastly maintained. The very first request made by the Nizam was that British interference in the affairs of Hyderabad should cease. Lord Bentinck, the

then Governor-General, at once agreed, stating that the reason for interference had been the character of Sekunder Jah, and that the British Government desired to leave Sekunder Jah's successor perfectly free to choose his own minister. The words of the Governor-General were very decisive. He wrote to the Resident, "It will, therefore, be your duty to take special care that the Nizam himself as well as his ministers and all with whom you have intercourse be made clearly to understand that it is the determination of the Governor-General to leave to His Highness the uncontrolled choice of his minister. With regard to those now in office he may either continue his favour to them, or remove them and substitute others at his pleasure, and in either case you are not to exercise the slightest interference now or hereafter".¹²

Chandulal

When Monir-ul-Mulk died in 1832, the Nizam abolished the office of *Dewan*. This step was taken unilaterally by the Nizam without any reference to the Resident who carefully abstained from any sort of interference. Chandulal was thus left as sole minister with the title of *Peshkar*. In the meantime the affairs of Hyderabad were heading to a crisis and Chandulal's share in the mismanagement of affairs was firmly established. He had a powerful influence over the Nizam. Metcalfe had already declared withdrawal of British support from him. The British Government still declined to demand his dismissal (1842). In 1843 the financial difficulties of Hyderabad became all the more pronounced and Chandulal was mainly responsible for this financial wreckage.¹³ The Nizam refused to aid him in the disaster or defend him. Chandulal thereupon resigned. The Nizam was ready to accept his resignation, but declared that it should be tendered through the Resident, who, however, advised that nothing should be said or done to hinder Chandulal's retirement. The Nizam accepted his resignation.

Interregnum

It was, however, expected that an efficient successor capable of reorganising the ruined finances of the state would be immediately appointed. But the Nizam belied the expectation and appointed nobody. The Resident repeatedly urged the Nizam to appoint a good minister and suggested the name of Suraj-ul-Mulk. Even at this stage the British Government was averse to send any peremptory remonstrance (1844). But in 1846 the picture of the general administration was worse than ever and Lord Hardinge warned the Nizam and asked him to lose no more time in appointing a *Dewan*. The Nizam quibbled that Chandulal had only been a *Peshkar*; but the Resident pressed for the appointment of a responsible minister and then the Nizam gave way. At first he thought of putting Shams-ul-Urma. The latter had already grown older and the Nizam planned to take advantage of his old age. But the Resident disapproved of the choice and in November 1846 Suraj-ul-Mulk was appointed.

Suraj-ul-Mulk's first Ministry

Suraj-ul-Mulk augured well and the Resident was anxious that he should be actively supported by the British Government. But Hardinge did not wholly endorse the view of the Resident. Hardinge held in 1846 that as the treaties stood, there could be no more than advice until an overall degeneration stalked the administration. Suraj-ul-Mulk soon became obnoxious to the Nizam on account of his passionate zeal for reforming every branch of administration. The Resident urged, in 1847, active interference. But the Governor-General demurred. In April 1844 the Nizam told the Resident that he wished to dismiss Suraj-ul-Mulk and obstructed the proceedings of the minister in every possible way. The Governor-General expressed deep regret at this announcement which did not seem to him warranted by the Nizam's choice of a minis-

ter. At that time the Nizam was plainly told that continued maladministration would lead to interference in the interest of order. Nevertheless, the Nizam dismissed Suraj-ul-Mulk at the end of 1848. After pointing out the imbecility of the selection, Lord Dalhousie remarked on that occasion: "The Governor-General in Council does not desire to dictate to His Highness the person whom he shall employ in his service as *Dewan*. His Highness the Nizam is an independent sovereign His Highness is free to choose for himself the man he will have to be his minister."

Amjad-ul-Mulk

In November 1848 the Nizam appointed Amjad-ul-Mulk to the office of *Dewan*. This appointment was made without consulting the Resident who described the minister as incompetent and an obscure non-entity. Dalhousie refused to disallow the nomination, though he expressed surprise at the Nizam's manifest disregard of the advice given by the Resident in the matter of appointment of Suraj-ul-Mulk. He also expressed his concern for appointing an incompetent successor like Amjad-ul-Mulk and disapproved of the choice of the Nizam. A fresh warning as to the results of his conduct was given to the Nizam. Amjad-ul-Mulk, being a non-entity, had no real power and was sacked within two months.

Shams-ul-Urma

In January 1849 the Nizam announced that he had appointed Shams-ul-Urma to the post of *Dewan*. On this occasion again, the Resident was not consulted and the selection was, in fact, opposed to the advice which he had given in 1846. Dalhousie offered no objection and reluctantly approved of the appointment, saying that the responsibility rested wholly with the Nizam. But it is curious that Shams-ul-Urma, though a pro-

tegé of the Nizam, begged for the support of the British Government. The Resident did not oblige him, but rather informed him that even his own aid and counsel could avail little if thwarted by the Nizam. Within six months, on July 31, 1849, the Nizam stated that Shams-ul-Umra had resigned.

Ram Baksh

In 1849 the Nizam informed the Resident that Ram Baksh had been appointed to do the work of minister as *Peshkar*. The British Government had no say in this appointment. As early as 1848 the Governor-General had expressed the view that Ram Baksh was wholly unsuitable for the post; still the Nizam's choice fell on him. In fact, Ram Baksh had never wielded any real power and by October 1850 he was in disgrace. In November 1850 the Resident reported that the Nizam had taken no steps to appoint a competent *Dewan* and in January 1851 the Governor-General conveyed his surprise and dissatisfaction at the dereliction of duties on the part of the Nizam. Thereupon, the Resident urged the Nizam to appoint a *Dewan* with full authority, but the Nizam refused to do so.

Ganesh Rao

In February 1851 the Nizam appointed Ganesh Rao, an obscure person and an obvious misfit, to the post of *Peshkar*. When the news of appointment was communicated to the Resident, the latter strongly remonstrated with the Nizam. The British Government held that the Nizam's nominee must be recognised, but the Governor-General could not approve of such an obviously bad selection. The Resident again urged the Nizam that the prevailing affairs in Hyderabad badly needed the appointment of a competent *Dewan* and the Nizam should give appointment only to a person of calibre, but the Governor-General declined to dictate to the Nizam.

Suraj-ul-Mulk's second Ministry

In June 1851 Suraj-ul-Mulk was appointed *Dewan* for the second time. This time the choice was in accordance with the wishes of the British Government though it was not directly prompted by it. Suraj-ul-Mulk had a short tenure of office. He died at the end of May 1853.

Sir Salar Jung

Sir Salar Jung was appointed *Dewan* in June 1853 with Raja Naraindar as his *Peshkar*. The Resident was not apparently consulted in the appointment. He was, however, not dissatisfied with it. Salar Jung was better (even as a youth) than Ganesh Rao; but the eldest son of Shams-ul-Umra would probably have been better still and the Resident had some liking for him. However, the British Government made no objection. The Nizam Nasir-ud-Dowlah died in May 1857, but this event did not interrupt Salar Jung's tenure of office. In February 1860 Salar Jung, whose influence on the Nizam had been for some time on the wane, resigned; but his resignation was not accepted by the Nizam. In May 1861 the Nizam dismissed Salar Jung, but reinstated him within a few days. On this occasion the Resident urged the Nizam to take no such steps as the dismissal of Salar Jung without consulting the Governor-General. The Nizam asserted his right by instantly dismissing his minister without any such preliminary. The Government of India expressed surprise and regret at His Highness's intention and was not prepared to give countenance to Salar Jung's dismissal. The Nizam was advised about the value of a good minister.

In January 1867 Salar Jung resigned the third time. His relations with the Nizam had been steadily deteriorating, the latter offering resistance in the execution of the *Dewan's* daily business. The dispute was apparently a

personal one. The Resident supported Salar Jung strongly but the Nizam refused to restore him to power till he had tendered a humble apology. The support given by the British Government on this occasion to Salar Jung was very marked, but was confined to remonstrance only.

Afzal-ud-Dowlah died in 1869 and was succeeded by his minor son. Here the Dewanship of Hyderabad came to an end for the time being and the administration of the Regency sanctioned by the Government of India began.

