

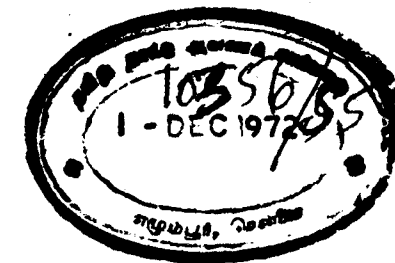
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VOLUME XII

(1972-73)

NUMBER 1

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CALCUTTA

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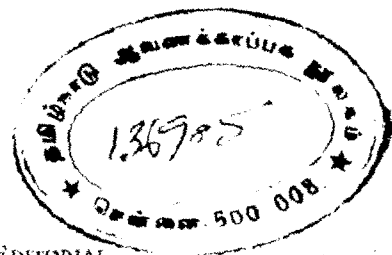
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CONTENTS

3L
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	PAGE
EDITORIAL	3
DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY PREFACE	7
DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY LIST OF BIOGRAPHICAL ENTRIES (VOL. I)	15
DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS	22
A POSITIVIST HISTORIAN : H. T. BUCKLE —Dr. J. T. Price & Dr. J. O. Baylen	43
INDIAN HERITAGE IN TRINIDAD (WEST INDIES) —Dr. J. G. Jha	48
EARLY RELATIONS OF RAJA RAI SINGH OF BIKANER WITH THE MUGHALS —Dr. A. N. Saxena	63
BOOK REVIEWS	67

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THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW OF
HISTORICAL STUDIES

Vol. XII

(1972-73)

No. 1

EDITORIAL

Dictionary of National Biography:

In the present number we are reproducing the Preface to the First Volume of the Dictionary of National Biography which came out in August. We are also giving a list of biographical entries included in the Volume and also the full list of Contributors for all the four Volumes of the DNB. The Preface explains in detail the objectives of the Project and the methods followed in its execution. Anybody consulting the DNB should better first read the Preface to equip himself with some basic information about the DNB Project, e.g., who are the people whose biographical sketches have been included and why they have been selected; why has the period 1800-1947 been chosen; how have Contributors been selected; what is the pattern set for biographical sketches; how has material been collected by the Research Fellows; and how have the names been arranged. All these points have been clearly explained in the Preface. There may be difference of opinion in some matters like selection of names, choice of Contributors, pattern of entry etc., but one will not be in doubt about the objective of the Project and the editorial policy. It is hoped that those who have not yet seen the Volume will feel interested in it after going through the Preface reproduced in the present number.

This is again the first time that a list of biographical sketches included in the DNB has been given. Ever since the Project was undertaken, we had been careful in avoiding publicity to the list of names for fear of undue pressure from interested quarters to include some names we did not consider deserving. Now that the First Volume is published, we throw open the choice of names to the public judgment. We are fully conscious that some people will still be unhappy, but in a Project like this it is not possible to please every one.

The list of Contributors given will show the magnitude of the Project and also the extent of co-operation received from scholars all over the country and also from others who have distinguished themselves in different walks of life. The DNB Project is truly national, not only from the point of view of the names included but also from that of the Contributors who have been drawn from all walks of life. In fact, a Project of this magnitude had never been attempted before.

Annual General Meeting:

The Eleventh Annual General Meeting of the Institute of Historical Studies was held on September 30. Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar presided.

Presenting the Annual Report for 1971-72, the Director said: "I am happy to report that the year 1971-72 was one of steady progress and development. It was particularly a year of solid achievement—completion of the Dictionary of National Biography Project started about nine years ago". The Director then gave a brief review of the various activities of the Institute—Discussion Meetings, Seminar, Annual Conference, Journal, Library and Publications. The Report brings out clearly how active the Institute was during the year under review in spite of financial difficulties and other problems. The membership had marked a slight increase, retaining, as before, its all-India character. The Discussion Meetings were regular and well-attended. The Annual Conference was a great success. All the numbers of the journal came out regularly. The publication programme was also taken up more vigorously than before, and besides the *Sino-Indian Border Question: A Historical Review* which came out in February, two other publications had also been made ready for the press and two more were under preparation. Finally, the monumental project, *Dictionary of National Biography*, was also successfully completed. The First Volume was sent to press during the year under review and the Second Volume was also being made ready. The Institute's record of progress and solid constructive work will compare favourably with that of any other similar organisation in India. It is really gratifying to note how in just a little over a decade this young organisation has come to rank among the foremost learned institutions of an all-India character. As the Director observed at the Annual General Meeting, this remarkable success was due largely to the zeal and active cooperation of the members.

In spite of such a record of progress and constructive work the financial condition of the Institute, as the Director pointed out, is getting desperately worse every year with mounting deficits. To bring the accumulated deficit within reasonable limits, the Institute had to divert money from two special funds, the

Research Service Bureau and the South Asian Library and Research Notes. The position is this, unless we get financial assistance from the Government of Rs. 15,000/- a year, there will again be a heavy deficit and in two or three years the position will become desperate again. While the Institute is trying its very best to increase its resources, it must be appreciated that no non-official learned institution of this kind can maintain itself entirely on its own resources. Some financial help from the Government, at least to the extent of one-third of its annual budget, is absolutely necessary if the Institute is to maintain its current activities and serve the cause of History in the same effective way as it had done in the past.

Unfortunately, in spite of our best efforts we could not get more than a small pittance from the Government of India. For the last three years we had fully explained our financial condition to the Government and had supplied all the necessary papers and information. But the response from the Government was most disappointing. It is not that there is no money in the coffer, and in fact in recent years the Government has been spending lavishly on projects and institutions sponsored and managed by itself. There is a sort of feeling in official circles that Government funds are meant to be spent only on Government-sponsored and Government-managed projects and institutions. That is why such projects and institutions are mushrooming in New Delhi, often involving duplication and waste, while non-official institutions all over the country doing much better work are denied even the minimum assistance required. We do not know when this official attitude will change. Perhaps, it is necessary for all the non-official academic societies to join together and make an effective demand on the Government to be conscious of its responsibility towards the non-official academic societies. After all, any impartial investigating body will declare that public sector enterprises in the academic field have done very little compared to the sum total of the results achieved by non-official academic institutions.

New Fellows:

The following new Fellows were elected by the College of Fellows in 1972-73 under Article V of the Constitution:

1. Professor A. G. Pawar,
Vice-Chancellor,
Shivaji University,
Kolhapur, Maharashtra.
2. Dr. D. R. Sardesai,
Professor and Head of the
Department of History,
Bombay University, Bombay.
3. Professor P. S. Velayudhan,
Principal,
S. N. College for Women,
Quilon-1 (Kerala).
4. Shri B. K. Basu,
Director, Historical Division,
Ministry of External Affairs,
New Delhi.
5. Dr. J. S. Grewal
Professor and Head of the
Department of History,
Guru Nanak University,
Amritsar, Panjab.
6. Dr. S. S. Bal,
Professor of History,
Agricultural University,
Ludhiana, Panjab.
7. Dr. Ainslee Embree
South Asia Department of
Duke University,
Durham, North Carolina,
U.S.A.
8. Professor J. P. De Souza
Head of the Department of History,
Elphinstone College, Bombay.

We offer a cordial welcome to the New

Fellows. Their association with the Institute will be greatly valued by all.

Annual Conference:

The Tenth Annual Conference of the Institute will be held at Kurukshetra from 28th to 31st October under the auspices of the Kurukshetra University. The eminent historian Dr. R. G. Majumdar will preside. The Conference will be inaugurated by Shri B. N. Chakravarty, Governor of Haryana.

The principal theme for this year's Conference is—*Religious Reform Movements in India and their Social Contents*. Our idea is not to put any emphasis on the theological aspect of any religious reform movement but to bring out its social significance, objectives and effects. There will be at least one paper on each religious reform movement. For each movement the paper will seek to bring out:

- (i) Its social objectives;
- (ii) Its direct and indirect effects on contemporary society, including ideas and concrete measures of social reform, impact on social structure, politics etc.;
- (iii) Its place in the history of social changes in India and how far were the original social objectives realised in the end.

There will be about thirty papers on the following religious reform movements:

Ancient Period:
Buddhism.
Jainism.
Tantricism.
Sankaracharya & the Vedantist Movement.

Medieval Period:
Chaitanya and the Gaudiya Vaishnava Movement.
Guru Nanak and Sikhism.
Kabir Panth.

Shankardev & the Vaishnava Movement in Assam.
 Religious Reform Movement in Maharashtra.
 Ramanuja and the Bhakti Movement in the South.
 Religious Reform Movement in Rajasthan.
 Basaveswara & Veerasaivism in Karnatak.
 Pranami Religious Movement in Bundelkhand.
 Sufism.

Modern Period:

Brahmo Samaj.
 Pre-Prarthana Samaj Religious Reform Movement in Maharashtra.
 Prarthana Samaj.
 Arya Samaj.
 Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Movement.
 Theosophical Society.
 Non-Brahmin Movement in South India.
 Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (Kerala).
 Kuka Movement.
 Wahabi Movement.
 Impact of Christian Missions in India.

The second theme for the Conference is—

Sources of the History of Haryana. Nine papers will be presented covering the ancient, medieval and modern periods.

The Conference will be attended by delegates from all parts of the country and it is hoped that it will be as great a success as the earlier Conferences of the Institute.

Publications:

We are happy to announce that among our projected publications two have been sent to press—*Historians and Historiography in Modern India* and *Modern Bengal : A Socio-Economic Survey*. The first will include the lives and writings of forty eminent historians who had made their mark in Indian historical studies since the middle of the 19th century. The second will include six papers on different aspects of the history of Bengal in the second half of the 19th century. Both the volumes are expected to be out in December or January.

Two more volumes are also under preparation and will be made ready for the press early in 1973.

DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

PREFACE

187

The present Dictionary of National Biography in four Volumes is the first attempt of its kind in India, on the lines of similar works in other countries. There are, no doubt, a few biographical collections available both in English and in Indian languages, but they are all very limited in scope and coverage. They deal either with the prominent personalities of any community or region, e.g., 'Eminent Mussalmans', 'Eminent Parsees', 'Eminent South Indians' etc.; or with very eminent persons on an all-India canvas, like 'Men and Supermen of Hindustan', 'Bharatbarsh Ki Vibhutiyan', 'Arvachin Charitra Kosh' etc. There are again the 'Who's Who in the Freedom Movement' Volumes, brought out by several State Governments, giving the briefest possible sketches of thousands of political workers in each State, the majority of whom had very little contribution to make to national development. Recently the Government of India also has brought out a 'Dictionary of Martyrs', dealing only with revolutionaries and including thousands of them, practically on the same lines as the 'Who's Who in the Freedom Movement'. It is obvious that none of these works can claim to be a Dictionary of National Biography. They are all either regional or communal or sectoral; and even where any of them is on an all-India canvas, it deals only with the very top few among those who contributed to national life in modern times.

Thus, the need remained for a Dictionary of National Biography in India, of the same kind as similar Dictionaries in other countries. The present work is intended to fulfil that need and to give India the same type of biographical reference work, covering 19th and 20th centuries, as is available in other countries. Its publication in 1972 is particularly appropriate, as coinciding

with the 25th Anniversary of Indian Independence. On this happy occasion we offer, as the most befitting present to the nation, the Dictionary of National Biography dedicated to the memory of all those Indians (and also foreigners who made India their home) who, working in different spheres of life, holding different ideas and following different methods, had contributed to the making of modern India. It is our sacred duty on this auspicious occasion to remind the new, post-independence generation of the debt of gratitude it owes to the earlier generations, since the beginning of the modern period, whose labours and sacrifices have made possible all that we are enjoying to-day.

The period covered by the present Dictionary of National Biography is from 1800 to 1947. The period has been deliberately limited, to give it a distinctive character, which it really has in Indian history. In spite of the fact that history is a continuous process, nobody can deny that there is a great 'divide' between the 18th century and the 19th. New ideas and new forces appeared in the early part of the 19th century, which reached their fruition in 1947 with the achievement of independence. The year 1947 again is an important dividing line in modern Indian history, not only because of the partition of the country but also because of the newer ideas or forces which came to motivate the post-independence generation and the changed social, political and economic conditions which emerged in the new India.

However, as in other countries, we propose to make the Dictionary of National Biography a continuing work. After the publication of the present four volumes of the Dictionary, covering the period from 1800 to 1947, we propose to

start work on the first twenty-five years after independence as a supplement, to bring the Dictionary up-to-date. Later supplements will also be brought out at regular intervals.

The Dictionary of National Biography includes people from all walks of life—politics, religious and social reforms, education, journalism, literature, science, law, business and industry, etc.—who had made some tangible contribution to national life from the beginning of the 19th century to the achievement of independence. It does not confine its scope to only the top few who had achieved an all-India importance, but also includes others who had achieved only regional importance. Thus the DNB is more comprehensive than any other existing work, and is fairly representative of all categories of people, of all-India, State and even district-level importance. For limitation of space and resources, however, one restricting factor has been followed, namely, that the person to be included in the Dictionary must not only have achieved some reputation in his own sphere of work or profession but must also have made some contribution, either directly or indirectly, to the growth of national consciousness or development of society. It may also be stated at this stage that some categories of persons, like musicians, dancers, actors and sportsmen, have been virtually left out of the purview of the present four-volume Project, unless any of them happened to have made some positive contribution to the growth of national consciousness or to the development of society. We, however, propose to include these categories of people in the supplementary volumes.

Since the period covered by the Dictionary of National Biography comes down to 1947, our perspective is naturally the whole of the undivided India as it stood before independence. Therefore, we have included many persons belonging to the areas which later came to be known as Pakistan and Bangladesh, and also those who migrated from India to Pakistan at the time of the partition or after. The reason for their inclusion is obvious and incontrovertible,

however unfavourably some people may view it. There was no Pakistan or Bangladesh before 1947, and those persons who ceased to be Indians in 1947, were as much Indians before 1947 as anybody else. Some in the pre- and post-independence India may not like the separatist ideas and policies of many of these people, but that is no reason to exclude men like Jinnah or Iqbal, Nazimuddin or Suhawardy from the scope of the Dictionary of National Biography of pre-1947 India. In the supplementary project, covering the period from 1947 to 1972, we shall, of course, confine ourselves to only those who belonged to the Indian Union.

Although modelled on the British Dictionary of National Biography and similar works in other countries, the present DNB differs from others in one fundamental respect. It does not exclude persons who may be still living, if they are otherwise deserving of inclusion in the Dictionary. We are fully conscious that this departure from the normal practice is open to criticism from many quarters. But our explanation is clear. Since the present volume is intended as a grateful homage of the present generation to those illustrious men and women who have contributed to the making of modern India, it would not be fair to exclude any such person only on the ground that he is still in our midst, while including others whose contributions to national life might have been far less, simply because they happened to have died before the present project was taken up. Such a discriminatory policy would have given a partial or distorted view of the contributions of individuals to the making of modern India. If anybody is worthy of esteem and gratitude, there is no harm in giving him his due even when he is alive instead of waiting till after his death. After all, we are judging a man's contribution by what he did before 1947. Our estimate of him is based principally on this, so far as the present Dictionary of National Biography is concerned. If we have to revise our estimate because of his later career, it will be done in the next edition or in the supplements.