The question of Dewanship received fresh consideration, as already stated, in 1884 when the Nizam reached the age of 18. It has been seen that Kurshid Jah Amir-i-Kabir was not appointed to Dewanship and the revived office was offered to Nawab Mir Laik Ali, Salar Jung Bahadur. The candidature of the latter was strongly espoused by the British Government and undoubtedly, Nawab Salar Jung owed his appointment to the British Government. The questions may arise: Why was not Kurshid Jah Amir-i-Kabir selected? And why did the British Government interfere in the matter of selection? Various factors induced the Government of India to get itself involved in the question. The Governor-General, Lord Ripon, himself answered the questions.¹⁴ Kurshid Jah was not appointed because: (1) many were opposed to confer the Dewanship upon the chief of Shams-ul-Umra family; that family was at the head of a retrograde party which had always been opposed to Sir Salar Jung's reforms. Any man becoming *Dewan* from that family was likely to subvert his reforms scheme. (2) Again in point of personal fitness for the office of *Dewan*, he was considered by men well acquainted with Hyderabad to be unfit to take a leading part in the public affairs. But beyond these two considerations of family politics and personal character, there was another objection which seemed to the

Governor-General of great political significance. Kurshid Jah was the head of the Shams-ul-Umra family—the most powerful family in the Hyderabad State. "If to the power which they already possessed", Ripon observed, "we add all the authority and influence of the Dewanship, we shall run, as I cannot but think, a very serious risk of making them dangerously strong, of converting the Nizam into a *roi faineant* and of raising up a Mayor of the Palace who may someday get rid of his master by methods not unknown in Oriental Courts...". Nawab Salar Jung was, on the contrary, very young and inexperienced, and the Governor-General preferred to see an older and more experienced officer appointed to so important a post.¹⁵ But the Governor-General was aware of the difficulty of finding among the few persons to whom the Dewanship could be offered and one possessing all the requisite qualifications. In fact, the number of persons in the Hyderabad State, from among whom a *Dewan* could be chosen, was very limited.¹⁶ Hence age and lack of experience did not stand in the way of the selection of Salar Jung. There was one more consideration which tilted the balance in favour of Salar Jung. The British Government believed "that while a Resident can check or undo the hasty actions of a well-meaning but impulsive youth, he will be powerless to give a progressive tone to the whole policy of a *Dewan*, who has no comprehension of what progress in administration means, and who is personally one of the most obstinate and at the same time one of the most slippery men...".^{16a} Weighing all these considerations, the Governor-General recommended the candidature of Nawab Salar Jung to the post of Dewanship, and he believed that the young Salar Jung would be able to display the high qualities possessed by his distinguished father, and justify the confidence reposed in him by conducting the administration of the State with ability and success. The young Nizam,

too, preferred him against Kurshid Jah for whom he had a very strong dislike.

The British Government was genuinely interested in the welfare of the Hyderabad State, and the grave irregularities which the State was long beset with had been removed during His Highness's long minority under the supervision of the Resident. The revenue administration had just then been reviewed and settled, new railway extension had been effected and the security of life and property, which had practically disappeared, was again guaranteed.¹⁷ The British Government was desirous to perpetuate these beneficial measures and that very much depended upon the person holding the post of Dewanship. Kurshid Jah was ambitious and it was apprehended that "his narrow education and his want of practical training" might upset the whole progress of work done so far. Nawab Salar Jung was safe from that point of view and his force of character was counted very high. Nawab Salar Jung was ultimately selected. There is no denying the fact that he owed his position to the British Government, but it is indubitable that between the two he was the better selection.

From the foregoing discussion it may be concluded that the Nizam was at liberty to choose his own *Dewan*, but if he chose an obviously unfit or improper person the British Government claimed a right to advise him on the subject, and in the present instance, owing to the circumstances of his minority, the right became a duty, but the constitutional position

was that the responsibility for selection rested with the Nizam, and beyond advice the British Government had no right to go.

The keynote of the British policy in Hyderabad has been very appropriately described by Dr. Chaudhuri. He observed: "To maintain the alliance as well as to establish influence over Hyderabad, the Company thought it essential that the Nizam and his ministers should be pliant to the wishes of the Governor-General and the British Residents."¹⁸ This prompted the British to interfere in the succession of the Nizam and the appointment of ministers. In the succession of the former, the Company did not face any difficulty, but in the appointment of ministers troubles cropped up. He further observes: "It was the British policy in Hyderabad to make the Nizam a figurehead, entrusting the minister of the British choice with the responsibility of carrying on the administration".¹⁹ The successive Governors-General, with the exception of one or two, refused to accept any constitutional checks on their powers to interfere in the appointment of ministers. The trend of British interference came to an end in 1843 after Chandulal's resignation, but the policy received a new impetus since the appointment of Sir Salar Jung in 1853. In fact, "British interference in the appointment of ministers brought about chaos in the administration and sowed a feeling of estrangement between the Nizam and the Company. The system of entrusting the administration to ministers chosen or supported by the Resident, introduced a kind of dual government with a kind of divided and undefined responsibilities".²⁰

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4. N. G. Chaudhuri: British Relations with Hyderabad. P. 113.
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- 5a *Ibid.*, op. cit. P. 126.
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6. The third candidate, a non-entity, was Shahyar-ud-Dowlah (Chaudhuri, op. cit. P. 128)
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SIR JAMES THOMASON—THE ADVOCATE OF ENGINEERING EDUCATION IN INDIA

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Sir James Thomason's (Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, 1843-1853) administrative skill is reflected in the fact that he made systematic efforts for the first time to evolve and organize a regular and efficient machinery of education to be looked after by a regular Education Department. After going through the available primary and secondary documents of Thomason's period in the field of education, it can be established that he played the most prominent role in the sphere of engineering education not only in the North-Western Provinces, but in India as a whole. He gave the fullest possible help in promoting technical and engineering education in this country. The reason was the acute shortage of engineers and technicians, whose services were greatly needed in irrigation schemes and other public works which were being then undertaken in the North-Western Provinces. Thus in order to tide over this problem, Thomason resolved to train Indians as engineers and technicians and, therefore, drew a detailed project of engineering education to be implemented in the province. To start with, he sent three very capable Indian students of Agra College for training under the English engineers of the Ganga Canal, then engaged on the extensive head-works at Haridwar.¹ But as this process could not provide the number of skilled men and engineers required at that time, Thomason proposed the establishment of an engineering institution at Saharanpur, a place quite near Haridwar. The proposal fructified in January 1845 and a class

of Indian engineering students was started under the supervision of Lieutenant Baird Smith, Superintendent of the Eastern Jamuna Canal.² For the successful functioning of the Saharanpur School certain disbursements were sanctioned by Thomason.³ Not only this, further impetus was given to this school, if it could be called as such, by the establishment of the grade of Sub-Assistant Executive Engineers in 1845. The following rules constituting this class of officers were promulgated by the sanction of the Supreme Government on October 9, 1845 :

- I. A class of officers shall be appointed, to be denominated Sub-Assistant Executive Engineers.
- II. The salary of the appointment shall be Rs. 100 per mensem, with travelling allowance, when in the field, to the extent of three-tenths of the salary as fixed by the orders of Government, dated September 19th, 1843.
- III. The rules for joining stations and for leave of absence prescribed for Sub-Assistant Surgeons shall be held applicable to Sub-Assistant Executive Engineers.
- IV. All candidates for the appointments shall be required to prove, by an examination, that they possess the following qualifications :

A knowledge of Algebra, Geometry, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, Conic Section and Mechanics.

Acquaintance with the use of the Sextant, Theodolite, Levelling Instruments and other instruments commonly used in surveying, with a practical knowledge of Land Survey and Levelling.

Ability to draw maps and plans, including the construction of working plans from designs, models, or actual existing works.

Acquaintance with the method of keeping accounts in the Department of Public Works, and with the mode of preparing estimates.

- V. A committee will be formed once or often in a year for the purpose of examining candidates and giving them certificates of qualification. If it be found inconvenient for this Committee to assemble together, they will decide on questions to be answered in writing and will hold examinations at such place or places, and in such manner, as may be found convenient.
- VI. Candidates for these examinations are desired to submit their application to the Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces, in the General Department, but no application will be received which are not accompanied with the survey (including Map, the Field Book) of a tract of country, and with the plan, section, and estimate of a building, sufficient to show the competency of the candidates in these branches of Education. These must be accompanied with a certificate from one of the officers noted in the margin,^{4(a)} that the speci-

mens are, to the best of his belief, the actual performances of the candidates and that all candidates have also studied and made progress in the several branches of science noted above. The above-mentioned officers have been requested to grant such certificates, when they think they merited and to forward the application under their official cover.¹

The number of Sub-Assistant Executive Engineers was at first limited to 4 and was subsequently (December 22, 1846) increased to 20.⁵ But the Saharanpur scheme too did not succeed in providing the required number of trained men in time. As a result, Thomason brought out another proposal of starting an Engineering College to train Indians and Europeans as engineers, overseers and subordinates.⁶ Thomason's proposal received the hearty approval of the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, in 1847, as he too was interested in carrying on the vigorous prosecution of the Ganga Canal which required a great number of trained hands for the project.⁷ Roorkee, which was simply a village at that time, was selected as the suitable site for the opening of the proposed Engineering College.⁸ The reason and circumstances which caused the selection of this spot as the site of the Engineering College have thus been enumerated by Thomason in one of his letters to the Governor-General, dated September 23, 1847 :

"The establishment now forming at Roorkee near the Solani aqueduct on the Ganges Canal affords peculiar facilities for instructing Civil Engineers. There are large workshops and extensive and most important structures in course of formation. Above all, a number of scientific and experimental Engineer officers are constantly assembled on the spot or occasionally resorting thither.

"These officers, however, all have their

appropriate and engrossing duties to perform, and cannot give time for that careful and systematic instruction which is necessary to the formation of an expert civil engineer.

"On these accounts the Lieutenant-Governor would propose the establishment at Roorkee of an Institution for the education of Civil Engineers which should be immediately under the local Government in the Education Department."⁹

Thus after the selection and approval of the site, Rs. 12,000 in monthly instalments of Rs. 1,000 were also earmarked for a building of the Engineering College.¹⁰ Lieutenant R. Maclagan of the Royal Bengal Engineers was appointed the first Principal of the Roorkee Engineering College.¹¹ The prospectus of the college was also issued in a Gazette Order on November 25, 1847.¹² In the beginning the teaching work was started under tents from January 1, 1848, but the college building was soon ready and the institution shifted to it.¹³ There were in the beginning only 16 seats in the college which soon after were raised to 24.¹⁴ Each student was given free accommodation and a monthly stipend of Rs. 5.¹⁵ The most important thing about this institution was that the medium of instruction was vernacular language, i.e. Hindi or Urdu.¹⁶ As soon as the students completed their courses, they were absorbed in the Government projects as Assistant Engineers, Overseers, Surveyors and Draftsmen according to their ability.¹⁷ For the large-scale development of the College, Thomason proposed certain important measures to be taken under his regime. Some of them were :

"First — The admission of officers both of the Royal and East India Company's Armies to study at Roorkee College.