In the supplementary project, covering the period from 1947 to 1972, we, however, propose to follow a different principle and leave out those who are still with us. The period is too limited and too recent to allow us to view our contemporaries in the proper perspective. Unseemly controversies may arise and the best way to avoid them is to follow the principle of excluding living persons when dealing with the contemporary period.

The total number of biographical entries included in the 4 Volumes of the Dictionary of National Biography is nearly 1400. Very careful attention was paid to the selection of names. In the initial stage the names were suggested for each State by the local Advisory Committee, Research Supervisors and Research Fellows. The names were at first listed in different categories, e.g., politicians, religious reformers, social reformers, journalists, educationists, litterateurs, scientists, administrators, lawyers, industrialists and businessmen, etc. Later they were put together in alphabetical order for the whole State. The lists for different States were first drawn up in 1964, and down to 1969 they were subjected to careful annual scrutiny and revision. We had sent up the lists every year to various persons belonging to different walks of life and representing a cross-section of public opinion. Following their suggestions the lists were revised several times, leaving out some of the names originally included and adding new ones. We have tried to give fair representation to all the States and regions in the old undivided India. We are fully conscious that even our final list for the DNB is not likely to please everybody. Opinions differ so much that it is impossible to achieve unanimity in the selection of names. All that we can say is that we have done all that was humanly possible in the selection of names for the DNB. If it still hurts some one that a particular name has been omitted or that a particular name has been included, we are helpless. In a matter like this it is impossible to please everyone.

While initially the lists of names were drawn

up Statewise for convenience of work, later they were all put together on an all-India basis. In the Dictionary of National Biography Volumes the names have been put in strict alphabetical order, irrespective of State or region, community, religion and caste. For the purpose of the DNB everybody is an Indian and not a Punjabi or a Bengalee, a Hindu or a Muslim, a Brahmin or a Harijan. It is hoped that this arrangement of names of the makers of modern India will go a long way to promote a feeling of national integration among the present generation who need it very badly in the context of the current divisive forces.

In arranging the names in alphabetical order, the surname has been followed wherever possible. One problem is that in some cases the same surname in an Indian language is spelt differently in English, e.g., Datta, Dutt or Dutta; Majumdar or Mazumdar; Bose, Bosu or Basu; Ghose or Ghosh; Mitra or Mitter; Roy or Ray; Barua or Borooah; Chatterjee or Chattopadhyaya; Banerjee or Bandyopadhyaya; Mukherjee or Mukhopadhyaya etc. It would have been most baffling for an average reader to find out the entry if the surnames are arranged in strict alphabetical order according to their English spellings. That is why, for the convenience of the readers, we have retained the different spellings of the surnames but have arranged them in a more rational manner as given below:

Datta, Dutt and Dutta have been all put under Datta.
Majumdar and Mazumdar have been put under Majumdar.
Bose, Bosu and Basu have been all put under Bose.
Ghosh and Ghose have been put under Ghosh.
Mitra and Mitter have been put under Mitra.
Roy and Ray have been put under Roy.
Barua and Borooah have been put under Barua.
Banerjee, Bonnerji and Bandyopadhyaya have been put under Banerjee.

Chatterjee and Chattopadhyaya have been put under Chatterjee.

Mukherjee and Mukhopadhyaya have been put under Mukherjee.

This principle will definitely be more helpful in finding out any particular entry under any of these surnames, specially when a reader is not sure about how a particular name is spelt.

Another major problem is that in many cases surnames are not used at all. This is something very common in many parts of India. In such cases, wherever possible, we have taken the last part of the name for alphabetical arrangement, e.g., Rajendra Prasad has been put under Prasad. In cases where this is not possible or where it would lead to confusion, the full name has been given as it is used, e.g., Bhagat Singh, Bhagwan Dass, etc. In the case of some South Indian names again, either part of the name can be put first, e.g., Alluri Sitarama Raju may also be given as Sitarama Raju, Alluri. In the case of Muslim names again either part of the name may be put first, e.g., Mohammad Ali or Ali, Mohammad; Shaukat Ali or Ali, Shaukat etc. Where usages are so widely different, it is impossible to find out one common principle in such cases for the purpose of alphabetical arrangement. We have, therefore, done the only thing possible, namely, to give the entry under one of the variants of the name and then to give the other variants for the purpose of cross reference. In some cases two or even more cross references have been given for the same name for the convenience of the readers. It is to be hoped that under this arrangement it will be quite easy for a reader to find out the biographical entry he wants by looking up the name in any of its variants.

It may also be stated here that names have been given in the alphabetical arrangement according to the forms in which they are most widely known. As for example, the biographical entry has been given under Sri Aurobindo instead of under Ghosh, Aurobindo, although the latter has been given as cross reference.

The Dictionary of National Biography is being brought out in four volumes, each volume of nearly the same size. Volume I covers names from A to D; Volume II from E to L; Volume III from M to R; and Volume IV from S to Z. Each Volume contains approximately 300 to 350 biographical sketches. In each Volume a list of names included in that Volume (together with cross references to other Volumes) is given, as also a list of Contributors for that particular Volume.

Biographical entries in the DNB are naturally of varying lengths according to the contribution made by an individual to national life. The length varies from a minimum of 600 words to a maximum of 2400 words, with two intermediate stages of 1000 and 1600 words. It is hardly necessary to offer any explanation for this differentiation in the length of the entries. When it is admitted that the contributions to national life or development of society of the 1400 persons included in the DNB were not equal either in extent or in importance, it goes without saying that there must be differentiation in the length of the entries for different categories.

One distinctive feature of the present Dictionary of National Biography is that at the end of each entry a selected bibliography has been given for the more serious readers. The bibliography includes published works, unpublished documents and private papers and also personal interviews of the Research Fellow and personal information of the Contributor who may have been closely associated with the person on whom he has written. Whatever some people may think, we feel that these sources of information are useful and should not be ignored altogether. The bibliographies given are, no doubt, unequal in length and quality, but this is inevitable because on some persons few sources of information are available while on others the sources of information are more than what can be compressed in the short space of this DNB. Moreover, the bibliographies having been prepared by different Research Fellows and

different Contributors, one cannot expect complete uniformity. It may be noted here that in the selected bibliography we have given more emphasis on Indian language source material, e.g., biographies, general works, newspapers, literary works, pamphlets etc. in all the regional languages of India. Particularly on this account the selected bibliography should prove most valuable to any serious student of Modern India.

In the case of biographical entries on many persons who belonged to the area which came to be known as Pakistan or who went over to Pakistan in 1947 or later, we faced a major problem in getting adequate and up-to-date bio-data, specially on their career after 1947. In view of the cold relations between India and Pakistan, our efforts to get up-to-date information either direct from Pakistan or through the Pakistan High Commission in New Delhi did not prove fruitful. It was not possible, for obvious reasons, to send any Research Fellow to Pakistan either. Hence, we were forced to remain content with whatever information on these persons we could get in India. We are fully conscious that in some cases the information is insufficient, at least for the later career, and we admit that the entries are not up-to-date. In some cases even the date of death was not available. We only hope that our readers will bear this difficulty in mind when they complain of the imperfections of the DNB in some particular cases.

We have tried to observe uniformity of pattern as far as possible in respect of the biographical entries included in the DNB. We are giving elsewhere the standard Material Collection Format to guide Research Fellows in the collection of bio-data and also the Instructions to Contributors laying down uniform guide-lines regarding the length and pattern of the biographical entries. But one should appreciate that when 32 Research Fellows have collected material in different States and regions and nearly 350 Contributors have written the biographical sketches, it is hardly possible to

expect complete uniformity either in the extent of the material collected or in the pattern of the biographical sketches. While editing the biographical entries we have tried to maintain uniformity of pattern as far as possible, but we cannot claim that our attempt has been fully successful. Nor do we think it desirable to have rigid uniformity in all cases. After all, it is also necessary to preserve the distinctive style and character of an individual's writing. It makes the DNB more interesting and colourful.

The Dictionary of National Biography Project was undertaken about 9 years ago, in 1963-64. The first year was taken up by planning, setting up the necessary organisational machinery on an all-India basis, appointing and training Research Fellows in different States, drawing up tentative lists of names from different States to be included in the DNB, preparing guidelines for collection of material and enlisting support and cooperation from Universities, Newspapers, Political Parties, Learned Associations, and the Central and State Governments. It was not an easy task, specially because in our pioneer venture we could not get the benefit of the experience of any previous project to guide us. We had literally to improvise the organisational structure and procedure of work.

The next five years were taken up by collecting biographical material on the basis of an elaborate standard Format. It was done by 32 Research Fellows in different States and regions working under the supervision of the local University Professors. The Research Fellows evinced keen interest in their work, with a sense of dedication of which we are really proud. We are also grateful to the University Professors who gave the necessary advice and guidance to the Research Fellows and also checked their work. The material collected by our Research Fellows are preserved in Files and Cards in the Institute's Research Room and will be thrown open to bonafide research workers after the publication of the DNB. It is hardly necessary to add that the material collected on any person is much fuller than what is possible

to give in the short space of the biographical entry.

The next two years were taken up by the writing of actual biographical entries on the basis of the material collected by the Research Fellows. The task was entrusted to nearly 350 Contributors all over the country. In order to ensure uniformity of treatment, elaborate instructions were issued to the Contributors indicating length, style, arrangement of material, nature of bibliography, etc. We are happy to note that the Contributors took their work with all seriousness, and in many cases they undertook additional labour to collect supplementary material and to check up the material supplied by the Research Fellows. Of the 350 Contributors nearly 250 are professional historians drawn from all the major Universities in the country. It is most gratifying that we could secure the kind co-operation of all historians who have any professional standing. There is hardly any well-known historian who is not associated with the DNB Project. The remaining 100 Contributors are non-professionals. Most of them are men of eminence in public life—Union and State Cabinet Ministers, Governors, High Court Judges, Ambassadors, leading figures of all the Political Parties in the country, Vice-Chancellors, journalists, lawyers, scientists, litterateurs, social reformers, industrialists, etc. We are happy to note that these Contributors have fully justified their inclusion by bringing a freshness of approach and treatment which will enhance the value of the DNB.

The ninth year was fully taken up by editing work, which had actually begun even earlier, in 1970. Editing was a most strenuous process, the full extent of which will hardly be known from the published Volumes. It involved an enormous amount of labour in checking up facts and dates, revising the entries with regard to language, style, arrangement etc., reducing entries to the prescribed limits and checking up the bibliography wherever in doubt. On the one hand we wanted to preserve the distinctive character of individual writing, and on the

other we had to look to the needs of some basic uniformity. We take this opportunity to apologise to the Contributors for the changes made in their entries. We hope that they will kindly appreciate that these changes were necessitated by the editorial duty of preserving uniformity and the over-all plan of the DNB Project.

Of the total Project cost in ten years, Rs. 8,50,000/-, we received Rs. 2,19,000/- from the Government of India; Rs. 1,89,000 from the State Governments; Rs. 2,43,000/- from the Asia Foundation; Rs. 11,000 from donations; and the rest had to be found from the Institute's own resources. The names of those who had given us generous financial assistance have been given elsewhere. Here we take the opportunity to offer our thanks to them for their kind help, without which the DNB Project would not have been completed.

From the short history given above it will be evident that the DNB Project has been completed in as short a time as one could expect for a Project of this magnitude. Our love for modesty need not prevent us from feeling a legitimate sense of gratification and pride that we have been able to complete such a gigantic Project within a much shorter time and at a much lesser cost than any other similar Project undertaken anywhere in India.

The Dictionary of National Biography is meant not only for serious students of history but also for the general public. The style of writing, arrangement of facts and general approach to the subject are all intended to serve that purpose. Apart from being used as a standard reference book, the DNB is intended to serve as a light and pleasant reading material even for those who are not interested in making any serious study of the history, politics and social development of modern India. We feel that everyone of the present generation, irrespective of his particular field of work, must know how modern India was created. The most inspiring way to know it is through the study of the contributions of individuals or of groups of like-minded persons

to the process of creation. It will be a most fascinating study to see how different individuals or groups, working in different spheres of life, following different methods and motivated by different ideas, slowly built up the edifice of modern India, brick by brick, by their devotion, toil and sacrifice. One of the important features of the DNB is that it is not concerned merely with what a man did but also with what he thought and how he felt *vis-a-vis* the different problems of life and society. Wherever possible, we have tried to give a man's ideas and general outlook even in respect of matters which do not come within the limited purview of his major field of activity. In that way we have tried to give a fuller picture of his total personality than what may emerge from the mere narration of his public actions.

To the serious student of history, the Dictionary of National Biography will prove useful in two definite ways. First, it will serve as a concrete illustration book for works on movements and forces in modern Indian history. Such works high-light the general trends in social and political developments and come to conclusions which are necessarily of a tentative nature. To check up and substantiate these general conclusions, it will prove most useful if one studies carefully the biographies of the individuals who played important roles in all the movements and contributed in a group to the social and political developments from the beginning of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th. Otherwise, general studies on movements and developments will prove only superficial in character. The biographical approach to any serious study of history has its special value which cannot be ignored.

In the second place, the Dictionary of National Biography will help serious students to understand better some of the trends in modern Indian history and to assess the importance of different factors which went to the making of the modern society. For example, only a careful study of biographies of those who played the leading roles in the development of the society

in the 19th century can provide the answer to the question, often asked, of how much western influence or revivalism went to the making of modern India. The biographical approach will also bring out the relation between social and religious reforms and political progress. It will further clarify the roles played by different groups, believing in different ideologies and applying different techniques of action, in either the social or political development of the country. One will then appreciate that no one particular group or ideology or technique could claim to be the single factor of progress. Neither violence nor non-violence, neither extremism nor moderation, neither social reform nor orthodoxy could claim the supreme virtue of making India what it is to-day. It is necessary for the post-independence generation to know the real process of development and the forces and factors which helped it in order to resist attempts, in recent years, to make people believe that only one particular ideology or one particular method has brought independence and modernism. It is our duty to view the past in its proper perspective and to give each man his due.

A great change had come over in the period following partition and independence. Either slowly or suddenly the old stalwarts faded away into oblivion. New actors appeared on the scene, with new ideas and methods of action. Perhaps, this was inevitable and also necessary. In the changed circumstances after 1947, the old technique is hardly applicable. But though admitting the need for newer men and newer methods of action, it would be most unfortunate if the older generations are totally forgotten and their contributions totally ignored within a short span of twenty-five years. This is not, of course, an unfounded apprehension. One can hardly deny that among the post-independence generation memory of the early heroes and servants of the nation is fast fading out. Possibly, in another twenty-five years few would remember with admiration and respect Phadke or Kshudiram, Madam Cama or Bhagat Singh, Pheroze Shah Mehta or Surendra Nath Banerjea

or even Dayanand or Vivekananda. It is to prevent such a national disgrace and ingratitude that the present Dictionary of National Biography was planned and is brought out in the year of the 25th anniversary of Indian independence. The objective of the DNB is to emphasise to the new generation the invaluable contributions of the early pioneers and to keep alive their memory. Most appropriately the DNB is dedicated to the memory of those illustrious men and women who created modern India, as a grateful homage of the present generation.