"Secondly — The improvement and superintendence of the village schools in a

circle of 40 or 50 miles round Roorkee.

"Thirdly — The establishment in connection with the College of a Depot of Mathematical and Scientific Instruments, and of a workshop for their manufacture and repair.

"Fourthly — The formation of a Museum of Economic Geology.

"Fifthly — The erection of an Observatory for Instruction.

"Sixthly — The maintenance of a Metal and Stone Printing Press with a Book-binder's Establishment, and all that is necessary for the publication of scientific works, with appropriate drawings and illustrations.

"Seventhly — The enlargement of the College building and Establishment to meet all these purposes."¹⁸

The implementation of all these measures was started from 1851.¹⁹ First of all, a new class was started for the Commissioned Officers of the Army. There were certain rules and conditions for their admission. They were :

"European Commissioned Officers of the Army under the rank of a field-officer will be permitted to study at the Civil Engineering College at Roorkee on the following terms :

1. The candidates for admission must be qualified, by acquaintance with Military duties and by having passed the examination in the vernacular languages, to have charge of a Company.
2. "His application is to be addressed through his Commanding Officer to the Principal of the College who after having satisfied himself that the

candidate is likely to profit by the course of study, will forward the application for the approval of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

3. "Admissions to the College will take place from the commencement of March to the end of June. Applications should be forwarded so as to permit the candidates, joining not later than June 30th, after leave formerly granted in General Orders.

4. "The duration of the first permission to study at the College, will be till November 1st of the same year, but if the progress of the student is satisfactory, and his conduct otherwise exemplary, the Principal will be at liberty to forward his application to Head Quarters for permission to remain another year at the College. No student will be allowed to remain longer than the November year after his first admission unless on special sanction granted under peculiar circumstances.

5. "The Principal of the College may at any time recommend His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that an officer be remanded to his Regiment.

6. "Officers studying at Roorkee under these rules will be required to pay Rs. 10 a month to the College library fund.

7. "Officers who obtain permission, to study at Roorkee College will be considered "Absent on duty", and will be so reported in the Regimental Returns."²⁰

The College also secured its own printing press, with a book-binders establishment and all that was necessary for the publication of

scientific works with the appropriate drawings and illustrations.²¹

Apart from this, a Geological Museum, a good Library and a Depot for the sale of mathematical instruments were also set up in the College.²² The Geological Museum had great importance for the Civil Engineering students, where they were shown the specimens of building material from all parts of the country.²³ For further development of this branch, Thomason had proposed to appoint an expert from England to report on the methods of enriching the Department of Economic Geology. But this proposal could not be put into effect during his regime.²⁴ Similarly, he also wanted to develop the Mathematics Department of the Roorkee College and for that purpose he had demanded one additional post of Professor in that branch which was approved and created in 1851.²⁵

In the field of invention and manufacture of cheap substitutes for expensive instruments in the College Workshop, Thomason had appointed Lieutenant A. Allen, the 55th N.O. Engineer of the Ganga Canal Workshop, whose contribution was quite considerable.²⁶ In one of his official despatches, Thomason observed that Lieutenant Allen "has been able to repair in a superior style instruments which had been accidentally injured, and he has constructed at a very trifling cost many ingenious substitutes for the more costly instruments."²⁷

Thus the Roorkee Engineering College which was placed on a permanent footing in 1849 got the sanction of the Supreme Government for its enlargement and improvement in 1853 as was proposed in the original plan.²⁸ The actual outlay on College buildings was Rs. 35,277 and on establishment Rs. 24,108 per annum.²⁹ A further proposal of extension at a cost of Rs. 1,20,040 for building, furniture and fittings with annual expenses of Rs. 89,898 was made and also sanctioned in

1853.³⁰ On Thomason's death, the founder's name was perpetuated by renaming the institution as Thomason College of Civil Engineering. Today this College has been given the status of a University and is known as the University of Roorkee. Thus the origin of the great institution is intimately connected with the materialization of the Ganga Canal project and undoubtedly owes its creation to the farsightedness and perseverance of Thomason. It speaks volumes for the ingenuity and resourcefulness of Thomason who could perceive the idea of creating an Engineering College out of the materials assembled for the construction of an irrigational plan. It 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.

APPENDIX A

PRINCIPAL W. MACLAGN'S (THE FOUNDER PRINCIPAL) REPORT OF THE CIVIL ENGINEERING COLLEGE, ROORKEE :

For the Ganges Canal, the Grand Trunk Road and other public works, trained men, Europeans and Natives, were wanted. As a small beginning, Mr. Thomason sent three very capable and successful Native students of the Agra College to be employed under the English engineers of the Ganges Canal, then engaged on the extensive head-works at Haridwar. But as this plan could not within any reasonable time supply the men required, he proposed the establishment of an Engineering College, to train English and Native engineers and subordinates. The proposal received the hearty approval of the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge. The prospectus was issued in a gazette order dated 25th November, 1847. The work of instruction commenced (in tents in the first instance) on the 1st January, 1848, and six months later the college opened in its own buildings. As soon as the students could be carried through the re-

quired courses of instruction, it began to supply assistant engineers, overseers, sub-overseers, surveyors and draftsmen, for the Public Works Department.

Mr. Thomason wished to make the College the means of aiding and stimulating the work of the village schools. The Principal was made also a Visitor of schools for three adjoining districts, with the view of helping the masters to understand the object of the college, and to prepare boys for admission to it. The most numerous demands were for Native students of this class, to be surveyors and overseers.

The idea of the college rose from the Ganges Canal. To a man like Thomason, who could bring to the examination of engineering projects a large amount of accurate technical knowledge, such an undertaking could not fail to be of the highest interest. It was designed to convey from the Ganges, and to spread abroad other thirsty lands, a supply of water enough for an area of 2,500 square miles, a splendid provision against uncertain seasons, which it might well delight him to think of. He knew what irrigation canals could do, and he could look forward with confidence to the future of this great work. Within his own province there were canals from the Jumna, on both sides of the river, made by the Muhammadan predecessors of the English Rulers of India. And very precious they were, with all their imperfections.

The greatest of the works on the Ganges Canal was the aqueduct to carry the great canal stream across the white sandy channel of the Solani river, — a channel at one time absolutely dry, at another carrying an impetuous mountain torrent. This aqueduct is near the village of Rurki, twenty miles from the head of the canal at Hardwar. This place was made the headquarters of the canal. Here the central workshops and foundry were set up. And here Mr. Thomason decided also to plant

his Engineering College. The works in progress on the canal, the preparation of materials on a very large scale, and the workshop operations, would furnish useful practical lesson to the College students for years, not ceasing with completion of the works.

After three years, it was resolved to enlarge the college, to form a new class for commissioned officers of the army (in accordance with the suggestion of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Napier), to add a printing press, also a geological museum, a professional library, and a depot of surveying and mathematical instruments, — and for these purposes to erect new buildings.

Mr. Thomason wrote a detailed minute, dated October 3, 1851, explanatory of the past working of the college, and of his proposals for its extension. At the beginning of his printed copy he wrote : "This pamphlet was compiled by myself, and much of the information it contains was drawn from private sources. The completion of the plan which is here sketched out may perhaps devolve upon others, and I am desirous that some record remain of the data on which I find my conclusions. In this interleaved copy will be found references to the private notes and other sources from which the materials were drawn." The occasion came for this memorandum to serve its purpose, and his plans for the college were carried out in every particular."

APPENDIX B

PROSPECTUS OF THE ENGINEERING COLLEGE AT ROORKEE :

- (1st) The College is designed to give theoretical and practical instruction in civil engineering to Europeans and Natives, with a view to their employment on the public works of the country, according to their several

qualifications and requirements of the service.

- (2nd) The Director of the Ganges Canal will be ex-officio visitor of the College.

- (3rd) There will be three departments in the College, in each of which will be a certain number of stipendiary students, for whom quarters will be provided.

- (4th) First Department — Candidates for the appointment of Sub-Assistant Civil Engineer, as constituted by the Order of Government dated October 9th, 1845.

- (5th) Persons admitted into this Department must be under the age of 22. They must have previously acquired an ability to read and write with ease and accuracy in the English language, and a knowledge of Geometry, Algebra, Mensuration, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, Conic Sections and Mechanics.

- (6th) The number of stipendiary students in this Department is restricted to eight, who will be admitted only with the sanction of the Government.

- (7th) Scholars from any Government Colleges, if properly qualified, may be transferred to this department, receiving travelling allowance to Roorkee at the established rate. They will there receive, besides free quarters, an increase in expences, or such increase as will make up their stipend to the amount of Rs. 40 per mensem. Properly qualified persons, not attached to any Government College, will receive monthly allowances of Rs. 40 in addition to free quarters.

(8th) Candidates for these stipends are desired to submit their application to the Principal of the Roorkee College, accompanied with certificates of their proficiency in the above-named subjects and of character from some one of the officers noted in the margin.* The Principal having satisfied himself of their proficiency in such manner as he may find to be best will submit his recommendation to the Secretary to the Government, North-Western Provinces.