I take this opportunity to offer my sincere thanks to the Research Fellows, Supervisors, members of the Editorial Advisory Committee

and Contributors whose kind co-operation and ungrudging labour had made it possible to complete the project. Whatever success is achieved by the Dictionary of National Biography is due entirely to their kind help. Whatever shortcomings there may be in the present Volumes are due entirely to my own failings as editor.

Perhaps, a better work will be produced by a more competent editor on the occasion of the centenary of Indian Independence. I send him my congratulatory greetings in advance across the years to come.

30 June 1972

S. P. SEN

DICTIONARY OF NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

LIST OF BIOGRAPHICAL ENTRIES

Vol. I : A—D

A

Abdul-Aziz, Mian.

Abdul Bari—(See under Bari, Abdul).

Abdul-Bari, (Maulana) Muhammad.

Abdul-Ghaffar Khan—(See under Khan, Abdul Ghaffar Khan).

Abdul Ghani Dar—(See under Dar, Abdul Ghani).

Abdul Halim Ghaznavi—(See under Ghaznavi, Abdul Halim).

Abdul Hameed Khan Sahib—(See under Khan Sahib Abdul Hameed).

Abdul-Haye, Mian.

Abdul Latif (Nawab)—(See under Latif, Abdul).

Abdul Latif Farookhi—(See under Farookhi, Abdul Latif).

Abdul Majid Khawaja—(See under Khawaja Abdul Majid).

Abdul-Qadir (Sir).

Abdul Rehman Sahib, Muhammad.

Abdullah, Sheikh (Dr).

Abdullah, Sheikh Muhammad.

Abdur-Rahim (Sir).

Abdur-Rahim, Hafiz.

Abdur Rahman, Muhammad (Sir).

Abdur Rasul (Maulvi)—(See under Rasul, Abdur).

Abdus Samad Khan—(See under Khan, Abdus Samad).

Abhyankar, Moreshwar Vasudeo.

Abul-Kalam Azad (Maulana)—(See under Azad, Abul Kalam).

Achanta, Lakshmipathi—(See under Lakshmi-pathi Achanta).

Acharya, J. B. Kripalani—(See under Kripalani, J. B.).

Acharya Javdekar—(See under Javdekar, Shankar Dattatreya).

Acharya Jugal Kishore—(See under Jugal Kishore).

Acharya Narendra Deva—(See under Narendra Deva).

Acharya, Pyarimohan.

Acharya Ram Chandra Shukla—(See under Shukla, Ram Chandra).

Acharya, Ramesh Chandra.

Achutha Menon, C.—(See under Menon, C. Achutha).

Adikesavalu Naicker, P.M.—(See under Naicker, P. M. Adikesavalu).

Adityan, S. B.

Aga Khan III.

Agarkar, Gopal Ganesh.

Agarwala, Jyoti Prasad.

Agnihotri, Satya Nand—(See under Dev Atma).

Ahmadullah.

Ahmad Khan, Sayyid (Sir).

Ahmad, Muzaffar.

Ahmad Saeed (Maulana)—(See under Saeed (Maulana) Ahmad).

Ahmad Ullah Shah (Moulvi).

Ahmed, Ziauddin (Dr.).

Aiyar, Alladi Krishnaswami.

Aiyar, G. Subramania—(See under Iyer, G. Subrahmania).

Aiyar, S. Subramania—(See under Iyer S. Subramania).

Ajit Singh, Sardar.

Ajmal Khan, Hakim.

Ajudhia Nath, Pandit—(See under Ayodhya Nath, Pandit).

Akbar Hydari (Sir).

Akhandanand (Bhikshu)—(See under Bhikshu Akhandanand).

Alam, Maulvi Mehboob—(See under Mehboob Alam, Maulvi).

Alam, Sheikh Muhammad.

- Ali, Asaf—(See under Asaf Ali).
 Ali Imam (Sir).
 Ali, Muhammad—(See under Muhammad Ali, Maulana).
 Ali, Muhammad Khan Muhammad (Maharaja of Mahumudabad).
 Ali, Shaukat—(See under Shaukat Ali, Maulana).
 Ali Wilayat.
 Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar—(See under Aiyar, Alladi Krishnaswami).
 Allah Bux Soomro—(See under Soomro Allah Bux).
 Allama Mashriqi.
 Alluri Sitarama Raju—(See under Sitarama Raju, Alluri).
 Altaf Hussain Hali—(See under Hali Altaf Hussain).
 Alva, Joachim.
 Amarnath Vidyalankar—(See under Vidyalankar, Amarnath).
 Amba Prashad (Sufi).
 Ambedkar, Bhimrao Ramji (Dr.).
 Ambujammal, S.
 Amin, Motibhai.
 Amir Ahmad Khan (Raja of Mahumudabad).
 Amir Chand (Master).
 Amma A. V. Kuttimalu.
 Ammu Swaminathan—(See under Swaminathan, Ammu).
 Anrit Kaur, Rajkumari.
 Anand (Swami).
 Ananda Charlu, Panambakkam.
 Andrews, Charles Freer (Rev.).
 Aney, Madhav Shrihari.
 Annadurai, C. N.
 Annapurnayya, Madduri.
 Annasaheb Patwardhan—(See under Patwardhan, Achyut Sitaram).
 Ansari, Abdul Qaiyyum.
 Ansari, Mukhtar Ahmad.
 Apte, Dattatray Vishnu.
 Apte, Hari Narayan.
 Arjun Singh Gargate.
 Arokiaswamy Mudaliar, R. N.—(See under Mudaliar, R. N. Arokiaswami).
 Aruna Asaf Ali.
 Arundale, G. S.
- Arya, E. Surendranath.
 Asaf Ali.
 Asaf Ali, Aruna—(See under Aruna Asaf Ali).
 Asan, N. Kumaran (Mahakavi).
 Atariwala, Chatar Singh.
 Atariwala, Sham Singh.
 Ataullah Shah Bokhari—(See under Bokhari, Ataullah Shah).
 Atombapu Sharma Vidyaratna (Pandit Raja).
 Atre, Pralhad Keshab.
 Aurobindo (Sri).
 Avinashilingam Chettiar, T. S. (See under Chettiar, T. S. Avinashilingam).
 Awari, Manchershah.
 Ayengar, Madabhooshi Anantasayanam.
 Ayengar, N. Gopalaswamy—(See under Iyengar, N. Gopalaswamy).
 Ayodhia Nath, Pandit.
 Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao.
 Ayyanki Venkataramanayya—(See under Venkataramanayya, Ayyanki).
 Ayyar, T. Muthusami.
 Azad, Abul-Kalam (Maulana).
 Azad, Chaman Lal—(See under Chaman Lal Azad).
 Azad, Chandra Shekhar—(See under Chandra Shekhar Azad).
 Azad, Prithvi Singh—(See under Prithvi Singh Baba).
 Azhar, Mazhar Ali.
 Azimullah Khan.
- B**
- Baba Raghav Das—(See under Pachapurkar, Raghavendra Sheshappa).
 Baba Ram Chandra (See under Ram Chandra, Baba).
 Babasaheb Ichalkaranjekar—(See under Ghorpade, Narayan Rao Govindrao).
 Babasaheb Paranjpe—(See under Paranjpe, Narhar Shivaram).
 Badheka, Gijubhai.
 Badshah Khan—(See under Khan, Abdul Ghaffar Khan).
 Bagal, Madhavrao Khanderao.
 Bagha Jatin—(See under Mukherjee, Jatindra Nath).

- Bahadur Shah Zafar.
 Bajaj, Jammalal.
 Bajpai, Ambika Prasad.
 Bakshi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar.
 Bal, Lokenath.
 Bal Mukand (Bhai).
 Bala, Nanda Kishor.
 Balasaheb—(See under Pant Pratinidhi Shrinant Bhavanrao Shrinivasrao).
 Balgandharv—(See under Rajhans, Narayan Shripad).
 Balkrishna Bhatt—(See under Bhatt, Bal Krishna).
 Balkrishna Sharma—(See under Sharma, Balkrishna).
 Bal Raj Bhalla—(See under Bhalla, Bal Raj).
 Balukaka Kanitkar—(See under Kanitkar, Gajanan Narayan).
 Bulusu Sambamurti—(See under Sambamurti, Balusu).
 Balwant Singh (Bhai).
 Banaji, Framji Cowasji.
 Banarsi Das Chaturvedi—(See under Chaturvedi, Banarsi Das).
 Banerjee, Gooroodas (Sir).
 Bandyopadhyaya, Hemchandra.
 Banerjee, Jatindranath.
 Banerjee, Krishna Chandra.
 Banerjee, Krishna Mohan (Rev).
 Banerjee, Panchkadi.
 Banerjee, Pramatha Nath.
 Banerji, Rakhaldas.
 Banerjee, Rangalal.
 Banerjee, Satcowri.
 Banerjee, Surendranath.
 Banerjee, Suresh Chandra.
 Banerjee, Upendra Nath.
 Bonnerjee, Woomesh Chandra.
 Banker, Shankerlal.
 Bapat, Pandurang Mahadev (Senapati).
 Baptista, Joseph.
 Bari, Abdul.
 Barkatullah.
 Borooah, Anundoram.
 Barua, Gunaviram.
 Barua, Hemchandra.
 Basheer Ahmed, Sayeed—(See under Sayeed Basheer Ahmed).
- Bashir-ud-din Mahmud Ahmed.
 Bashyam Iyengar, V.—(See under Iyengar, V. Bashyam).
 Basudev Sudhaldev.
 Bayya Narasimha Sarma—(See under Narasimha Sarma, Bayya).
 Bazaz, Prem Nath.
 Bechar, A. Naraindas—(See under Naraindas Bechar, A.).
 Beg, Mirza Samiullah.
 Begraj, Viroomal.
 Begum Hazrat Mahal—(See under Hazrat Mahal, Begum).
 Besant, Annie.
 Bezwada Gopala Reddy (See under Gopala Reddy, Bezwada).
 Bhagwat Singh, Sardar.
 Bhagwan Dass.
 Bhagwan Singh (Giani).
 Bhagwati Charan.
 Bhai Bal Mukand—(See under Bal Mukand, Bhai).
 Bhakna, Sohan Singh.
 Bhaktavatsalam, M.
 Bhalla, Bal Raj.
 Bhandarkar, Ramkrishna Gopal.
 Bhanjdeo, Sriram Chandra.
 Bharathan, C. E.
 Bharati, Dasan.
 Bharati, Shudhananda.
 Bhargava, Gopi Chand.
 Bhargava, Mukud Behari Lal.
 Bhargava, Thakur Das.
 Bhartendu Harish Chandra.
 Bhatt, Balkrishna.
 Bhatt, Gokulbhai.
 Bhatt, Nanabhai.
 Bhattacharya, Kamala Kanta.
 Bhattathiripad, V. T.
 Bhau Daji Lad (Dr.)—(See under Lad, Ramkrishna Vithal).
 Bhau Mahajan—(See under Mahajan, Govind Vithal).
 Bhaui Daptari—(See under Daptari, Kesav Laxman).
 Bhawe, Vinayak Narahari.
 Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi—(See under Sannyasi Bhawani Dayal).

Bhikshu Akhandanand.
 Bhim Sen Sachar—(See under Sachar, Bhim Sen).
 Bhograju Pattabhi Sitaramayya, (Dr.)—(See under Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Bhograju).
 Bholanath Sarabhai—(See under Divetia, Bholanath Sarabhai).
 Bhonsle, Jagannath Rao (Col.).
 Bhopatkar, Bhaskar Balwant.
 Bhopatkar, Laxman Balwant.
 Bhurgri, G. M.
 Bindu, Digambar Rao—(See under Digambar Rao, Bindu).
 Birjis Qadr.
 Birla, G. D.
 Birsa Bhagwan—(See under Birsa Munda).
 Birsa Munda.
 Bishambhar Nath, Pandit.
 Bishan Narayan Dar, Pandit—(See under Dar, Pandit Bishan Narayan).
 Biswas, Ram Krishna.
 Biswas, Suresh (Col.).
 Biyani, Brijlal.
 Bobbili, Raja.
 Bokhari, Ataullah Shah.
 Bordoloi, Gopinath.
 Bordoloi, Nabin Chandra.
 Bardoloi, Rajani Kanta.
 Bose, Ananda Mohan.
 Bose, Benoy Krishna.
 Bose, Bhupendra Nath.
 Bose, Girish Chandra.
 Bose, Jagadish Chandra.
 Bose, Kshudiram.
 Bose, Manomohan.
 Basu, Mrinal Kanti.
 Basu, Rajnarayan.
 Bose, Rashbehari.
 Bose, Sarat Chandra.
 Bose, Satyendra Nath.
 Bose, Subhas Chandra.
 Braganza, Luis de Menezes.
 Brahmajossyula Subrahmanyam (Dr.)—(See under Subrahmanyam, Brahma Jossyula).
 Brahmachari, Nilakanta.
 Brahmananda Reddy, Kasu.
 Brahmayya, Gottipati.
 Brelvi, Syed Abdulla.

Brij Narayan Chakbast (Pandit) (See under Chakbast, Brij Narayan).
 Budh Singh, Sardar.
 Bukhsh, Khuda—(See under Khuda Bukhsh).
 Burgula Ramakrishna Rao (See under Ramakrishna Rao Burgula).

C

Cama, Kharshedji Rustamji.
 Cama, Madam Bhikaji.
 Cattamanchi Ramalinga Reddy (See under Ramalinga Reddy, Cattamanchi).
 Caveesher, Sardul Singh—(See under Sardul Singh Caveesher).
 Chakbast, Brij Narayan (Pandit).
 Chaki, Prafulla.
 Chakravarty, Abinash Chandra.
 Chakravarty, Ambika.
 Chakravarty, Beharilal.
 Chakravarti, Byomkesh.
 Chakravarti, Harikumar.
 Chakravarti, Satish Chandra.
 Chakravarty, Shyam Sundar.
 Chakravarti, Tarachand.
 Chakravarty, Troilokya.
 Chaliha, Kuladhar.
 Chaman Lal Azad.
 Chanda, Arun Kumar.
 Chanda, Kamini Kumar.
 Chandavarkar, Narayan Ganesh (Sir).
 Chandra, Bholanath.
 Chandra Shekhar Azad.
 Changanacherry K. Parameswaran Pillai—(See under Pillai, Changanacherry K. Parameswaran).
 Chapekar Brothers (Damodar, Balkrishna & Wasudeo).
 Chatar Singh Atariwala—(See under Atariwala, Chatar Singh).
 Chatterjee, Amarendra Nath.
 Chattopadhyaya, Bankim Chandra.
 Chatterjee, Birendra Nath.
 Chatterji, Jibanlal.
 Chatterjee, Jogesh Chandra.
 Chatterjee, Kaliprasanna.
 Chattopadhyaya, Kamaladevi.
 Chatterjee, Ramananda.

Chattopadhyaya, Sarat Chandra.
 Chatterjee, Satish Chandra.
 Chatterjee, Srish Chandra.
 Chaturvedi, Bimarsi Das.
 Chaturvedi, Mankhan Lal.
 Chaudhurani, Saraladevi.
 Chaudhuri, Asutosh (Sir).
 Choudhury, Brojendra Narayan.
 Choudhuri, Gopabandhu.
 Choudhuri, Jagal.
 Choudhuri Khaliquzzaman—(See under Khaliquzzaman, Choudhuri).
 Chaudhry, Ram Narain.
 Choudhury (Ghose), Suniti.
 Chauhan, Subhadra Kumari.
 Chembaka Raman Pillai—(See under Pillai, Chempakaraman).
 Chenchayya, Darsi—(See under Darsi, Chenchayya).
 Cherukuvada Venkatanarasimham—(See under Venkata Narasimham Cherukuvada).
 Chettiar, T. A. Ramalingam.
 Chettiar, T. S. Avinashilingam.
 Chettur Sankaran Nair (Sir)—(See under Nair, Chettur Sankaran).
 Chetty, Gazulu Lakshmi Narasu—(See under Lakshminarasu Chetti, Gajula).
 Chetty, K. P. Puttanna (Sir)—(See under Shetty, K. P. Puttanna).
 Chetty, P. Theagaraya (Sir).
 Chetty, R. K. Shanmugam.
 Chetty, Venkatachalam (Swami).
 Chhatari, Nawab of.
 Chhotu Ram (Sir).
 Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham—(See under Lakshminarasimham Chilakamarti).
 Chintamani, Chirravoori Yajneswara (Sir).
 Chiplunkar, Vishnu Krishna.
 Chirravoori Yajneswara Chintamani (Sir)—(See under Chintamani, Chirravoori Yajneswara).
 Chitale, Vishnu Damodar.
 Chinavis, Gangadharrao Madhavrao (Sir).
 Chitnis, Gajanan Yeshwant (Dr.)
 Chokalingam, T. S.
 Choithram Partabrai Gidwani (Dr.)—(See under Gidwani, Choithram Partabrai).
 Chunder, Nirmal Chandra.

Chundrigar, Ismail Ibrahim.
 Cottipati Brahmayya—(See under Brahmayya Gottipati).
 Cotton, Henry (Sir).
 Cunha, Jose Gerson Da (Dr.).
 Cunha, Tristao Braganza (Dr.)

D

Dada Rano—(See under Rano, Dada).
 Dadasaheb Khaparde—(See under Khaparde, Ganesh Shrikrishna).
 Dadasaheb Mavalankar—(See under Mavalankar, Ganesh Vasudeo).
 Dalpatram (Kavi).
 Damodara Menon, K. A.—(See under Menon, K. A. Damodara).
 Dange, Shripad Amrit.
 Daptari, Keshav Laxman.
 Dar, Abdul Ghani.
 Dar, Bishan Narayan (Pandit).
 Darbar Gopaldas Kashibhai—(See under Desai, Darbar Gopaldas Kashibhai).
 Darsi, Chenchayya.
 Das, Ashutosh (Dr.).
 Das, Basanta Kumar.
 Das (Bhowmic), Bina.
 Das, Bishwanath.
 Das, Chitta Ranjan (Deshbandhu).
 Das, Damodar—(See under Rahul Sankri-tayan).
 Das, Gopabandhu.
 Das, Gobinda Chandra.
 Das, Harihar (Acharya).
 Das, Jatindra Nath.
 Das, Madhusudan.
 Das, Mukunda.
 Das, Narasingha.
 Das, Neelakantha.
 Das, Omco Kumar.
 Das, Prasanna Kumar.
 Das, Pulin Behari.
 Das, Purna.
 Das, Ram Udar—(See under Rahul Sankri-tayan).
 Das, Rasiklal.
 Das, Sarangadhar.
 Das, Sundarimohan (Dr.).
 Das, Taraknath (Dr.).

Das Gupta, Ashutosh.
 Das Gupta, Birendra Nath.
 Das Gupta, Kanala.
 Das Gupta, Nibaran Chandra.
 Das Gupta, Pannalal.
 Das Gupta, Purnananda.
 Das Gupta, Satish Chandra.
 Das Kanango, Hem Chandra.
 Dasappa, H. C.
 Dastidar, Tarakeswar.
 Datar, Bolwant Nageshrao.
 Datta, Akshay Kumar.
 Datta, Aswini Kumar.
 Datta, Batukeshwar.
 Dutta, Bhupendra Kumar.
 Dutta, Bhupendra Nath.
 Dutta, Gadadhar.
 Datta Hirendra Nath.
 Datta (Joshi), Kalpana.
 Dutta, Kanailal.
 Dutta, Krishan Gopal Choudhari.
 Datta, Michael Madhusudan.
 Datta, Ram Bhaj (Chaudhuri).
 Dutt Romesh Chunder.
 Datta, Shrish Chandra.
 Dutt, Toru.
 Datta, Ullaskar.
 Dutta, Umesh Chandra.
 Daulatram, Jairamdas—(See under Jairamdas Daulatram).
 Daultana, Mian Mumtaz.
 Dave, Jugatram.
 Dave, Kavi Narmadashanker Lalshanker—(See under Kavi Narmad).
 Dayal Singh Majithia—(See under Majithia, Dayal Singh).
 Dayanand (Swami).
 Dayaram Gidoomal—(See under Gidumal, Dayaram).
 Day, Lal Bihari.
 De Sarkar, Jogendra Nath.
 Deb, Benoy Krishna (Raja).
 Deb, Khirode Chandra.
 Deb, Narendra Krishna (Raja).
 Deb, Radhakanta (Raja).
 Deb, Satish Chandra.
 Deb, Shyama Charan.
 Deb, Sib Chandra.

Deb Goswami, Pitambar.
 Deo, Shankar Shrikrishna.
 Deogirikar, Tryambak Raghunath.
 Derozio, Henry Lui Vivian.
 Desai, Bhulabhai.
 Desai, Darbar Gopaldas Kashibhai.
 Desai-Hegde, Govind Pundalik (Dr.)—(See under Hegde-Desai Govind Pundalik).
 Desai, Khandubhai Kashanji.
 Desai, Mahadev Haribhai.
 Desai, Morarjibhai Ranchhodji.
 Desai, Ramanlal Vasantlal.
 Deshabandhu Chittaranjan—(See under Das, Chittaranjan).
 Deshmukh, Durgabai.
 Deshmukh, Gopal Hari (Lokhitwadi).
 Deshmukh, Gopalrao Vinayakrao (Dr.).
 Deshmukh, Gopalrao Vinayakrao (Dr.).
 Deshmukh, Panjabrao Shamrao (Dr.).
 Deshmukh, Ramrao Madhavrao.
 Deshpande, Gangadhar Balkrishna.
 Deshpande, Purushottam Yashwant.
 Deuskar, Sakharam Ganesh.
 Dev, Shankar Dattatraya.
 Dev Atma, Sri.
 Devadhar Gopal Krishna (alias Babasaheb).
 Devi (Das), Basanti.
 Devi, Nanibala.
 Devi, Rama.
 Devi, Sarala.
 Devi, Swarnakumari.
 Devi, Urmila.
 Dewan Barbhandar Maniram Datta Barua.
 Dhanvantri (Comrade).
 Dharnidhar, Babu.
 Dhebar, Uchharangray Navalshankar.
 Dhekial Phukan, Anandaram.
 Dhekial Phookan, Holiram.
 Dhingra, Madan Lal.
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A POSITIVIST HISTORIAN: H. T. BUCKLE

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It is interesting to ask whether a work on history is valuable because it provides knowledge of *what* has happened in the past or because the historian has somehow discerned causes which explain *why* events occurred. Of course, this may be, in many ways, a false distinction because it is hardly possible to separate “pure historical facts” from historical writing and because there is no work of history without an historian. Even a list of “facts” involves decisions in selection and arrangement, and every “therefore” in an historical work implies causality. Yet many historical works are considered and discussed with a minimal mention of the author’s philosophy of history, method, theories of causation, and prejudices. Like many motion picture scripts, the bias is effective without being noticed and thought turns to the “content” rather than the “form” of the work. Discussion of Henry Thomas Buckle’s work, *The History of Civilization in England*, however, has been focused almost exclusively on matters of methodology and philosophy of history, so that unless one had read the book he might conclude that Buckle never mentioned an historical event. A study of Buckle’s unusual intellectual life helps explain why his work has been misunderstood.

Born in 1832, Buckle was self-educated from the age of fourteen. Throughout his life he had a strong disdain for universities and existing historical study in general. History, he once wrote, “is still miserably deficient, and presents that confused and anarchical appearance natural

to a subject of which the laws are unknown, and even the foundation unsettled.”¹ To develop his view of history, Buckle travelled widely and studied deeply, learning nineteen languages and amassing a personal library of 22,000 volumes which included works on economics, statistics, law, politics, philosophy, sociology, all of the natural sciences, literature, and history. His diary reveals that over a period of a dozen years he read three books a day.² Independently wealthy, Buckle devoted his life to writing a comparative history of civilization and attempting to discover the “laws” which he believed would explain all the manifestations of a cultured society. But at the time of his death at the age of 41, he had published only three volumes of *The History of Civilization in England*, which were merely an introduction to a projected later work. The work was an immediate success and Buckle became “the Chief Lion for the time being.”³ Yet, the title of Buckle’s work is somewhat of a misnomer because the book is really an elaborate statement and defense of his philosophy of history in which he cited as many examples from French, Spanish, and Scottish history as he did from English history.

Buckle’s philosophy of history has often been summed up by his statement that “The real history of the human race is the history of the tendencies which are discovered by the senses.”⁴ This passage, however, is an understatement of his belief that free will is an illusion and that

all human actions are determined by laws governing both natural influences and the operations of the mind. To Buckle, events seem disordered only because we do not fully understand them. He was convinced that the task of the historian, who has long lagged behind the natural scientist, is to discover the laws which determine the conduct of men. Buckle believed that previous historians had been misled by narrowness of study (which obscured the general causes) and belief in divine intervention. "They believe," he wrote, "that what is unexplained is inexplicable and that what is inexplicable is supernatural."⁵ Buckle often cited statistics to show that human behavior is more regular than it sometimes appears. Thus, according to Buckle, murders, robberies, suicides, marriages, even incompletely addressed correspondence, occur with such predictable regularity that they become necessary. Indeed, "In a given state of society a certain number of persons must put an end to their own life."⁶

According to Buckle, the natural causes which shape a society are soil, climate, food and the "General Aspect of Nature," by which he meant such catastrophes as earthquakes, hurricanes, and plagues. In summary, food, (influenced by climate and soil), where it is abundant, causes both a large population and, because of the oversupply of labor, a sharp distinction between a few very rich controllers and a large, poverty-ridden working class. The "Aspects of Nature" are responsible chiefly for the degree of superstition (i.e., India's tropical storms and pestilence evoked the fearsome god Kali and Spain's earthquakes explain her dogmatic Catholicism) and give "a particular tone to religion, arts, literature, and, in a word, to all the principal manifestations of the human mind."⁷

These natural forces, averred Buckle, only help set the stage for a higher civilization. In much of Europe, where a limited abundance of food had established a wealthy leisure class and the "Aspects of Nature" are mild enough to permit intelligent thought, civilization has

progressed to the point where man is, by and large, in control of nature. Thus, most history is determined not by natural forces but by mental laws which can be discovered by empirical observation rather than by philosophical speculation.

Buckle planned to limit his study of intellectual forces to modern England with a few additional examples from Spain, France, and Scotland. But since he found England singularly lacking in examples of protective government policy or spiritual dogma, he dealt in detail with Spain, France, and Scotland. To Buckle, the institutions of religion and government were not influences upon a civilization, but only effects of it, and he attempted to demonstrate his concept by showing that whenever forms of these institutions drastically contradict existing norms they are denounced as heresy. The most effective intellectual force, averred Buckle, is scepticism, which "has remedied the three fundamental errors of the olden time: error which made the people, in politics too confiding; in science too credulous; in religion too intolerant."⁸ In the remaining three-quarters of his history, Buckle attempted to show how the presence or lack of the sceptical spirit has accounted for the varying scientific, political and literary successes of the European nations.

In the light of John Stuart Mill's remark that "The English invariably mistrust the most evident truths if he who propounds them is suspected of having general ideas,"⁹ it is easy to understand the severe criticisms which Buckle's bizarre philosophy of history, and especially his historical "laws," evoked in Britain. Although Buckle's work was well received by the general reading public, because he gave "an acute and exhaustive demonstration of the numerous contemporary positivistic theories and brought them over from abstract philosophy to literature,"¹⁰ it was precisely this "demonstration" which provided critics with something to criticize.

The first thing emphasized by Buckle's

critics was that he could claim very few of the "discovered laws" as his own. Yet, these criticisms were used by a sympathetic biographer to demonstrate that Buckle achieved a "great synthesis" of (1) Mill's and Quetelet's views on statistics, (2) Coleridge's statement that the progress of history is the education of the mind, (3) Hazlitt's on the efficacy of climate, (4) Voltaire's concept of history as something more than mere politics and biography, (5) Montesquieu's general view of the forces of nature, (6) Adam Smith's ideas on the wisdom of a laissez-faire government, (7) Comte's assessment of primary sociological factors, and (8) Kant's concept (which Buckle misunderstood) of free will as an illusion.¹¹ Buckle's syncretism could not have been seriously criticised if the ideas which he had borrowed were, in fact, valid. Unfortunately, much of what he borrowed was invalid. His use of statistics is an obvious example. Clearly he was correct in perceiving that statistics could often indicate general trends which might not be apparent in a study of individual cases, but as soon as he said "law," which implies compulsion on the individual level, he misused the new science of statistics. This, inevitably, led to the fallacy in his argument that free will is an illusion. The problem of free will is, to this day, highly controversial, but at least one aspect of it is clear—that personal determinism cannot be proven by studying statistics and by arriving at the probability of certain occurrences. As Lord Acton pointed out, if during every year one man in his city has committed suicide and it is December 31 and nobody has yet taken his life, there is no sudden compulsion for one person to do so.¹² Another one of Buckle's errors was his belief in the power of nature over the minds of men. He might be justified in asserting that terrifying natural disasters promote superstition in primitive societies, but he could not account for the fact that free thought flourishes in places where there was once superstition. Moreover, Buckle viewed men as static objects of mechanical laws, rather than as complex, dynamic, and developing individuals which cannot be studied in the way a

scientist examines a leaf under a microscope. Perhaps this error was due to the fact that "it was Buckle's misfortune to be brought up on Newton and write before Darwin".¹³ In fact, *The History of Civilization in England* was published in the same year (1859) as Darwin's *The Origin of Species*.