(9th) Second Department—European Non-Commissioned Officers and soldiers. They will be required, previous to the admission, to prove by examination conducted in such manner as the Principal may find best, their proficiency in reading, writing and Arithmetic, Elementary Geometry, Mensuration and simple plane drawing. A Certificate of character will also be required from the Commanding or staff officer of the Regiment, troop or Company to which they belong.

(10th) Their instruction at the College will be regulated with a view to their employment as overseers in the Department of Public Works, to which they will, when qualified, be transferred, to meet the demands of the service.

(11th) Their travelling charges to Roorkee will be paid. They will remain at the College on probation for six months, during which time they will receive, besides free quarters and their Regimental pay, the same advantage as with their Corps, or an equivalent in money. If approved at the end of this period, they will then receive the pay of an Assistant Overseer, and continue under instruction at the College, or be drafted off for the public ser-

vice, as may be found advisable. During the time they remain at Roorkee, they will be under the command of the officer who fills the post of Principal of the College.

(12th) Their number is not at present to exceed ten.

(13th) Third Department—Native youths desirous of instruction in surveying, levelling and plan drawing. A fair acquaintance with Arithmetic in the Native form, and an ability to read and write Oordoo in the Persian character, will be the qualifications required for admission to this Department.

(14th) The number of stipendiary students in this Department will be limited to sixteen, who will receive a monthly allowance of Rs. 5 for maintenance, besides free quarters.

(15th) Properly qualified candidates who are willing to come to Roorkee and support themselves there at their own cost, will be admitted into all the Departments so far as means may be available for their instruction. Should the number of such applicants be numerous, moderate fees will be hereafter demanded for admission to the benefits of the Institution. Instruction will for the present be gratuitous, and no payments will be demanded without previous notice of one year.

(16th) Students who have conducted themselves to the satisfaction of the Principal will, on leaving the College, be furnished with a certificate of their character and qualification.

(17th) Annual examination will be held

when all the students attached to the College will be classed according to their proficiency. Prizes for Books, Mathematical Instruments, &c. will be given to the most deserving students.

The Establishment of the College was fixed on the following scale:—

1 Principal staff salary	600	0	0
Do, House Rent	50	0	0
1 Head Master, salary	300	0	0
Do, House Rent	50	0	0
1 Architectural Drawing Master salary	200	0	0
1 1st Native Teacher	120	0	0
1 2nd „ „	50	0	0
	1370	0	0

For European Barracks

1 Khidmutgar,.....@ 6,....	6	0	0
2 Cooks,.....@ 6,....	12	0	0
2 Dhobees,.....@ 6,....	12	0	0
3 Bheestees,.....@ 5,....	15	0	0
2 Sweepers,.....@ 4,....	8	0	0
1 Chokeedar,.....@ 5,....	5	0	0
	58	0	0

Scholar's stipends.

8 @ 40 Rs. per mensem	320	0	0
16 @ 5 Rs. per mensem	80	0	0
	400	0	0

General Establishment.

2 Chuprassees,....			
@ 5 Rs. per mensem	10	0	0
3 Tindals (For surveying parties)			
@ 5 Rs. per mensem	15	0	0
18 Khalasees, for do,....			
@ 4 Rs. per mensem	72	0	0
1 Bearer,.. @ 5 „ „	5	0	0
1 Chokeedar,.. @ 5 „ „	5	0	0
1 Sweeper,.. @ 4 „ „	4	0	0
	111	0	0

APPENDIX C

ACCOUNT OF EXPENSES INCURRED IN THE ROORKEE COLLEGE BUILDING UP TO JULY 1850:

On account of expense incurred in the construction of the College building	20,952	15	8
Principal's and Head Master's Bungalows and out-houses	10,492	8	10
Expenditure on account of furniture for the College	1,614	10	9
Ditto on account of pucca well	579	7	1
Ditto cleaning, building sides &c.	677	13	5
Ditto Constructing College Road and two-arched drain bridges	553	1	1
Ditto on account of Sundry repairs from completion of work to October 31st, 1849	214	11	6
On account of expense in digging wells in Principal's and Head Master's compound	191	14	1
	35,277	2	5

In this situation to protect the interests of the original producers the government urged the zamindars to grant 'pattas' to the ryots. But the recorded materials are silent on the point whether the zamindars warmly responded to the government order. The increasing pressure of population, withering away of domestic industries owing to lack of adequate capital-investment after 1833 and non-availability of the wide market-facilities, and absence of tillage rights, whether of property or of occupancy, ultimately led to the inevitable consequence, i.e., the pauperisation of the original producers and their eventual ejection from their land-holdings. It has been contended by scholars that only by making good the wage-goods gap through a quick expansion in the output of wage-goods in the shape of daily necessities of the labourers, it is possible to raise the employment potential and thus to initiate an upward cumulative process which would avert the pernicious tendency of pauperisation.⁵ As this was not possible to accomplish at that period either by the Company's government or by the already hard-pressed Indian entrepreneurial class in the production-sector since the period of the Muslim rule, the only alternative solution to the impending socio-economic problems was found in the large-scale emigration of the labour-class.

The south-western part of the Bengal Presidency can be divided into three natural divisions according to the nature of the soil and its inhabitants. In the first half of the 19th century the transplantation of population took place from one region to another in a south-western direction and this was from the hilly to the midland plains and from these to the coastal region. Changes in the pattern of population-distribution in the region were the product of two forces: (a) migratory movements; and (b) variations in the rate of natural increase by birth and by lessening of death-rates. In the absence of adequate statistical data, to measure variation in the rate

of natural increase by birth and lessening of death-rates, studies in demographic changes demand an analysis of contributory factors helping population growth in this region covering three modern districts of Midnapur, Bankura and Balasore. It is a known fact that the major impact of the 19th century industrial investments on rates of population-growth probably came through the relative reduction in the mortality-rates. As the Company's government since 1833 shifted its endeavour from trading to land-settlements in order to exploit more effectively their new interests in plantations and mines, they followed policies which tended to reduce death rates.⁶ By maintaining internal law and order the Company brought down the number of murder cases. The health considerations of the British officials made them more interested in public health. In protecting themselves from malaria and other tropical diseases they reduced the incidence of these diseases among the peasantry as well. Rapid mobilisation of troops and merchandise demanded improved means of communication, and large-scale irrigation demanded new construction of embankments in the salt-tracts and midland jungle mahals. Under the Military Board construction of lengthy highways and other intensive public works were undertaken. The improved transport lessened the impact of occasional droughts and famines, though revenue records testify that in Orissa drought and famines frequently occurred.⁷ It may be guessed that there was an initial rise in the size of the population. The establishment of schools, new health measures and amenities of life in towns might have an indirect effect on lessening the mortality rates. But in the south-western part of the Bengal Presidency migration of population for economic considerations had a major role in the growth of population and in the changes of population-distribution in different localities. A study of the demographic changes would make it clear that the onward march of the population took place, as it has been maintained

earlier, from the northern hilly region to the midland plains, and from there to the coastal tracts. But inspite of these movements no concentration of population took place in the coastal region of Midnapur and Balasore.⁸ This was only because of more death hazards in the unhealthy climate of the area, on account of lack of drainage system and water-logging embankments, especially in the rainy season, and resultant epidemics of malaria and other tropical diseases,⁹ and indirectly due to lack of alternative occupations in the coastal-belt with the recession of sea-water and abandonment of the age-old sea-ports of Tamralipti, Pipli and Balasore.

This population movement was related to the search for new lands because land hunger is considered to be the main cause for rapid demographic changes. But there was no necessary demand for fertile land or for preparing the land to be fertile. It was in a sense the expansion of a new frontier. It has been contended by Achille Loria, an Italian political-economist, that free unoccupied land was the key to a nation's economic growth and that "all economic phenomena and, even in a general way, all social evolutions are due to one social cause, namely, agricultural conditions as historically determined by the varying degrees of density of population". He argues that "as long as free lands exist that can be exploited by human labour, capitalist mode of production is out of the question, as profit and human servitude are only the corollaries of lack of unoccupied free land".¹⁰ To Frederick Jackson Turner, an American historian, "the ever-expanding frontier of a nation stimulated social mobility, served as a safety-valve for surplus labour and fostered democracy".¹¹ But it would be an over-simplified conclusion to state that in the south-western part of the Bengal Presidency after the conquests of Orissa and the neighbouring territories since 1803, the onward march of the population occasioned opening up of a geographic frontier, and that it led them to

give up age-old cultural baggages. It is also not tenable that this south-western part of the Bengal Presidency was the migrating zone which widened the immigrant's mental horizon, and where all surplus capital found avenues for investment and increased out-turn.