Not all of the criticisms of Buckle were justified. Since he expressed his views "with a decision which can hardly ever be attained by men who have the misfortune to see two sides of a question,"¹⁴ Buckle provoked attacks from people who not only misunderstood him but knew far less than he assumed. Thus a critic for the *Edinburgh Review* who assailed Buckle's Catholicism claimed (in an error more startling than even Buckle's) that there has been only one known earthquake in the entire Iberian peninsula.¹⁵ Other criticisms, however, were far more serious. Thus the German historian, Johann Gustav Droysen, declared that while Buckle claimed to write "scientific history," he never troubled to define either "science" or "history." Was "history" a series of dead facts somehow made meaningful by "science"? And, exactly what are the capabilities and limits of "scientific knowledge"? If Buckle had made himself clear on these points, his work might have been much more meaningful. Similarly, another general failure was the fact that he never really answered the question, "What is civilization?" Although Buckle declared that civilization is brought about by a sceptical spirit of mind, he never really presented a careful definition to the subject of his life's work. Had he done so, his work might not have seemed so random and diffuse. Finally, Buckle might have provided a very valuable comparison of different scientific methods and their relative efficacies, but, as a critic pointed out, instead he indulged in such meaningless and erroneous generalizations as that of women thinking deductively and men inductively.¹⁷

Although Buckle's philosophy of history was very much questioned and challenged, one asks whether it is possible for a man to err in his

conclusions and yet contribute something to historical knowledge by demonstrating the results of rigorous research? Perhaps, but Buckle also largely failed on this point. First, of all, he did not merely state his bizarre philosophy of history and then proceed to write what might be termed more acceptable history. He devoted his entire book to proving his philosophy, by arguing "to and not from chapter one."¹⁸ Moreover, his great erudition was not buttressed by a strong critical spirit. Indeed, as one critic observed, "No book of equal popularity ever showed a more remarkable disproportion between the writer's knowledge of books and his knowledge of man."¹⁹ Buckle did very little research in original sources and the 22,000 volumes in his library were largely well known books of the time which were definitely second rate sources for his work. One reviewer made much of Buckle's reliance upon the *Penny Cyclopaedia*.²⁰ Furthermore, in spite of Buckle's knowledge of nineteen languages, his bibliography of almost a thousand works comprised, in addition to French and English, only eighteen items in Spanish, eight in German, and four in other languages. Buckle was likewise charged with taking too much at face value. Thus, a critic remarked: "In days when few men think it necessary to read all the books they quote, he (Buckle) seems to think it necessary to quote all the books he reads."²¹ The lack of a critical spirit may have been attributed to his lack of a university education. But, when dealing with the age of Mill, Huxley, and Spencer, it certainly cannot be argued that a university education was necessary for original thought. Yet, in the case of Buckle, it might well have tempered some of his more extreme views. He was "a bit of a bigot...who hated intolerance so much that he was blind, or almost blind, to religion."²² Similarly, Buckle,

in his reaction to traditional history, virtually ignored "courts, camps, organized institutions, and laws."²³ That he was often careless with facts was apparent in the complaint of a reviewer that Buckle's statement that mammals in the northern latitudes require blubber as food to survive, "patently ignored the abundance of reindeer in the Arctic regions."²⁴

What then, was Buckle's contribution? In some parts of his work, Buckle escaped from his philosophy of history and from the dilemma of how a believer in great trends and laws might deal with individuals. Thus, he departed from his philosophy to present interesting discourses on such persons as Burke, Voltaire, Hume, and Adam Smith. Buckle also merits some credit for increasing the scope of historical study to include geographic and sociological factors, the use of statistics, and comparisons between European and non-European civilizations. J. M. Robertson, who greatly sympathized with Buckle's objectives and work, concluded that in spite of the weaknesses of Buckle's work, there was much "sound metal" in his book.²⁵ But, because of his philosophy of history, and possibly because he did not live to complete his work, Buckle has been almost completely forgotten. Ironically, in dealing with the Middle Ages, Buckle may have given the best description of himself when he wrote: "we frequently meet with men whose erudition ministers to their ignorance, and who the more they read, the less they know."²⁶ Buckle had many readers but few followers and his work was "Like Robinson Crusoe's huge boat...which never was of any use to its maker or anyone else, but remained high and dry upon the land, a monument of waste of labor and of dauntless energy."²⁷

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INDIAN HERITAGE IN TRINIDAD (WEST INDIES)

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The Indian sub-continent¹ in South Asia contributed about 143,000 indentured labourers to Trinidad in the West Indies between 1845 and 1917 A.D. This emigration from a vast country, about two thousand miles from the North to the South and 1,575,000 square miles in area, with varying geographical and climatic conditions, to a small island, 1,750 square miles in area situated thousands of miles away, 10° North of the Equator, meant the uprooting of an old culture and its transplantation in a strange environment. Those who were aware of the fallacy of calling Trinidad and the neighbouring countries the 'West Indies' would perhaps have been gratified to know that a real Indian element had come to stay in this 'new' part of the world. Even though both India and Trinidad were under the British rule during this period, the risk involved in this adventure was indeed great.

A vast majority of these Indian emigrants came from North India (Aryavarta of ancient times and Hindustan of medieval age). Because they came through the port of Calcutta in Bengal they were known as 'Kalkatias', to distinguish them from about five thousand (10 p.c. of the total emigrants up to 1870) South Indians who emigrated through the port of Madras and were known as 'Madrasis' in Trinidad.

During the period of this exodus many political and administrative developments took place in North India. The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, lying between 23°52' and 31°18' North and 77°3' and 84°39' East and

bounded on the North by Tibet and on the North-East by Nepal, on the East and South-East by the districts of the province of Bihar, on the West by the States of Gwalior, Dholpur and Bharatpur and Delhi and some districts of the Panjab, and flanked by the river Yamuna (Jamuna) on the West and Gandak on the East and the river Ganga (Ganges) passing through its southern part, was created by the British for administrative convenience. The Province of Agra, 83,198 square miles in area, acquired by the British in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, was formed in 1834 and a Lt. Governor was appointed to these North-West Provinces in 1836. The major part of the province of Oudh (Ayodhya or Awadh), 23,966 square miles in area, annexed by the British in 1856, was first placed under a Chief Commissioner; in 1877 along with Agra it became one administrative division under the Lt. Governor of the North-West Provinces and then in 1902 the area was named the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.²

The northern Himalayan tracts of U.P. consisted of the districts of Garhwal, Almora, Dehradun and Nainital, a large portion of which had been annexed by the British in 1816. The sub-Himalayan tracts comprised the districts of Saharanpur, Bijnor, Rampur States, Bareilly and Pilibhit and further down the districts of Kheri, Bahraich, Gonda, Basti and Gorakhpur on the Nepal border.

The western portion of the Great Gangetic plain consisted of thirteen districts—Muzaffarnagar, Meerut, Bulandshahr, Aligarh, Muttra,

Agra, Farukhabad, Mainpuri, Etawah, Etah, Budaun, Moradabad and Shahjahanpur—most of these between the famous rivers Ganga and Yamuna. In the centre of the great plain lay the districts of Cawnpore (Kanpur from Kanhaiya or Krishna, or Kanhpur), Fatchpur and Allahabad, with nine of the Oudh districts lying between the rivers Ganga and Gogra: Lucknow, Unao, Rae Bareilly, Sitapur, Hardoi, Fyzbad, Sultanpur, Partabgarh and Bara Banki.

The eastern portion of the great plain included Ballia, Jaunpur, Azamgarh, Banaras and Ghazipur districts, all lying between the Gogra and the Ganga rivers.

On the south-west and south lay the four districts of Jalaun, Banda, Hamirpur and Jhansi. Mirzapur was the largest district in the plains.

The province of Bihar³ (from the numerous *Viharas* or Buddhist monasteries), to the east of U.P., with almost the same soil and weather conditions as in the latter province, was formally granted by the Mughal Emperor of India to the British in 1765 by the Grant of Diwani for revenue collection, and till 1912 it formed part of the Bengal Presidency. Divided by the Ganges almost in the middle and flanked by the foothills of the Himalayas in the North, this area, excluding the Chota-Nagpur plateau, lying between 23°48' and 27°31' North and 83°20' and 88°32' East, consisted of the districts of Saran, Champaran, Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Purnea and North Bhagalpur in the North and Shahabad, Patna, Gaya, Monghyr, Santhal Parganas and part of Bhagalpur in the south.

It was from these two provinces⁴ that a vast majority of Indians came and settled in Trinidad. Up to the year 1870, 16,207 or 41.7 per cent of the total number of Indian immigrants came from Agra and Oudh; 11,278 or 29.3 per cent from Bihar and 8,396 or 21.9 per cent from Bengal, with a sprinkling of tribal people from Chota-Nagpur and the hills of North Bengal and Assam, called 'hill coolies' or

'junglies' in Trinidad. Between 1876 and 1879 came 6,384 men, women and children of whom 46.5 per cent came from Agra, 27.9 from Oudh, 16.2 from Bihar and only 5.4 from Bengal.

Up to 1891, about 11,885 went back to India; many died in Trinidad, and after the offer of Crown land around 1870 many settled in Trinidad for good. It is these settlers who bequeathed to their children and grandchildren the cultural heritage of India, to be precise, the legacy of the 'Madhya Desh' of ancient times. This area, the seat of ancient cultures, was overpopulated and economically depressed in the later part of the nineteenth century. The extreme heat in the summer, the floods in the monsoon leading to whole-scale destruction of crops, and the recurrent famines⁵ made life difficult under the British rule. Rural indebtedness was appalling and agriculture was 'by no means an easy business by which to make a living'.⁶ Moreover the Mutiny-cum-Revolt of 1857 had a disastrous socio-economic effect on this region.

Most of the Indian emigration in the second half of the nineteenth century therefore occurred from this area. From the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) alone about 700,000 persons left in search of employment for other parts of India between 1891 and 1901, while more than 100,000 were registered in 1908 as emigrants to the West Indies, Fiji, and Natal, and there was a considerable exodus from the eastern submontane districts into Nepal.⁷ The districts from which people chiefly emigrated lay 'east of a line drawn through Allahabad and Fyzabad'.⁸

In Bihar, the western districts of Shahabad with district headquarters at Arrah, and Saran with headquarters at Chapra contributed a good deal to emigration. The people of Shahabad, it was said in 1908, 'are in demand all over Bengal as zamindars' peons and club men; and many also emigrate to the colonies'.⁹

Many of these emigrants had possessed land

before the unforeseen calamities fell on them; they also knew the value of money. Naturally, therefore, they preferred to live a simple life and save money to acquire property as soon as possible so that their children could live in comfort. No wonder then that by late 1870's the Indians in Trinidad had some good horses which won prizes in races and the best kept cows and between 1885 and 1909 they acquired 69,037 acres of land.

E.F.L. Wood's report of 1922 described the East Indians, to distinguish them from the Amerindians and West Indians, 130,000 in number, "largely illiterate, speaking some five or six different languages", and living a life of their own.¹⁰ What Wood really missed was the fundamental unity in apparent diversities—a legacy from India. 'Illiteracy' here meant 'devoid of English Education', but this again was a legacy from U.P. and Bihar where western education in the rural areas was suspected up to the end of the nineteenth century as leading to conversion to Christianity. Exclusiveness was a result of the exigencies of the situation.

The proportion of Hindus to the Muslims in Trinidad in the last decade of the nineteenth century was approximately the same as in U.P. and Bihar at this time. In 1893 Comins noted that in 1891, 85.90 per cent of the non-Christian Indians were Hindus and 13.44 per cent Muhammadans. According to the 1901 census of India 85 per cent of the population in U.P. were Hindus and 14 per cent Muslims and in Shahabad (in Bihar) 92.7 per cent Hindus and 7.3 per cent Muslims.

Religion has always been the core of Indian culture and the religious philosophy has occupied a central place in the Indian way of life. To the Indians who emigrated to far-off lands religion was a great sustainer and at times a tranquilizer.

The Indian Muslims brought to Trinidad their scripture, the *Quran* ('Recital'), the infallible word of Allah (God), containing the

creed and the proper pattern of life, believed to have been revealed to the Prophet Mohammed by the Angel Gabriel. Even now the reading of the *Quran* and offering of *namaz* (prayer) is a must with the devout Muslims. Islam is a brotherhood, all the faithful being equal before God. But in Indian conditions a sort of social hierarchy had been created in the Muslim society also.

The Shias brought the festival of Muharram. The *Tazia* procession (Husain or Hose) was the biggest festival in which Hindus also participated. In fact, from 1850's¹¹ this festival became the annual demonstration of Indian national feeling which culminated in the Hose Riots of San Fernando in 1884. A big flag is raised at the start of the ceremony and the *tazias* (replicas of the tombs of Hasan and Husain, grandchildren of prophet Mohammad) are led by specially trained moon dancers to the accompaniment of drum beating and 'gatka' (stick) fighting. In the past fire-rod dancing was also done, twirling a twelve foot pole with flaming rags secured to either end.¹² Even non-Indians have been taking part in the procession. Like the Muharram, *Idul-Fitr* and *Sab-e-Barat* are celebrated in Trinidad in the same way as in India. The Hindu festival of Shiva-ratri has some similarity to the latter Muslim festival.

Smaller mosques were built as soon as some Muslims in Trinidad could afford to have them. Today the St. Joseph mosque and the Nur-e-Islam mosque in San Juan are beautiful structures, serving as religious and cultural centres for the Muslim community.

There is evidence of some Christians having come from India, especially from the Malabar coast; many Indian Christians in Trinidad, however, have been converts from the Hindu and Muslim communities. Many of such converts still retain their hereditary respect for the Hindu or Muslim way of life. A few churches, like the Susamachar Presbyterian in San Fernando, established in early 1870's are

visited mainly by the Indians. Hindus participate in the festivities of Christmas and offer oil and even bracelets to the image of Virgin Mary (Sipari Ma) at Siparia.¹³

The relationship between the Muslims on the one hand and the Hindus on the other has been, on the whole, cordial. In the United Provinces and Bihar where a rapprochement had taken place between the two religions in medieval times, the same sort of co-existence could be seen in the early nineteenth century. The cult of *Satyapir* and the veneration of Muslim Sufi saints in North India symbolised this cordial relationship since the medieval times. Muslim separatism culminating in the partition of the sub-continent was a much later development.

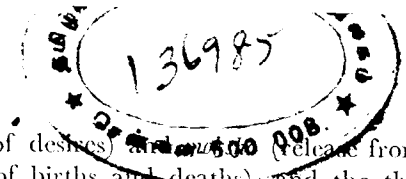
Hinduism has no established church nor one prophet and it may be called a common-wealth of varying sects and beliefs. The Hindu immigrants in Trinidad brought almost all the intellectual, metaphysical and ritualistic traditions of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. But in the early days of indenture they pursued their religious practices modestly. There was no big festival or community *yajnas*—neither 'swing-festival' nor the birthday of any God was observed on a big scale. But by the early 1860s Hindu temples were built, priests were engaged and in early 1880s the South Indian fire-walking ceremony became so popular that regulations were issued by a frightened Government to curb the processions.

Today the Vedic tradition of *Yajna* (fire-sacrifice)—*homa* and *havan*—can be seen in many Hindu homes. The Upanishadic (Vedantic) tradition of *jñana* (knowledge through meditation) and the *bhakti* (devotion) tradition of *Shrimadbhagavadgita* is also known. The *Varnashram dharma* (ordained duties of the four classes of the people—Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and the Shudra) and the four stages of life (*Brahmacharya*, *Garhashya*, *Vanaprastha* and *Sanyas*), and the four goals of life—*dharma* (righteousness), *artha* (vocation), *kama* (fulfil-

ment of desires) and *moksha* (release from the cycle of births and deaths)—and the theories of reincarnation, the *karma* and *samsara* (transmigration of soul)—are known to many elderly people.¹⁴ The Puranic belief in the triad of Gods—Brahma, the creator, Vishnu, the preserver, and Shiva (Mahesh), the destroyer—the three manifestations of the Supreme Brahman (God)—is retained by the majority of Hindus.

J. H. Collens in 1883¹⁵ referred to the mythological, philosophical and theological works which the Hindus in Trinidad respected. Even now the *pandits* (priests) and older Hindus in general, know the traditional cosmic chronology divided into the four epochs—*Krita* or *Satya* (golden), *Treta*, ending with the events of the *Ramayana*, *Dwapar*, ending with the age of Krishna, and *Kaliyuga* (dark age) which is continuing. Indeed, the religion of the Hindus has a very long tradition, from the animism of the Indus-Valley Civilisation through the *Shruti* (heard), *Smriti* (remembered) literature, the two epics (the *Ramayana* of Valmiki and the *Mahabharata* of Vyasa) and the eighteen Puranas to the medieval *bhakti* (devotional) movement and the reformation movements of modern times, and all these stages of development are familiar to the priests and some of the older members of the Hindu community in Trinidad.

A *puja* (worship) is either an individual affair like *sandhyavandan* in which the *mantras* (hymns) from Rig-Veda and Yajur-Veda are chanted or a community or congregational affair in a temple or a hall or a *pandal* like the reading of *Bhagavat* or *Shiva Purana* in Sanskrit or the *Ramayana* of Tulsidas in old Hindi (Awadhi). On the festival days special *pujas* are done in honour of a deity; some *pujas*, on the other hand, are done on the fulfilment of some wish for which a ceremony had been promised (*manauti* done). God Mahabir (Hanuman) is worshipped to ward off danger, Goddess Saraswati for learning, Goddess Lakshmi for wealth and Sun God Surya Narayan for warding off diseases. The worship of Kali is only



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confined to a smaller section because it involves the sacrifice of goat.¹⁶

As in North India, a few devotees of Shiva or Vishnu, usually of the higher caste, have the Shiva-linga (stone emblem of Shiva) or the marble image of some God in the house and they worship these deities daily; special *pujas* are, however, done on the occasion of Shiva-ratri or in honour of the two most popular incarnations of Vishnu, Rama and Krishna.

The most popular festival of the Hindus in Trinidad is Diwali (festival of lights) to commemorate the home-coming of Rama to Ayodhya in the Fyzabad district after slaying the demon Ravan and rescuing Sita. In the late nineteenth century a Trinidad newspaper called it the 'Dehwarri-Ahamawas' (Diwari-Amas), a Hindu 'feast' when all the houses and places of business 'were illuminated with tiny tapers and Chirag (little earthenware bowls filled with coconut oil and having cotton wicks lighted), and plantain and banana trees were used in the decorations, lights being suspended from the leaves'.¹⁷ Arches were also erected and lights were fixed on them. Tuna-puna Hindu Temple was skilfully decorated and illuminated. During the last four or five years the celebration is done on a national and lavish scale.

The worship of Lakshmi, the Goddess of wealth, is done in many Hindu homes: the image of the goddess is washed in milk or water, *prasad* (offering) offered and *bhajan* (devotional songs) sung in her honour. Of late one of the most popular songs is 'Jai Lakshmi Mata'. Floor-washing (*lipe*) with *gobar* (cow-dung) is still done in some ordinary houses, but the special treatment of cows and bulls with a herbal mixture (*pakheba*) is almost forgotten. So has disappeared the Bhratridwitiya (*Bhai-Duja*) when the sister performs a ceremony to wish a long life to her brother. The bon-fire and a candle on a bamboo near the entrance of the courtyard are also not seen on the Diwali night. But the lighting of the *jam-diya* (big

clay wick) to ward off evil spirits, the lighting of thousands of smaller *diyas* on bamboo pieces, and the distribution of sweets are even now the special features of the festival.¹⁸

Phagawa (Holi or Hori), the spring festival of India,¹⁹ continues to be another very important festival in Trinidad, even though there is no spring season here. The Hori or Kabira songs sung to the accompaniment of *dholak* (small drum), *jhal* or *majira* and sometimes harmonium, are the same which were brought from U.P. and west Bihar. For example, '*Panghat na ja panghat na ja, chhaila abir marela*' (Do not go to the bank of the river, for the boy (Krishna) throws colour). The *Chowtal* singing competition and throwing of dry colour or plain white powder or coloured water continue to be the main items of the celebration. The legends connected with demoness Holika, Bhakta Prahlad and demon Hiranyakashyapu as well as those of the demoness Putana and Lord Krishna are known to many Hindus of Trinidad and in their songs they commemorate the sportings of Krishna and Radha on the one hand and Rama and Sita on the other.

The other important Hindu festivals of Trinidad are the birthdays of Rama (Rama navami) in the Hindu month of Chaita (March-April), Krishnastami (Janmastami) in Bhadava (about August), the wedding night of Shiva (Shiva-ratri) in Magha (February-March) and *Katik-ke-nahan* ('ceremonial bathing in the month of Kartik' or October-November).²⁰ Bathing in the sea, the devotees believe, will get them almost the same boon as bathing in the Ganga river.

A *jhandi* (small triangular flag) is put on a green bamboo and planted near the house where the *puja* is held. The most popular *puja* is that of Satyanarayan (Satyadeo)—perhaps as popular as in the rural areas of U.P. and Bihar. The *Katha* of this God of Truth is said in Sanskrit, Hindi and English by the priest and a white flag is hung in his honour. A red flag is hung in honour of Mahavir (Hanu-

man), a yellow one in honour of Goddess Lakshmi or Durga and sometimes in honour of Krishna. Unfurling of a black flag in honour of Goddess Kali is now a very rare thing.

The making of *vedi* (altar), putting of a 'kalsa' (*Kalash*) with water and *amrapallava* (mango-twist), offering of *ghee* (clarified butter) and some pieces of mango wood, *arati* (sacred fire with camphor), *guru-puja* (respectful offering to the priest-teacher)—*dakshina* (in cash) and *sidha* (in kind, usually rice and *dal*)—uttering of significant syllables (*Pranava*) like 'Om' frequently, chanting of the famous Gayatri mantra of Rig-Veda, the making of the sacred sign of swastika, and the invocation of Ganesh (elephant-faced God) in the beginning of a *puja*—these are the same in Trinidad Hindu *puja* and *havan* as have been done in North India for ages.²¹

The *pujas* of the Kabirpanth and Shewnarainpanth are different from the Sanatani and Arya *Yajna* (Jag), but the teachings of Kabir Das (1440-1518 A.D.) of Banaras and of Swami Shiva Narayan of the Kanpur area of U.P. of the eighteenth century are very much based on the Vedanta. Their opposition to the caste-system and some rituals is a legacy of the religious reformation movements which started with Gautam Buddha in Bihar in the sixth century B.C. The *sakhis* (poems) of Kabir and *Guru-Aryas* (*Guru Grantha*) of Shiva Narayan in old Hindi are read at the respective congregations in Trinidad. The *Aughar-panthis* or *Kan-phata* yogis, the followers of Guru Gorakh Nath, were seen in Trinidad by Comins towards the end of the last century, but now only one or two of them can be found. The old *gyotishis* (astrologers) and palmists have also disappeared and now the Hindus have to rely on a few old pandits who can consult the *patras* (*panchanga*) and tell the planetary positions.

In the field of music, dance and drama the Indians brought to Trinidad the classical as well as folk music,²² but the classical forms like *Bhairavi* sung in early dawn have almost

disappeared. *Hori*, *Jhumar*, *dhrupad* and *basant* forms are sung at the time of phagawa (Holi). *Thumri* and *Gazal* are also heard sometimes. *Birha*, *rasiya* and *Alha-Udal* (Rudal), the ballads from North India, are now disappearing. But the singing of the Ramayana and other bhajans are still very popular. Among the musical instruments, *sarangi*, *sitar*,²³ *dholak* ('a small barrel-shaped drum which is struck sharply and rhythmically with the fingers at one end and the palm of the hand at the other'), *tabla*, harmonium, *dand-tala*, *Kartal*, etc. are still popular.²⁴ But the *tassa* and *dhap* and other drums are used on special occasions only.

Indrasabha,²⁵ Raja Harishchandra²⁶, Gopichand²⁷ and Sarwarneer were very popular dance dramas at one time among Indians of Trinidad. So were the Ramaleela, Krishnaleela and Rasmandal²⁸ dance dramas. Now Indian films and their songs have almost killed these traditional shows. What one finds on the television, radio and social gatherings is an imitation of popular Hindi film singers' renderings. Now there are local Rafi, Lata, Mukesh and others—those whose voice resembles the artistes of those names from Bombay.²⁹ Lalchan Singh is the local Rafi who won the prize of a Toyota car on the Mastana Bahar Indian programme on the Trinidad and Tobago Television recently. N. Ramaya is an accomplished violin player.

Indian musical tradition has influenced the band music also. Many popular Indian tunes are rendered on the steel band. There are more than one hundred registered Indian orchestras in Trinidad at the moment and the Raymond family renders popular tunes from Hindi films into band music.

Caste is an old Indian phenomenon³⁰ but it lost some of its rigidity among the Indian settlers in the West Indies. Because of the crossing of the seas (*Kala-pani* or black water), the community dining on the boats and in the plantations as well as the same type of manual work done by members of all castes³¹, the

Indians in the early period found it difficult to maintain the high and low status and touch-me-not-ism³² of the society of their origin.

The caste *panchayat* (tribunal) broke down. But gradually with the village settlements coming up, the professional distribution and specialisation developed. Thus the *kumhar* (potter) took to pottery, *nau* (barber) to his traditional work, *teli* (oil-processor) to his own, the *brahman* to teaching and priesthood, *bania* (grocer) to grocery, and *ahir* or *goala* to cattle rearing and cultivation. The *mallah* took to fish and crab catching and the *chamar* would beat drums at festivals. Many of the Rajputs (Kshatriyas) had lost their land in India due to the land revenue policy of the British and now they again became landholders. Besides these castes, Koiris, Kurmis and Kahars who had been good cultivators in U.P. and Bihar took to their old profession here. Among the untouchables, chamars and Dusadhs and Pasis had been most numerous and hardworking. Many of the chamars and Mahars had been cultivators in U.P. and many were in the Bengal Native Army. Following the unsettled state of U.P. and Bihar during and after the Mutiny of 1857 many of these displaced people emigrated to Trinidad. Strangely enough, the word *chamar* in Trinidad is not used for shoe-makers and drummers only, but for any untouchable.

Endogamy was observed among the high-caste Indians of Trinidad and inter-caste marriage was frowned upon for quite some time, but of late intermarriages between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas is rather common. The marriage between a high-caste girl and a low-caste boy (*pratiloma*) is, however, still looked down upon.

The old professional division or craft exclusiveness changed in course of time in India as in Trinidad, and the process of 'Sanskritization'³³ led to the elevation of many lower class people to the higher castes. Collens refers to some brahmans and *Sadhus* investing the lower caste rich people with *Kanthi* and even 'cord'

(Janeu) on payment of good fees.³⁴ The same process could be seen in North India in the early twentieth century. Now a Brahman or a Kshatriya by birth selling provision or fishing is not uncommon.

Tables 8 and 9 in Weller's *The East Indian Indentures in Trinidad* gives the break-up of the immigrants caste-wise in 1879-80 and 1889-90. In the first table there are 648 Muslims, 294 Rajputs, 294 chamars, 255 Ahirs and Sadgopes (reformed Ahirs), 175 Brahmans and 128 Kahars; in the second 647 chamars, 355 Muslims, 275 Ahirs and Sadgopes, 268 Rajputs, 157 Koiris, 144 Kahars and 129 Kurmis. The number of other castes is minimal. Even the high-caste people would have in most cases belonged to the agricultural profession.³⁴ Indeed, the Indian emigrants to Trinidad did not represent the cross-section of North Indian society; a vast majority of them belonged to the labouring class. They were not from one caste and one locality either. In the early days, therefore, the houses and the way of life were not of one pattern—small houses with mud-walls³⁵ and thatch roofs and a few small and unimpressive temples of North Indian style could be seen coming up after the barrack days.

Use of *Bhang* (hemp) as a drink, *Aphim* or *Haphim* (opium) and *Ganja*³⁶ (cannabis) and *Charas* for smoking could be seen among some frustrated Indians. Pachisi and wrestling among some grown-ups and *patang* (kite-flying), *Kabadi*, *Gulli-danda*, cock-fighting and other sports and amusements were brought from North India. Today a typical Indian intoxicant or a typical Indian play can hardly be found: rum and cricket have sidetracked these Indian things.

Surnames were almost unknown among the lower class people of Uttar Pradesh. Only a few surnames like Misra (Mishra), Sukul (Shukla), Pande, Dubey and Tiwari for Brahmans and Singh for Rajputs came to Trinidad. In the list of emigrants on the first boat of 1845 printed in the *Indian Centenary Review* of Trinidad

(edited by M. J. Kirpalani and others, 1945), all names are without surnames. Later names of pioneer emigrants like Gopal (Gopaul) became the last part of the name of the descendants. Also a name like Charan Ram became Ramacharan to look more dignified. Names like *Dukhi* (afflicted), now Dookee, Goodee (in rags) and Bhikhoo (beggar) would have been selected to save the child from the wrath of the God of death. Some of the names of Indians in Trinidad, as in U.P. and Bihar, are even now connected with the name of the day on which a person was born: Ravi (Sunday); Somaroo (from Somavar or Monday), Mangal or Mungal (Tuesday), Budu or Budhu or Boodoo (from Buddha or Wednesday), Vrihaspati (Thursday), Sukra (Friday), Sanichar (Saturday). In case of females, Sanichar becomes Sanichari and Mangal Mangali.