It has been argued that the discovery of new resources in the special form of opening up of a geographic frontier towards Orissa had a particularly stimulating effect on private investment. The existence of a new area into which labour and capital are being moved implies the existence of an old area from where labour and capital came, and the opening up of a frontier involves movement of labour and capital. The year 1803 witnessed the opening up of a new horizon for investment of capital and mobility of labour towards the coastal territories of the south-western part of Bengal, including the three districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri, which may be considered to be a geographic-frontier. Increasing returns to labour and capital are a necessary but not a sufficient condition for an area to be a geographic frontier. Arguing from this point of view, the south-western territories of Bengal may be regarded as a geographic-frontier. On the other hand, the south-western part of Bengal was not a frontier in the sense in which it was applied to the 'wild west,' a dynamic concept in American history, because the new inhabitants were more or less acquainted with the social and cultural institutions of Orissa with which they had wider affiliations through generations.¹¹

In the absence of any accurate statistical data a systematic study of the demographic changes in the south-western region in relation to those of the Bengal Presidency as a whole before 1872 is a difficult task which is made more hazardous owing to conflicting data mentioned in different printed official sources. Therefore, a picture of changes in the population-distribution of the region can

be drawn only by three methods : (a) collection of statistical accounts from the records of contemporary officials; (b) a comparison of these accounts with the estimates arrived after 1872; and (c) by studying variations in the density of population in different regions for a hundred years and finding out historical reasons for those variations.

If it is accepted that changes in the distribution of population of the region were linked with the process of migration for economic reasons, the figures collected would show a steady decline in the size of the population while the area in square miles remained more or less unaltered. In the absence of a proper study of variations in the density of population in different localities in different years, only estimate-figures of the total size of the population would lead one to wrong conclusions. This population movement was related with finding out new lands, but, as noted earlier, not necessarily there was a steady demand for fertile lands. It was the expansion of a new frontier, as it has been contended by scholars, quickened by the transfer of power from the hands of the Muslims and the Marathas to that of the Company in 1760. Expansion of a new frontier does not necessarily mean enhancement of the total size of the area, notably of the district of Midnapur, which would be evident from the following table.¹²

TABLE NO. 1

Year	Area in Sq. miles
1760	6,102
1849	5,040
1854	5,031
1872	5,082
1901	5,186
1951	5,258
1961	5,253.4

From the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a steady decline in the size of the population, which was stopped and ultimately reversed in the second half of the century.¹³

TABLE NO. 2

Year	Total size of the population	
	Midnapur	Balasore
1802	15,00,000	"
1813-14	14,44,487	"
1837	13,60,699	463,750 (after the cyclones)
1852	15,76,835	651,000
1866	11,99,600	732,000 (before famine)
1872	25,40,963	770,232
1901	27,89,114	1,071,197 (1,140,102 according to the District Census Handbook, 1961)
	+12,89,114	+507,447

The Census Report of 1881 estimates the population of undivided Bengal at 69,536,861 whereas in 1872 the size of the population was estimated at 62,705,718. There was, therefore, an addition of 68,31,143 in the whole of Bengal, while within a century there was only an increase of 12,89,114 in the south-western region in the district of Midnapur and 507,447 in the district of Balasore. A study of the size of the adjoining areas and of the population would make it clear that the concentration of population tended to be more in the south-western regions. But unfortunately the figures about the size of the area and the population differed to a great extent from the table No. 1 owing to differences in the official sources.¹⁴

TABLE NO. 3

District	Size of the area in Sq. miles	Population in 1822
Jungle mahals	6,990	13,94,740
Midnapur	8,260	19,14,060
Cuttack	9,040	19,84,620
Balasore (A.D. 1901)	2,085 (D.G. p. 7)	4,72,000
	2,507 (C.R. 1961)	

An idea of the density of population can be made from various sources which would clarify the point for concentration of population towards a south-western direction in the 19th century.

TABLE NO. 4

District	1813-1822	1871	1901
Midnapur	602	500	531
Bankura*	—	391	422
Cuttack of Orissa	144/135	327	524
Balasore (D.G. p. 7)	231	373	514

* In 1854-55 Bankura had 4,38,495 Sq. Miles but it had now 2,653 Sq. miles according to the Census Handbook, 1961.

In 1871-Census the total population in the district of Midnapur was estimated at 25,40,963, with the average pressure of population on the soil being 500 persons per sq. mile. In Bankura the average pressure of population on the soil being 391 per sq. mile, with a total population of 5,26,772. The most densely populated parts of the Midnapur district were the police circles bordering upon Hughly district, viz., Chandrakona, Ghatal, Daspur, Panchkura and Tamluk, in each of which the total density of population was over 850 to the sq. mile. From these border thanas, a spur of densely populated country ran south-west almost as far as Danton fiscal division bordering on Balasore and embracing the police-circles of Debra, Sabang and Pataspur. The north-western half of the district, which included the Jungle tracts, was the most sparsely populated, the average

varying from 250 to 300 persons per sq. mile, but in the centre of the district the average density of population rose from 450 to 500, whereas Balasore had only 379 persons according to the author of the District Gazetteer, Balasore, but 327 according to the author of the District Census Handbook, 1961. This idea may be formed from the following table collected from the 1871 Census Reports.¹⁵

TABLE NO. 5

Midnapur	500
Bankura	391
N. West Midnapur	250/300
Balasore	327/374
S. W. Midnapur	850

Concentration of population in the adjoining south-western region was more marked in the percentage of variations if a comparison can be made between the population statistics of 1871-81 with that of 1881-91. The following table is illustrative of the concentration of population in Midnapur and Hughly and not in the district of Bankura. This table comparing with the table No. 3 would make the point clear that the South-West of Midnapur had a steady growth of population in the pre-Census period.¹⁶

TABLE NO. 6

Area	1872-81	1881-91
Burdwan	— 6.2	— 0.1
Bankura	+ 7.55	+ 2.7
Midnapur	— 1.07	+ 5.3
Hughly	— 12.42	+ 6.0

From a study of the totality of population the statistical estimate of the density of population within this decade may be formed from the conflicting statistical data supplied by the official sources.

TABLE NO. 7

Area	1871	1901
Sadar	500	450
Debra		513
Contai		662
Tamluk		779
Ghatal	850	882
Jhargram	250/300	304
Bankura	391	422
Balasore	327/374	455/514

This growth of population in a systematic way was occasioned to a great extent by the large-scale transplantation of population from the north and north-eastern forest tracts and also by variations in the rate of natural increase by birth and lowering of death-rates. The principles that the bulk of migration moves only a short distance and the emergence of industrial towns absorbs population by drawing most heavily on its immediate hinterland are applicable in the case of the south-west Bengal. But it would be an oversimplification if it is maintained that this southern part of Midnapur was "the migrating zone which widened the immigrants' mental horizon, where all surplus capital found avenue for investment and increased out-turn." But the discovery of new resources in the expansion of cultivable lands by freezing the 'Jalpaye' lands had a stimulating effect on private investment in the 19th century.

In the first decades of the 19th century the population movement, a normal feature of this region, found new acceleration owing to : (1) increased demand for settlement in newly acquired uncultivable marshy-lands; (2) relative role of produce-rent and money-rent and increased demand for the latter as the mode

of payment to the Zamindary tahsildars; (3) increased governmental responsibility for undertaking public-works under the Military and Revenue Boards in the form of irrigation embankments and other construction-works; and (4) an outlet for escape on the part of the original producers from being pauperised after their non-revenue-paying lands were resumed and settled to peasantry with stock¹⁷ and who were mostly 'paikast ryots'.

A study of the variations in the population growth of these areas would testify that while Tamluk and Midnapur had a steady progress of development, Chandrakona had a steady decline, a phenomenon which can only be explained by the economic degeneration of the region owing to the decline in the marketability and consequent fall in the production of village-made commodities and increased death-hazards due to spread of epidemic and other tropical diseases arising out of the water-logging embankments and other climatic factors.

TABLE NO. 8

	Chandrakona (1814)	Tamluk	Midnapur
1869	18,145	4,755	27,676
1872	21,311	5,849	31,491
1961	7,383	17,986	59,532

The sensitivity of internal migration for economic reasons can be inferred from the fact that urban population-growth tends to be more rapid in prosperity than in depression. The 'pull' of the urban employment opportunities is probably a more important cause of year to year variations in the rate of city-ward migration than is the 'push' of rural population, a pressure arising out of subdivision and fragmentation of cultivable lands and consequent decadence of village economy. The variations in the density of population both in the urban as well as in rural sectors may be explained in the follow-

ing table which would show that the migration of population was only from the northern to the south-eastern direction. It was also a move from the agrarian economy towards the stunted growth of industrial economy of Midnapur and the towns near Calcutta.

TABLE NO. 9

Years	Midnapur	Rural	Urban	Bankura	Growth rate taking 100 of the figure of 1901 in Bengal
1901	531	520	1,376	422	100
1911	537	524	1,560	430	101/100

From the above study several conclusions may be drawn to show the impact of the demographic changes in the economy of the south-western part of the Bengal Presidency. Within a century since 1760, inspite of the best endeavours of the Company's officials, village handicrafts dwindled away gradually. No doubt, the total size of the lands brought under cultivation increased, but in the salt-producing areas manufacture and trade in salt came to a sudden halt in the 60's of the 19th century. The emergence of commercialisation of certain types of agriculture and introduction of capitalist mode of production in different towns in the midland plains accelerated the rise in prices of daily necessities of life.¹⁸ This economic growth in the 30's of the nineteenth century in the agrarian economy had, paradoxically enough, indirectly accelerated the process of sudden rise in population by birth and immigration from the northern hilly regions of the Jungle mahals to the south-western coastal areas.