Names connected with Vishnu and his two popular incarnations, Rama of the *Ramayana* and Krishna of the *Mahabharata*, are most common: Ramaprasad (Rampersaud or with the grace of Rama), Ramanareesh (Ramnarace or King Rama), Ramabisssoon (Rama Vishnu, i.e., Rama, the incarnation of Vishnu), Ramakisssoon (Rama Krishna), Bissoondial (One on whom Vishnu is kind), Bissoondath (Given by Vishnu), Kissoondath (Given by Krishna), Kissoondial (One on whom Krishna is kind), Deokisssoon (God Krishna), Balkisssoon (Child Krishna), Srikisssoon (Shree Krishna), Jai-kisssoon (Victory to Krishna), Ramanand (Ramanandan), Ramaboran (Ramavarna or one whose colour and features are like Rama), Gopaul (Gopal or Krishna), Ram-yatna (Ram-jattan), Ramlogan (Ramalagna), Ramcharan (at the feet of Rama), Ramcharitar (representing the life or character of Rama), Ramchate (ever conscious of Rama), Ramacoomar (Prince Rama), Ramdath (given by Rama), Ramadeen (a poor man seeking the kindness of Rama), Ramdial (one on whom Rama is kind), Ramadeo (God Rama), Ramadhan (with the riches of Rama), Ram Dharic (one who carries Rama), Ramadhar or Ramadar (one whose hope is Rama), Ramdwar (at the doors of Rama),

Ramessar (Rameshwar or God Rama), Ramgoolam or Ramdas (slave of Rama), Ramoutar (Rama Avatar), Ramnarine (Ramanarayan), Ragabir (Raghuvira or Rama), Madhava (Madho or Madoo), Kunj-bihari (Krishna, sporting in groves), and so on. Names connected with Lord Shiva (Shew)—Bhola, Mahadeo, Baidyanath (Bajinath or Bajnath), Shambhoo (Shimboo)—are also quite common.

Among females Sita (Siya) of the *Ramayana*, Tara, another Hindu Goddess, Radha of the *Bhagavat Purana*, Parvati (the consort of Shiva, born on *Parvat* or mountain), Lakshmi or Lachhmin (the consort of Vishnu), Indra or Indrani (wife of Indra), and Gayatri (of the *Rig-Veda*) are popular.

Names connected with sacred rivers of India like Ganga, Jamuna, and Sirjoo (Saryug river), and sacred places like Pariyag (Prayag or Allahabad), Haridwar (Haridwar), Mathura, Ajodhia (Ayodhya), Awadh, and Kashi (Banaras), can also be found.

Place or street names like Indian Walk and Hindustan Settlement, Agra Street, Ayodhya Street, Calcutta Settlement, Fyzabad, Mathura Street, Madras Settlement, Benares Street, Delhi Street, Patna Village, Baroda Street, Cawnpore Street, Barrackpore, and so on, are living monuments of Indian heritage in Trinidad. There are also place-names connected with persons: Katwaroo Trace, Mahess Road, Abdool Village, Akal Road, Kalloo Road, Koonkoon Street, Jogic (Yogi) Road, Sookoo Trace, Amar Singh Street, Luckput Street, Maraj Street, Jamadar Street, Ramoutar Street, Pujadas Street, Ranjit Kumar Street, and so on.

Collens in his *Guide to Trinidad*³⁶ gives the pictures of an Indian male with turban, Mirjai (old *Kurta*) and *dhoti* and of a female with long shirt and Indian ornaments. Unlike *dhoti*, sari was not popular among Indians in Trinidad even in the nineteenth century. But some other traditional North Indian dresses—the *dhoti*,

kurta and *chadar* or *jora-jama* and *pagari* (turban) for males and *sari*, *choli*, *ghanghri*, *orhni* (head-scarf) for females, are even now used on ceremonial occasions. Nehru shirt or jacket has become most popular.

Betel (*pari*) and nut (*supari*) chewing, *gondana* (tattoo mark on hands and feet) of females, caste-marks (*tilak*) and other such things have almost disappeared. But certain important old Hindi terms are even now used widely: *dhan* (unmilled rice), *chaur* (milled rice) with varieties like *arua* or *araba* (milled without soaking the paddy in water) and *usana* (milled after soaking in water), *akshat* or *achchhat* (*araba* rice for sacred rituals), *murahi* (puffed rice), *bhuja* (less puffed rice), *chura* (flaked rice), *bhat* (boiled rice), *phulouri* or *bara*, *dalpuri* (stuffed puri) and *sohari* (a soft variety of *roti*). In rice cultivation the common terms are *har jole* (ploughing), *hargawe* (harrowing), *kola* (small piece of land), *mri* (raised edges of a *kola*), *machan* (raised platform of bamboos), *biya* (seed) and *biya-khet* (*kola* of seedlings). Words like *Janta Ukhal*, *Musal* and *dheki* used for pounding rice and its varieties are used in the rural areas.

Bhai, *bhaiya*, *bhaiwa* and *bhayi* are the variations in North India for the Sanskrit word *bhratri* (brother) and these are found in Trinidad along with the word (*dada*) used among the Bengalis. *Bhauji* for sister-in-law instead of *bhabhi* of modern Hindi, *bahin* or *didi* for sister and not *bahan*, *sari* and not *sali* for wife's sister, *sar* and not *sala* for wife's brother, *kaka* and not *chacha* for father's brother, *kajar* and not *kajal* for an unguent for eyes, *Aja* and *Aji* for *Dada* and *Dadi* (father's father and mother), *khaibe* (eating), *nahaibe* (bathing), *uthawe* (getting up), *sutawe* (sleeping), *jaibe* (going), are some of the linguistic legacies from U.P. and Bihar. *Murai* for radish, *baigan*, *Sahijan*, for brinjal, *bhaji*, *lauki*, *jhingi*, *suthani*, *karaili*, *haradi* (turmeric), *kapa* (for copper) and the use of 'na' in English are the typical Indian influence in this part of the world.

The Indians in the early days of indenture

yearned for their return to the mother country some day and therefore did not create a society here. But after they acquired land and developed their village settlements, like Calcutta, Coolie Town, etc., they kept in touch with India through the visiting religious leaders and Indian commissioners maintaining their cultural traditions and old values.

Rice and sugar cultivation (*ketari* or *Ukha*) were major factors in the persistence of Indian culture and in the maintenance of the social structure.³⁷ Indeed, these two had been the main crops in U.P. and Bihar since very ancient times. The very word 'sugar' is a corruption of the Sanskrit word 'sharkara' and Hindi word 'shakar', and Alexander the Great is said to have been surprised to see this in India for the first time. Rice, on the other hand, had been a staple food in many parts of North India since pre-historic times. Also, rice has been a very sacred thing for Hindu rituals.³⁸

In Uttar Pradesh and Bihar the people were familiar with *jhils* (swamps) and therefore they had no difficulty in raising paddy in the swamps of Garoni and Nariwa and the lagoon of Oro-pouche. They brought the knowledge of small-scale irrigation with river or well-water to raise vegetables.³⁹ In 1891, says Comins, 78.33 per cent of Indian population in Trinidad belonged to the agricultural profession. Even now in spite of industrialisation and urbanisation the position has not changed much.

From their land of origin the Indians brought the concept of a self-sufficient village with a *panchayat*⁴⁰ (tribunal of usually five village elders) deciding their disputes. They also brought the concept of joint (extended) family, 'joint in food, worship and estate'—one economic unit under the common shelter of which children and grand-children would work for the economic betterment of the family⁴¹ on the basis of 'from each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs'. The remnants

of this system can be seen even now in the Indian community of Trinidad.

In the late nineteenth century some features of rural leadership which existed in North India could be seen in Trinidad Indian villages—pandits, money-lenders and landholders having a say in the important matters of the community.⁴² In many cases the Sardars, Maits, Overseers and even drivers of the estates had become prominent in the society on the strength of their newly acquired wealth.

In the indenture days a Madrasi and a Kalkatiya or even a Bihari (from Bihar) and a person from West U.P. (Pachhah) would cut jokes with each other regarding each other's way of life. Some would use the *Nagari* script, others would use *Kaithi* or Persian. But there was no animosity against each other. With the emergence of electoral politics in the twentieth century, however, caste (*jat* or *jati*), religion (*dharma*), and regional feelings were exploited in the same way as in India. Even the feeling of Hindu-Muslim separateness was on occasions emphasised. The Hindus who had been a majority community in U.P. and Bihar became more and more inward-looking for they were now a minority, and they did not produce any eminent leader before the 1920's.

The social and cultural organisations among the Indians of Trinidad have largely been moulded on Indian pattern: the East Indian Congress of the past fighting for the marriage and other rights of Hindus and Muslims;⁴³ the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha starting as a branch of the Arya Samaj of India, the Kabir panth and Shewnarine panth getting their inspiration from the parent organisations in India. The Sanatan Dharma Mahasabha seems to have been inspired by the Hindu Mahasabha and Jan Sangh of India—with the difference that the Trinidad organisation is concerned with religious, educational and cultural functions also.

The Muslims and a few others brought to

Trinidad Urdu which had developed as a camp language in medieval India; it differed little from Hindustani or Hindi of towns except in script. The language of the vast majority of Indians in Trinidad, however, has been Hindi and its dialects of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, derived from the Indo-Aryan group of languages. It is still a living second language in the rural areas where Indians live. According to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* of 1908 the central portion of the Gangetic plain of U.P. roughly bounded by a line drawn north and south through the town of Banda on the west and a parallel line through Mirzapur on the east, the Eastern Hindi (Purvi or Awadhi) was spoken by about 15 million people, and 21½ million to the west of this area spoke western Hindi (mainly Vrajbhasha). In the eastern part of the plain ten million people spoke Bihari (Bhojpuri dialect), but the official language was Hindustani, a dialect of Western Hindi. The *Khari Boli* as a prose, developed around 1803 as a link language for North Indian cities and now the State language of India, was not very popular yet. The language of West Bihar was also Bhojpuri, but the Muhammadans and Kayasthas (scribes) spoke Awadhi or Urdu.

It is true that Magahi (Magadhi) of Patna, Gaya and North Hazaribagh districts of Bihar, Maithili of North Bihar, Bengali of Bengal, Oriya of Orissa, Assamese of Assam, the tribal languages of the Mundas and Oraons of Chota-Nagpur, Tamil of Madras, Telugu of Andhra Pradesh, Malayalam of Kerala and a few other Indian languages were also brought to Trinidad, but the dominant languages among the Trinidad Indians have been Vrajbhasha (Pachimi Hindi), Awadhi (Purvi Hindi) and Bhojpuri and among the old surviving Indians of Trinidad, Bhojpuri is the most popular spoken language. In the folk and ritual songs (*Sohar* and others) also either of the three dialects can be seen. The most common form of greeting among old and middle-aged Indians is 'Sita-Rama', and the Sanskrit words 'Namaste' or 'Namaskar' are confined to the Aryas and a few others. 'Kaisar

hai' for 'how are you' is the most common form of asking one's welfare.

As in U.P. and Bihar, *roti, bhat* (rice), *Kohra* (pumpkin), *dal* (lentils), *bhaji, chatni*, or *achar* or *kuchala* are daily items of food and *karhi, dalpuri, khir, dahi, sohari* and *tarkari* (vegetables) like *aloo* (Irish potato), etc., are special dishes among Indians in Trinidad. Mustard oil (*sarso tel*) and *ghee* are also used as cooking media in some affluent homes. In 1858 the use of biscuit in place of *chura* (flake rice) and *chana* (gram)⁴³ was said to be the cause of bowel trouble among Indians on the ships. Things have changed a good deal since then and *Chura* is now available only in some villages in South Trinidad, but *chana* continues to hold its own. Old Indian sweets like *laddu, jilebi* (*jalebi*), *khurma, gaza* and *gulab-jamun* sell in some markets and here are a few professional *halwais* (makers of Indian sweets) of the old type.

Mashalas (spices) like *hardi* (turmeric, called saffron in Trinidad), *methi, dhania* (coriander), *long* (cloves), *elayachi* (cardamom), *dalchini mangarail* etc., are also sold in some markets. Utensils like *lota* (waterpot, usually of brass), *tharia* (plate), *bati* (cup), *chholani, oraka, kalasa, bali* (bucket), etc., are even now used, but gradually china crockery is taking the place of brass utensils and in many homes some of these are needed in rituals and ceremonies only. The *chulha* (earthen cooking furnace) is in use on the occasion of *bhandara* (community feeding).

Words like *aqua* for match-makers, *ojha* (Indian obcrahman), *praja* (for *pajman*, the patron of *pandits* usually called *maharaj* in Trinidad), *churail* and *bhut* (ghost and spirit), *kohabar* (specially decorated room for married couple), *marawa* (bamboo-made shade for wedding), *lathi* (stick) etc., can be heard in the rural areas. The sacred *Tulsi* plant can be seen in many Hindu homes and 'Hanuman-chalisa' is read to ward off evils. Even *bhaikh* or *kaulhi* of *Tulsi* wood is worn in the neck by some *Vaishnavas*.

Older members of the Hindu families in Trinidad are still bound by Indian tradition, spending their declining years on the study of the *Gita*, the *Upanishads*, etc. Religion as the predominant element in Indian culture has been well-maintained.

The Indian tradition of *sadhu* and *sanyasi* is also continuing to some extent. Even *sadhuwayin* (lady *sadhvi*) are known. Dr. Vincent Tohill mentions that in 1930's he met a 'magnificent Hindu' *yogi* who surprised him by some of his feats.⁴⁴ One *Kolahal Das* (formerly *Dayaram*, born in India around 1900 A.D.), a saint and mystic in Caroni, was a well-known figure for his *sadhana* (meditation) and *siddhi* (spiritual achievement).

Dudh-bhai (brother because of sucking the same milk) and the '*bhai*' (brother) relationship⁴⁵ among people living in the same village are the legacies from the Gangetic plain of North India. But the *jahaji bhai* (brother on account of travelling on the same boat) was developed in the new circumstances.

Ramaleela which used to be the greatest festival in U.P. in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century⁴⁶ was enacted in Trinidad from 1890s, but now it is reduced to a rather unimportant place because *Holi* (*phagawa*) and *Diwali* appeal more to the people used to carnival and funfair than the enactment of old religious dramas, emphasising the victory of the good over the evil.

Hindu food taboo is gradually being relaxed in Trinidad as in the urban areas of India and the reverence to cow is not so deep as in the rural areas of India, but eating of beef, pork and even chicken is still repugnant to many. Among the Muslims the taboo on some meat and drinks continues in some homes.

Modern Indian girls now prefer short-cut hair, shorter and tight-fitting dress rather than the loose traditional ones. Exogamous marriages are becoming common because marriage within

a caste is not always possible. Marriages are no longer performed at night according to an auspicious *lagna* (planetary position). *Sindoor* (vermillion) is not used by married Hindu women on the parting of their hair nor can *missi* on the teeth, *mehdi* for colour on hand, *gondana* (tattoo-mark) on arm and ornaments on nose,⁴⁷ ear, neck, hands and feet be seen here. The *gotra* (an exogamous sect of the Brahmans) is now almost unknown among Hindus of Trinidad; only a few older Brahmans can tell their *gotra*.⁴⁸

The thrift and simple living of the older Indians—a legacy from their place of origin—are also gradually disappearing under the impact of westernization. The *Churki* (*shikha* or pigtail) and *tilak* (caste mark on forehead) are also gone, as in Indian towns. But some of the sixteen *samskaras* (sioramants) like those connected with birth (*chhathi*⁴⁹ and *carahi*) and death (*shradha* and *pitritarpan*) are observed in many Hindu homes. Even *mundan* (hair-cutting ceremony of a boy at the age of three or five), the *janeu* or *yajnopavita* (sacred thread or initiation) and *guru-mukh* (giving of the sacred *mantra* by the *guru* to the *chela* (disciple) are performed.