A new picture emerged, however, after the 40's of the 19th century. The population movement which found its way so long towards the south-western Bengal Presidency, i.e., towards Orissa, came to a halt. On the

contrary, the influx of population from outside and the migration of the intelligentsia to Calcutta and other urban centres led to the beginning of a new era of cultural regeneration. A sizable population thrown out of the agrarian economy but subsisting mainly on it multiplied the size of the towns. The pleaders, Zamindary amlas, village headmen and government officials swelled the ranks of the urban population and shaped the cultural 'Renaissance' in eastern India. They learnt European culture and began to adopt European ways of life. The first reaction to the intrusion of an alien culture within the framework of the existing agrarian economy was resistance, which found expression through sporadic agrarian revolts in the countryside since 1757.¹⁹ But in the urban sector this cultural impact on the 'Baboo' society was met with collaboration.

Within the first three decades of the nineteenth century the Company gradually ceased to be a commercial body. The administrative policy of strict economy in the government expenditure adopted by the Company's higher authorities in that period accelerated the process of 'Indianisation' of the administrative machinery of the lower level, and the principle of 'laissez faire' which was followed by the government in England since 1833 prompted the Indian intelligentsia to co-operate increasingly with the British merchant-class, civil servants and intellectuals in every sphere of human endeavour.

But rapid economic decline in the countryside mainly due to gradual withdrawal of the Company's investments together with trade depression in the urban sector after the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1833 produced a set-back to the economic prosperity of the middle-class moving from the villages. Its effect was also felt in their mental horizon. The first two decades of the 19th century witnessed an upsurge amongst the

students receiving new secular learning. This upsurge wanted an escape from the bondage of Hindu ritualism and obscurantism by conversion to Christianity. There was another large-section of the student community who, without going to that extent, rejected their own heritage and looked wistfully to the Utopia across the seas which they understood only partially and to which they could never belong. In between these two cross-sections of the ideological conflicts the moderate section

of the middle-class intelligentsia responded to the situation by identifying themselves mentally with the European civilian orientalisists in their reconstructed views of Hinduism and past glory of India which they romanticised as apotheosis.²⁰ Intellectuals like Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Mrityunjay Tarkalankar represented this stream of people, who in the twenties of the 19th century migrated to Calcutta from the south-western part of the Bengal Presidency.

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14. Great Britain: House of Commons, Appendices to the Third Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons and the Minutes of Evidence on the affairs of the East India Company, 17th Feb., to 6th Oct., 1831. In 1901 the total size of the area was given as 2,085 and in 1831 and 1832 more than 22,000 persons are said to have perished in the cyclones and the population was estimated at 450,000 persons. So the figure of 472,000 of persons are calculated at 1822 which was the first rough official estimate given by L.S.S. O'Malley, the author of District Gazetteer of Balasore.
15. Census Report, 1871 and old District Gazetteer, Balasore, Vol. 7, pp. 43-44.
16. Report on Bengal Census, Vol. 2, Table No. 2, p. 14 and Census Report of 1891, Vol. 3, pp. 46-47.
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18. It is a simple law of economics that rise in prices and in the rate of demands stimulate investment of capital and employment of labour which has an indirect stimulating effect on the demographic changes arising out of rapid mobilisation of labour. Moreover, investment and increased out-turn has a social effect in that increased employment leads to relative prosperity which again stimulates early marriages and early child-births. The rate of child-births and deaths diminishes as the standard of living reaches a relatively higher stage with rapid economic growth which was absent in the then economy of the south-west Bengal Presidency.
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BOOK REVIEWS

Index to the Foreign and Political Department Records, Vol. II, 1781-83, Published by the National Archives of India 1968, Price : Rs. 28.00.

It was on the recommendation of the Indian Historical Records Commission in 1923 that the Government of India undertook the task of indexing pre-1859 records at the Imperial Record Department, renamed the National Archives of India after independence. Over a period of about half a century, four volumes of exhaustive indexes came out in print. Two of them pertain to Foreign and Political Department records, of which the present volume is the second, and acknowledgedly the last — at least for the time being. There is hardly any possibility of further volumes coming out in the near future as, on the recommendation of the Committee on Archival Legislation about a decade ago, the 'elaborate and expensive process of indexing' was replaced by 'comparatively cheap and less elaborate task of descriptive listing'.

Although the volume covers only three years from 1781 to 1783, the material included in it is 'fairly voluminous'. The reason is not far to seek. The period under review is highly important in the early history of British expansion in India. The Company's encounters with the Indian States, especially the Marathas and Mysore, and their diplomatic and military entanglements with the European powers in their varying patterns cover the major portion of the present volume. An interesting sidelight is thrown on some economic aspects of this period, such as the exploration of Andaman and Nicobar islands with the object of building up suitable harbours.

Apart from the main Index, the volume includes a Preface, a modest Introduction, a list of Abbreviations and Contractions, a Glossary and a short Bibliography. Transliteration of Indian place names has been done mainly with the help of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* and Provincial Gazetteers. Where this was not possible, the *Century Atlas* was followed, while for 'oriental words', Wilson's *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* served as the model. There are a number of non-English, unfamiliar and even obsolete terms in the documents recorded, and these have been explained in the glossary appended to the main index. The bibliography includes only those works which were consulted by the archivists for the purpose of reconciliation of old geographical names with their modern counterparts, identification of names of civil and military officers, and fixation of chronology. On the whole, a thankless task has been well performed, and the staff of the Indexing Branch of the New Delhi Archives deserve to be congratulated on that score.

D. K. GHOSE

Tarabaikaleen Kagadpatre (Historical Correspondence for the period of Tarabai), Vol. I, published by the Shivaji Vidyapeeth Aitihāsik Granthmala, Kolhapur.

Edited by Dr. A. G. Pawar, a historian of renown, the volume is a source material for the history of the Marathas for the period 1680-1720.

The documents are selected from the records of the Yadav family, the Kolhapur Archives, Alienation Office (Poona), Saraswati Mahal Library (Tanjavur), Mackenzie

Collection (Fort St. George, Madras), Mahalaxmi Papers, records of the Satam family and the family of the Mohites of Talbid (Tarabai, Shivaji's daughter-in-law and queen-consort of Rajaram, second son of Shivaji, hails from this family), "Arquivo Portugues Oriental" edited by Dr. Bragansca Pereira and "Assentos do Conselho do Estado" edited by Dr. Pissurlencar. Of course some of the documents have appeared elsewhere, but the student of Maratha history should be beholden to the editor for having brought together all the scattered material on the subject.

The most important documents in this collection are supplied by the records of the Yadav family, the members of which played an active part in the reigns of Shivaji and his eldest son Sambhaji, but especially during the critical period of the Maratha War of Independence (1689-1707). The partition deed between Girjoji Yadav and Swarupji Yadav (No. 322 of 5-10-1716) furnishes a fund of historical information. Arjoji Yadav, brother of Girjoji, seems to be a first rate architect, since he was entrusted by Shivaji with the construction of the forts of Pratapgad and Pawangad along with the residential buildings. Pleased with the construction work at Pawangad, Shivaji gave Arjoji a reward of 5000 hons (Rs. 16,250). During the reign of Sambhaji, Arjoji erected a building at Raigad and a palace at Pachwad at the foot of Raigad. Sambhaji and his queen Yesubai gave him a reward of 5000 hons as a token of their satisfaction.

Sambhaji entrusted Girjoji with a very delicate mission, of delivering his queen Durgabai who was in Mughal captivity at Daulatabad. At great personal risk, Girjoji met Durgabai but could not rescue her.

The document further supplies some details, not known till now, about the flight of Rajaram from Raigad to Panhala and from

Panhala to Jinji, about some incidents during the latter's flight and about the yeoman's service rendered by Girjoji on various occasions, like the safe conduct of Raja Karna, illegitimate son of Rajaram, during the interview with Zulfikarkhan, the safe conduct of the royal family during the capitulation of the fort of Jinji, etc.

The document also reveals for the first time that a pretender had appeared in Maharashtra to claim that he was Shahu, son of Sambhaji. (Documents Nos. 143 and 361 repeat most of the contents of No. 322).

We get a glimpse of an important trait in Tarabai's character. During a dispute between Girjoji and Dhanaji Yadav over the rights of receiving the offerings of the fair of Khandoba at Pali near Umbraj, Tarabai had the courage to give her decision in favour of Girjoji and against Dhanaji, her powerful commander-in-chief (Nos. 71, 72, 73 and 74 of 21-2-1699). Incidentally, No. 72 bears Tarabai's handwriting.

The Portuguese correspondence (Nos. 33 of 12-5-1689 and 35 of 3-9-1689) discloses that the Portuguese had promised Bahadur Khan, the Mughal commander, that they would keep a strict watch if Rajaram tried to cross their territory on his way to the Carnatic and capture him. No. 37 (16-1-1691) further informs us that Rajaram escaped to the Carnatic through the Kingdom of the Rani of Bednur. The Portuguese correspondence also reveals how the Portuguese were following a policy of double-dealing towards both the Marathas and the Mughals (Nos. 37, 97, 105, 107, 125, 128, 134, 144 and 146). No. 208 (8-8-1708) mentions that Shahu had demanded help in ammunition and other provisions from the Viceroy of Goa during his campaign in the Konkan.

According to the information so far available from the Maratha records, the palace re-

volution at Kolhapur, in which Tarabai and her son Shivaji II were made prisoners and Shambhaji, second son of Rajaram, ascended the throne was supposed to have taken place some time between 11-7-1714 and 14-10-1714 (No. 291 of 2-8-1714, No. 292 of 25-9-1714). This interval of 94 days to 53 days (No. 295 of 11-12-1714) strengthens the suspicion that Ramchandrapant Amatya, the veteran minister of Rajaram and afterwards of Tarabai, had a hand in this revolution. No. 274 reveals how King Shahu had tried to win Ramchandrapant over to his side by offering him most attractive terms.

No. 230 mentions some interesting details of the customary practices to be observed by persons belonging to different castes at the time of marriage and on some other occasions.

No. 167 (14-12-1705) states that Shivaji II gave a grant of the village of Wathar Tavde near Panhala to Udhav Ganesh, a grandson of the saint Eknath, to enable him to celebrate the anniversary of the great saint.

There are certain points on which we can differ from the editor, but they are minor ones and do not detract at all from the value of this important source material to the student of Maratha history.

V. G. HATAKAR

The New Cambridge Modern History Vol. IV. The Decline of Spain And The Thirty Years' War, 1609-48/59: Edited by J. P. Cooper: Cambridge University Press, 1970: pp. 832. Price £4.

The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press deserve to be congratulated on their latest production in the New Cambridge Modern History series. The period covered in this volume is the first half of the 17th century, which saw such important events as the Thirty Years' War and such significant deve-

lopments as the decline of the once-mighty power of Spain. But the Advisory Committee have rightly stressed not merely the political history of the time in all its details, but helped portray an all-comprehensive picture of this highly momentous period which renders this volume indispensable for every serious student of history.

The book is divided into four broad parts. The one, entitled 'Introductory', deals with such varied topics as the state of economy, triumphs of science, history of political and religious thought, changes in military organisation, art of warfare and distribution of sea-power, and development of drama. Chapter II shows that, just as the foundation of the great Wisselbank of Amsterdam (1609) portended Dutch financial ascendancy, the cycle of violent price fluctuations in 1648-52 were indicative of the general economic down-turn of the period, marked by a slow rate of growth in contrast to the 16th century. Spain's failure to dominate in the anti-Dutch struggle, coupled with a long recession in her transatlantic trade and the series of royal bankruptcies, confirmed the ascendancy of Dutch economy, which went on unchallenged until the Anglo-Dutch war (1652-3). Chapter IV ably describes how the generation of Galileo, Kepler, Bacon and Descartes introduced the 'New Philosophy', based on a new conception of scientific research and a novel view of nature and scientific explanation. Descartes's *Principia philosophiae* (1644), which completely reduced all forms of physical change to a single form, constituted the most original contribution to methods of scientific discovery. Other outstanding achievements — those in Physiology and Chemistry — were Harvey's demonstration of blood circulation (1628) and Helmont's teaching on water as the basis of all substances. The period from 1610 to 1650 also witnessed development of scientific tools like air thermometer, telescope and compound microscope. Chapter III gives an excellent account

of how, during 1610-59, absolutism triumphed nearly in all Europe on the foundation of the twin principles of sovereignty and *raison d'état*, enunciated respectively by Bodin and Machiavelli in the previous century. There were challenges like Papal pretensions, authority of the Holy Roman Emperor and the necessities of an international community. But ultimately, absolutism made considerable progress in Muscovy, Brandenburg, Italy, Spain, France, Sweden and Netherlands, and in England up to 1640, all this on the rock of solid theoretical support, which culminated in Filmer's and Hobbes's famous works. More space should, however, have been devoted to the impact of Grotius's works on contemporary sovereign states. Chapter V shows that, the first decades of the 17th century saw religious thought move around the two poles of free will and determinism, both in the Calvinist and Catholic worlds. While Jansenism and Puritanism fought against established orthodoxy, Arminianism and Socinianism went into the making of rational theology, drawing additional impetus from Platonism and Neo-Stoicism, both of which stood for free will. The period even witnessed a growing trend towards deism and unbelief. In point of military organisation and art of warfare,—as Chapter VI lucidly explains,—the period from 1610 to 1648 saw several changes, the most significant being the replacement of mercenaries by a standing national army of the professional soldier (effected first in Sweden) and the improvements in siegecraft in keeping with the importance of sieges in those days. There also took place a general modernization of armaments like increase of fire-power in infantry and artillery and improvement of cavalry. Chapter VII ably shows that, just as by 1650 the eclipse of Iberian commercial power in the East and in the trans-Atlantic route was followed by the establishment of Dutch and English commercial supremacy in Indonesia, Brazil and the Caribbean, there also took place simultaneously a decisive change in the distribution of

sea-power. Spain's continuing maritime domination in the Mediterranean and Atlantic in the 1620s gave way to Dutch and English hegemony in those regions by 1659. Chapter VIII skilfully discusses the great development of European drama in the first half of the 17th century. While in England Shakespeare was only the greatest among an extraordinary galaxy of playwrights, the masterpieces of Lope de Vega in Spain and of Corneille and Molière in France and Italy's creation of the opera were but part of the same grandeur. Prof. Lough deserves encomium for making a bold attempt to ascertain the character of theatre audiences on the basis of existing materials. While in France they were preponderantly 'plebian' up to 1630 and the Madrid theatres drew all classes, in England there emerged the 'public' and 'private' theatres on the basis of social distinctions.

The second main division is 'Central Conflicts'. In Chapter IX, Prof. Trevor-Roper, in his usually impressive style, discusses how Spain, consequent on crippling financial weakness, had had to come to terms with a revived France (1598) and with a 'heretical' England (1604) and, finally, to conclude a twelve-year truce with the Dutch 'rebels' (1609) who had been growing in economic and naval strength. But in 1621 the Spanish war party, in deciding not to renew the truce, plunged Europe into the disastrous Thirty Years' War which would ultimately spell doom to Spain's European supremacy. In Chapter X—the relevance of which in the context of 'Central Conflicts' is not quite appreciated—the state of Germany is described up to 1618. With political ineffectiveness inside Europe and outside, deep religious antagonisms and mediocre intellectual life, Germany yet showed abounding economic vitality and high architectural achievements. Her main failing seemed to have been the feeble shortsightedness of the governing class, who failed to discourage separatism and take into partnership the rising classes of merchants, landowners and

entrepreneurs. Chapter XI analyses the genesis, progress and termination of the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), the last religious war in Europe and one in which power politics ultimately predominated to the exclusion of religious issues. The Westphalian settlement solved the religious question on the basis of reciprocal toleration and, in recognizing the importance of the Emperor and marking French victory over the Habsburgs, supplied the basis of European state system till 1789. Chapter XII delineates the growing estrangement between Northern and Southern Netherlands after the 1609 Truce due to religious, social, economic and political contrasts, and final victory of the former not only in her war with Spain but also in her civil war against the latter. The Treaty of Munster (1648) meant victory for the Dutch—now recognised as a great sovereign power—and spelt humiliation to the Belgians. Chapter XIII competently narrates Sweden's rise as a great power from 1611 to 1654. While Gustavus Adolphus's victories transformed Sweden into a leading European Power, Westphalia made her a German Power in law as well as in fact. Chapter XIV analyses the effects of international history between Westphalia and the Pyrenees-Oliva settlement (1659-60). These were the final downfall of Spain, end of the Holy Roman Empire concept, decline of Sweden and Poland, entrance of Russia into European politics and the rise of Brandenburg-Prussia.

The next head of the study is the 'Unmaking and Remaking of States'. In Chapter XV, Prof. Elliott analyses Spain's gradual decline into a second-rate power from 1598 to 1648 and examines the reasons thereof. From 1598 to 1621 there was national introspection; between 1621 to 1640 too much was attempted but not enough achieved; the concluding years saw revolts, bankruptcy and crumbling defeats until Spain had to seek peace with the Dutch. Prof. Elliott efficiently explains

away this phenomenon by referring to religious obscurantism, suppression of free inquiry, cultural isolation, price revolution, inherent weaknesses of Spanish trade and industry, and the ending of Spain's European predominance. Chapter XVI describes France's internal history from 1610 to 1661 when she became the greatest European power. These years saw two remarkable periods in office of Richelieu and Mazarin and also the inevitable reaction in the shape of the Fronde (1648-53). Chapter XVII shows how the Habsburg dominions, lacking in racial, religious and political unity, continued as an association of peoples without forming a modern, united nation. Chapter XVIII surveys English history under the first two Stuarts and Oliver Cromwell. But while wanting in the elegance of Tanner's style, it hardly throws any fresh light on the subject or attempts to relate constitutional developments with the changing social and economic realities. Chapter XIX reviews the history of the two Slav Powers. While the growing importance of the Diet and the feudal magnates synchronised with the continuing decline of Monarchy in Poland in contrast to the rest of Europe, her international position worsened badly in the first half of the 17th century. Under Michael Romanov, Russia slowly recovered from the 'Time of Troubles' and she also started making significant international gains from 1634.

It would perhaps have been more appropriate to include Chapter XX within the foregoing category rather than make it a part of the last one on 'The Frontiers of Europe'. The Chapter describes the stagnation in the Ottoman empire during 1617-48, as evident from the rule by courtiers, officials and women of the harem and the great influence exercised by the ulema and central troops, until the Koprulus attempted revival from 1656. Chapter XXI points out the contacts between Europe and Asia which were primarily commercial but partly religious. During

the first half of the 17th century, Russia acquired control over all northern Asia and the Dutch over Indonesian trade and the sea-routes eastwards to Japan, while the English created a viable trading-system centred on India. Of the Iberian Powers incurring territorial and commercial loss, Spain held ground in the Philippines against the Dutch but Portugal lost steadily and irretrievably. As for missionary endeavour, while the English could get nothing and the Dutch but scant success, the Iberians achieved limited success in China, India and the Philippines. In Chapter XXII, an attempt is made to show how, by the mid-17th century, Spanish predominance was under great fire from the establishment of Dutch, English and French settlement colonies in North America and in the West Indies: the Dutch, in fact, succeeded the Spaniards as the 'most envied nation' in the Atlantic. It is unfortunate that Prof. Rich should have chosen a drab narrative style without any attempt at analysis, leaving his reader unimpressed and uninstructed. The last Chapter shows how during 1610-60, the Spanish and Portuguese empires in Latin America behaved differently. While the Spaniards did little to expand their area of effective occupation and concentrated on missionary exertions in Uruguay and Argentina, the Portuguese dominions saw active exploration and territorial expansion.

On the whole, the book is well-written and free from the failings usual to a collaborative work of this magnitude and is thus a very welcome addition to existing historical literature. Anyone—student and teacher alike—willing to make a serious study of this period is sure to profit immensely from this volume. One or two defects may, however, be mentioned at this stage. An appendix, showing genealogical tables of royal dynasties relevant for this period, would have been very helpful. But perhaps an even more important omission pertains to maps. There should have been several maps of Europe,

Asia and the Americas, depicting, among other things, the rise, decline and fall of the European nations, the course of the Thirty Years' War, the sea and trade routes, areas of settlement and direction of territorial and missionary expansion of the European powers in the other two continents.

PRASANTO KUMAR CHATTERJEE

Administration of Justice in the Seventeenth Century India by Dr. B. S. Jain. Metropolitan Book Co. Pvt. Ltd., Delhi-6, 1970. Price: Rs. 20-/-; Sh. 30; \$ 4. pp. 153.

An earlier work on this subject was published under a different title by Mr. Waheed Husain, Advocate, Calcutta High Court. Its scope was wider, embracing as it did, the entire period of so-called Muslim rule in this country.

Dr. Jain, like his predecessor, has assumed that Judicial law as it developed under the Turks was based on Muslim Jurisprudence though the fact of the matter is that in many respects Muslim Jurisprudence was modified and altered in its new environments. The first duty of a Turkish ruler, as of any other ruler in India, was the justification of his title *Imam-i-Adil*. But unfortunately a large number of Turkish rulers were either ignorant of the Muslim Jurisprudence or otherwise they paid scant regard to it, not because of any feelings of scorn for it, but because it was so complicated and required special study for which they could neither afford time nor energy. Moreover, Muslim Jurisprudence had been evolved for Muslims alone. It was not applicable to non-Muslims. And the problems of non-Muslims were more numerous than those of the Muslims. The rulers could not discard this aspect. Thus the application of Muslim Jurisprudence was applicable to a specific community and was restricted in

the case of non-Muslims to criminal offences only. Therefore to so project it as to bring within its purview the entire range of justice is hardly appropriate.

As a practising lawyer, Dr. Jain has made a thorough study of Muslim law and has adjusted within its frame-work a number of recorded cases. For this purpose he has scrutinised a wide range of contemporary historical material including official histories and the accounts of foreign travellers. His study is refreshing and informative. It is a useful guide for those who are keen to pursue the subject at a greater depth.

Dr. Jain has illustrated the application and enforcement of Muslim law with copious examples and he has also brought out deviations from the same. Curiously he has called "tashhir" as a kind of offence, whereas it was actually a type of punishment for certain offences, in which it was deemed to be sufficient to expose the offender to public ridicule. He has correctly pointed out that it had no legal sanction.

In the State as well as Central Archives there exist copious raw material in the shape of firmans, parwanas, sibanamals, mahzars, mortgage deeds, bainamahs and other types of documents, which, if carefully studied, will throw a flood of light on the practical aspect of the administration of justice. These documents are still awaiting the attention of devoted research workers.

About thirty years ago a student of the University of Allahabad, Dr. Shyam Bihari Srivastava, submitted a thesis on the Administration of Justice in the Sultanate Period. It was highly appreciated and spoken of by the late Professor Habib, but unfortunately it has not yet been published. Mr. Waheed Husain and Dr. Jain supplement and complement it.

While a more extensive and documented

study of the subject is called for, I can not help congratulating Dr. Jain for the able manner in which he has presented his conclusions.

BANARSI PRASAD SAKSENA

Gujarat in 1857, by Dr. R. K. Dharaiya, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, 1970. First edition pp. 181. Rs. 8.00.

The work under review is a research report entitled 'Gujarat in 1857', first privately circulated in a cyclostyled form in 1969. It is now printed by the Gujarat University with a foreword from its Vice-Chancellor, Shri Umashankar Joshi, some added appendices and an index at the end.

The revolt of 1857 has had a perennial charm for students of Indian history and historiography. Since it was considered a first essay in Indian independence movement by ardent historiographers, efforts were made to explore by many regional studies to measure its impact on their respective areas. This research report is a welcome addition to this growing literature.

However, the author seems to have started on his project with certain preconceived notions, that hitherto it has been believed that Gujarat played no part in this epoch-making event, and then he labours hard to dispel this belief. He holds a brief like a lawyer and thus weakens his own position where objectivity was required. The story of mutinies in Gujarat has been told heretofore by L. R. Ashburner in his chapter contributed to the Bombay Gazetteer, Volume I, Part I, published in 1896. He had accepted the gravity of the situation and indicated that lack of combination of the events and people involved in them was the bane of those who rose in arms. But even his narrative fails to create an impression that Gujarat as a whole convulsed

with a rebellious spirit. However, we must accept that Dr. Dharaiya has done a good service in focussing attention on the need for such regional studies, but at the same time the growing tendency among a good many people to see the 1857 spirit where it did not exist or to make out its extent or intensity that it did not assume, should be discouraged.

To my mind the proper study in this subject should be focussed on analysing the situation that prevailed in Gujarat then and find out why in Gujarat as a whole such a wide response as was found in certain areas of north India could not be found. The answer may partly be found in the fact that politically it was badly 'balkanised', in the lack of determined leadership, in the feudal set-up of native states and estates, and in the clanish approach of the rulers and chiefs to problems. An explanation may also be found in the generally peace-loving nature of the Gujaratis and in virtually total boycott by the educated middle class.

V. K. CHAVDA

Cultural Understanding in Medieval India
By Professor H. K. SHERWANI, Hyderabad, 1962.

This little volume is composed from a series of lectures delivered by the distinguished author at the University of Jammu and Kashmir in October 1962. Professor Sherwani, on the basis of substantial historical evidence, rejects the current belief that the Medieval period of Indian History was characterised by the discontinuance in the growth of an integrated Indian Culture which has been the fundamental feature of our history from ancient times. He attributed the internecine and continuous inter-state wars which characterised the Medieval period of Indian history to the monarchical and feudal constitution of these states and to eco-

nomic factors rather than to the clash between the two cultures. For example, Professor Sherwani gives the instance of the wars between the Vijayanagara and the Bahamani Empires to the desire of each state to occupy the Krishna-Doab territory. Moreover, these wars were fought through mercenary armies who changed sides without feeling any shirks or twichings for the change of their allegiance from one state to another or having feelings of attachment to their own community.

Quoting Sir John Marshall, the learned Professor stressed the fact that although the two great cultures, the Hindu and the Muslim, differed so widely from each other and were so developed, the desire for co-existence and for coming close to each other was present on both sides. It is this desire which led to regular synthesis in every field and aspect of Medieval life from 1206 onwards i.e. from the time of Qutubuddin Aibak to the beginning of the 16th century. It was first observable in the field of architecture and this interaction of each on the other even entered the sacred architecture like the Mosque and the Mausoleum with Persian base and Hindu motives. It was given prominence in the Mausoleum of Khaja Banda Nawaz the patron saint of South India. This interaction of Hindu-Muslim architecture reached its climax in the Mausoleum of the Great Akbar at Sikandra.

The same synthesis was noticeable in the evolvement of a common language by the Turkish troops stationed in Lahore when they had to contact the common people in the Bazars. Besides the Bazar, the contacts between the troops and the common man were developed in the Khanqahs of the Sufis or the Stanhs of the Bhakts. Hence the language thus evolved out of this intermingling was called Urdu Mualla, Hindawi, Rekhta and later Urdu. This intermingling of the two cultures was not only responsible for the

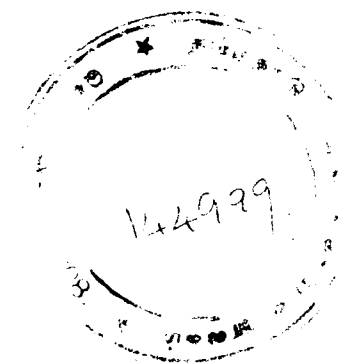
evolvement of a common language, but the Afghan and Turkish Muslim rulers were also responsible for the development of local languages like Gujarati and Bengali and the Telugu language in the South.

The same levelling process of the two cultures was to be noticed in the field of religion, particularly by Bhakts and Sufis like Ramānanda, Kabir and Guru Nanak. These Bhakts tried to break the barriers of castes and to bring close to each other the two communities. Guru Nanak's efforts were further promoted by Guru Arjun who renounced both Hinduism and Islam and brought

the two communities on the same level on the base of humanity and acceptance and devotion to one God who was the God of all.

The same process of synthetic growth was carried out in the field of social life—in dress, habits, living modes and rites connected with marriage, birth and death. This period of synthetic and integrated growth of our culture ended with the 16th Century, the later period being marked by intolerance throughout the world.

ZUBAIDA YASEEN ALI KHAN



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