Brahmans are even now among the Hindus in Trinidad, like the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages, the repositories of one of the oldest languages, Sanskrit, and of the sacred lore and literature. They have made the conservation of Hindu religion possible. The *Maulavis* among the Muslims have done the same. As the Shias, Sunnis and Bahais have their religious heads, so the Sanatanis have their *dharmaacharya*, and *Kabirpanthis* and *Seunarinis* their *mahanthas*. A *Haji* (one who has done a pilgrimage to the sacred Mecca and Medina) is as much respected as a Hindu who has visited the sacred places of his religion in India.

Yoga, one of the six systems of salvation for the Hindus, with the *Yogasutras* (aphorisms) of the ancient Indian thinker, Patanjali, is

known to some Indians in Trinidad. With the creation of a new interest in the West in the *Hathayoga* (yoga of the force) a few centres have recently been opened in Trinidad for imparting instructions in this branch of yogic exercises and even some non-Indians are benefited by the basic *asanas* (postures).

Thus Indian heritage in Trinidad seems to have been largely retained and some of the facets of Indian culture which had been swept away by the flood of westernization or modernization are being revived. Some Indian festivals are now a part of Trinidad's way of life and a few Indian items of food have become national dishes.⁵⁰ The followers of Hinduism and Islam take pride in their traditional institutions and religious beliefs as never before.⁵¹

Several factors seem to have contributed to this cultural persistence and renaissance. First, the inner vitality of the Indian culture, which had evolved in the Indian sub-continent 'as a result of observation, study and experiment'⁵² and had survived innumerable challenges from foreign invaders, stood in good stead for the Indian immigrants in Trinidad. Secondly, the idea of colonial emigration evolved by the Europeans in the nineteenth century was alien to the Indians who always wanted to maintain their traditional society with its own ways and norms. Thirdly, no serious attempt was ever made in Trinidad to integrate the Indians into the already divided society: in fact, the Indians were treated as intruders in the labour market and their language, religion, dress, food and values were mocked at.

In the early days of indenture the Indians were looked upon as transients, protected by the planters and the colonial government and assaults on them by non-Indians was rather common. Later when their number increased and they were encouraged to own land and develop their villages, not a single non-Indian could be seen in these settlements. Professional or occupational segregation and an attitude of derision towards them naturally created in

the Indians a sense of exclusiveness which was sometimes aggravated by some journalists, Government officers, planters and even clergymen. The 'East Indian' could not be at par with the 'West Indian' for the former had to carry a passport, was denied full citizenship rights and modern education and was treated as a stranger, a 'heathen' or 'barbarian'. Even though the Indians, as agriculturists, had aided 'materially in the development of the Colony' and contributed 'to the revenue as taxpayers', lamented the Indian leader George Fitzpatrick in 1909, they were 'subjected to a special law which did not apply to West Indians and they were punished as ordinary criminals for the breach of a civil contract'.⁵³

Left to their fate, the Indians revived their traditional social stratification, contented in their own small world, with no interest in national affairs. They would of course tell their children in the evening tales from their epics, inspiring them through the exploits of Rama of the *Ramayana* or Krishna and the Pandavas of the *Mahabharata*.

By the time the indenture ended the Indians in Trinidad constituted one-third of the population and a middle class of intellectuals emerged to lead them. Their socio-political and religious organisations became active and in early 1920s they demanded a proportional representation for their community in the Legislative Council. By 1930s they became more vocal in airing their grievances. There was a separate club for Indians called India Club in Port-of-Spain. The source of inspiration for Indians in Trinidad was undoubtedly the nationalist movement in India, their idols were Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and their national song was 'Bande Mataram' (Hail Motherland of Bankim Chandra's *Ananda Math*), an Indian counterpart of *La Marseillaise*. The wealthy Indians visited India from time to time

and felt proud in meeting eminent personalities there.⁵⁴ They also contributed generously to the Bengal Relief Fund in 1943-44.⁵⁵ The enquiry into the condition of the Indians in Trinidad by Surgeon-Major Comins in 1891, the Sanderson Committee in 1909, James McNeil and Chimmanlal in 1913 and J. D. Tyson in 1939 on behalf of the Government of India and later the visits of Diwan Bahadur Kesava Pillai, the Indian Commissioner in 1922, Sir Kunwar Maharaj Singh, Indian Commissioner in 1925, and some eminent Indians like Dr. D. P. Pandya and Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru and some religious missionaries in early 1940s maintained a link between the Indians in Trinidad and their mother country.

The independence of India in 1947 and the inauguration of the Republic of India in 1950 were celebrated with jubilation by the Indians of Trinidad. Now that their mother country was free they would not suffer from an inferiority complex. Soon new Indian youth and other organisations were set up, Hindu and Muslim schools started teaching Hindi, Urdu and religion. The visits of Hindu and Muslim religious preachers and artistes from the Indian sub-continent from time to time and the regular exhibition of Indian films and Indian shows on the local radio and television have led to an unusual Indian cultural revival. Indeed, in the post-independence period Trinidad has given formal recognition to the Indian cultural element in its society. Indian history and culture is taught on the St. Augustine campus of the University of the West Indies, the students of Caribbean studies write B.A. essays on Indian Culture in this region, some of the Indian festivals are celebrated on the campus and Hindi and Urdu are taught at various centres in the country. All these indicate that the Indian heritage in Trinidad is maintained and it will continue to exist in future.

REFERENCES

1. Today the sub-continent comprises three nations—the Indian Republic in the middle and South, Pakistan in the North-West and Bangladesh in the North-East.
2. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford, 1908, Vol. XXIV, p. 132, see Map 7 in J. A. Weller, *The East Indian Indenture in Trinidad*, Puerto Rico, 1968. Out of 2,447 who came to Trinidad in 1908, 1,248 were from Agra and 983 from Oudh areas (Ibid. p. 125). The North-Western Provinces, says B. B. Misra, "consisted of the districts ceded by the Nawab of Oudh in 1775 and 1801 as well as those conquered from the Marathas in 1803". The ceded districts comprised Gorakhpur, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Farrukhabad, Etawah, Barilly, and Moradabad. The districts of Agra, Delhi, Aligarh and Saharanpur, including Meerut, were conquered by the British from the Sindhia, a Maratha chief: *The Indian Middle Classes: their growth in Modern times*, O.U.P., London, 1961, pp. 135-36.
3. *Imperial Gazetteer*, op. cit., vol. VIII, p. 171. See map 8 in Weller, op. cit. Also see p. 125 (Ibid.): Out of 2,447 who came to Trinidad in 1908 only 120 came from Bihar—107 from Shahabad, 41 from Patna, 25 from Darbhanga, 23 from Gaya and 19 from Saran.
4. Weller (op. cit., p. 1) is only partially correct when she says that they came mainly from Bengal, the United Provinces, and Madras. Morton Class (*East Indians in Trinidad*, New York, 1961, p. 9) is also partly correct in agreeing with N. Gangulee (*Indians in the Empire Overseas*, London, 1947) that most of them emigrated from Madras and the United Provinces, and then saying that Calcutta is near the United Provinces.
5. At least four severe scarcities between 1845 and 1858 and ten major famines and two severe scarcities occurred in India during the period 1858-1909: Satis Chandra Ray, *An Essay on the Economic Causes of Famines in India*, Calcutta, 1909, pp. 1-2.
6. W. H. Morland, *The Revenue Administration of the United Provinces*, Allahabad, 1911, p. 57.
7. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, op. cit., vol. XXIV, p. 163.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 164. See map 7 in Weller, op. cit.
9. *Imperial Gazetteer*, op. cit., vol. XXII, p. 190.
10. Report by Wood on his Visit to the West Indies and British Guiana, 1921-1922, London, 1922, p. 22.
11. The first estate to have a *taziya* procession was Philippine Estate near Couva. See Donald Wood, *Trinidad in Transition*, London, 1968, pp. 151-153. Also see *Correspondence respecting the Coolie disturbances in Trinidad at the Mohurrum Festival*, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1885.
12. Gertrude Carmichael, *The History of the West Indian Islands of Trinidad and Tobago*, 1498-1900, p. 274. Also Comins, *Note on Emigration from India to Trinidad*, Diary, p. 27 and Collens, *Guide to Trinidad*, p. 237.
13. D. W. D. Comins, *Notes on Emigration from India to Trinidad*, Calcutta, 1893, p. 27.
14. This information is based on personal interviews. See Kewal Motwani, *Manu Dharma Sastra: a sociological and historical study*, Madras, 1958: on Karma pp. 50-52; on social groups, pp. 34-35 and 52-54; on *moksha* (salvation of soul), p. 67, on the *ashramas*, pp. 57-62, on reincarnation, p. 49.
15. *Guide to Trinidad*, London, pp. 228-242.
16. Morton, S. E., *John Morton of Trinidad*, Toronto, 1916, p. 3: On 6 February 1868 Morton saw a place of goat sacrifice in Trinidad: "a pole with a small flag flying, a small altar of mud, and near it two stakes a few inches apart driven firmly into the ground. Two small bars passed through these stakes, one near the ground, the other a few inches up, forming a sort of yoke into which the neck of the goat to be sacrificed is placed and its head severed with one blow". The author of this paper has seen such stakes in the villages of Bihar, U.P. and Bengal in the past, but now these are becoming more and more unpopular.
17. *Port of Spain Gazette*, 27 Oct. 1897: An untoward incident during the celebration of 1895 is also mentioned. In the rural areas of Bihar and U.P. the celebration is even now called Diwari-amawas in some dialects of Hindi. *Ghee* (clarified butter) and mustard oil are used in *diyas* in some affluent homes.
18. See Klass, op. cit., pp. 160-61.
19. See N. K. Bose, 'The Spring Festival of India', *Culture and Society in India*, London, 1967, pp. 36-85.
20. *Ibid.* pp. 161-62, 192. Some Trinidad Hindus believe that Shiva-ratri commemorates the drinking of poison by Shiva (Mahadeva); others say it is his birthday. See Klass, op. cit. p. 171 and Nichoff, Arthur and Juanita, *East Indians in the West Indies*, Milwaukee, 1960, p. 114.
21. Based on the author's personal observations of pujas of each sect of Hindus in Trinidad. The followers of the *Sanatan Dharma* (eternal religion) form the largest Indian religious group in Trinidad.
22. Among the early Trinidad Indian singers Phiramat, Imami, Deoki Singh, Badloo Rai, Sultan Khan and Pahalwan Singh and among the later musicians Fakir Mohammed, Ali Jan, Mohangir Gosine, Bel Begai, Demerara Maharaj, Dan Bahadoorsingh and Yacooob may be mentioned.
23. Nand Kishore, Sam Dindyal and Secram Maharaj famous *sitar* players and Ramcharan Ostad, Dharam Gosine, Dukhia, Samuel and Mahamadalli good drummers.
24. W. H. and C. V. Wiser, *Behind Mud Walls*, 1930-1960, Berkeley, 2nd print, 1964, p. 11. Also see U. Arya, *Ritual Songs and Folksongs of the Hindus of Surinam*, Leiden, 1968, pp. 9-10.
25. Fakir Mohammed popularised Indar (Indra) Sabha dance in Trinidad in 1920s.
26. The story of this king of Uttar Pradesh who gave away his kingdom to keep his promise was enacted by skilful actors of Trinidad.
27. Gopal Haldar, 'Studies in Bengali Language and Literature: The Legend of Raja Gopichand', *Indian Studies: Past & Present*, Vol. V, no. 2, Jan.—March 1964, p. 135. The legend of Raja Gopichand is current all over Aryan-speaking India. Probably it originated in Bengal and then spread to Bihar, U.P., the Panjab, Rajasthan, Central India, Gujarat and Maharashtra.
28. Harripersad Sampath and Sookdeo Ramakrishna of Penal contributed much to Rahas (Ras) Mandal dance in 1950s and early 1960s.
29. The visit of famous singers like Hemant Kumar, Manna Dey, Kishore Kumar, Geeta Dutta and Rafi and dancers like Rama Gopal and Vyjanthimala from India during the last decade and the exhibition of Hindi films have contributed a good deal to this development. Patricia Rahim, the daughter of the famous dancer, Champa Devi, is herself a good dancer and so is Rajkumar (Krishna) trained in India.
30. M. N. Srinivas, *Social Change in Modern India*, p. 3. The word 'caste' is of Portuguese origin, meaning race or breed. Exclusiveness as regards both marriage and social intercourse made the caste system a peculiar form of social organisation, without any parallel in the modern world: L. S. S. O'Malley, *Indian Caste Customs*, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 1-2. Also see Louis Dumont, 'Caste: A Phenomenon of Social Structure or An

Aspect of Indian Culture?', A. de Reuwok and J. Knight (ed.), *Caste and Race: Comparative Approaches*, London, 1967, p. 28. Also Surajit Sinha, 'Caste in India: its essential pattern of socio-cultural integration': The caste system may be defined as 'a hierarchy of endogamous groups, organised in a characteristic hereditary division of labour', Ibid, p. 92. Also see the classic work of J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India: Its Nature, Functions and Origins*, O. U. P., London, reprint, 1969, pp. 46-91 for structure, pp. 92-110 for sanctions and pp. 111-132 for functions.

31. Collens, op. cit., p. 234. Also see Wood, op. cit., p. 149.

32. Weller, op. cit., p. 67.

33. See Srinivas, op. cit. p. 2.

34. Collens, op. cit., pp. 234-35.

34A. Government of India despatch of 3 May 1877 said that the source of recruitment in India was 'chiefly the labourer, dependent for their support upon the cultivating classes': vide J. D. Tyson, op. cit., para 25. Some of these poor people had been 'lured' away from India by false promises and in Trinidad they had to work as 'porters, cattle-drivers and milk-sellers': see Charles William Day *Five Years Residence in the West Indies*, Vol. II, London, 1852, p. 72. But as E. B. Underhill noted in 1862 (*The West Indies*, p. 51), even in the early days of the indenture there were a few *Gurus* and Brahmins among the Indians.

35. *Ajoupa* or 'trash house' was considered to be 'typical of poor rural East Indian': Klass, op. cit., p. 45. The poor labourers of Agra region were not expected to raise a structure like a Tajmahal or the Agra fort.

36. A letter to the Editor of the *Port of Spain Gazette* of 8 March 1898 suggested that the Ganja of East Indians should be taxed like spirits and other intoxicants.

36A. Op. cit., p. 22.

37. Klass, op. cit., p. 66.

38. Nichoff, Arthur and Juanita, op. cit., pp. 34-35. Donald Wood (op. cit., p. 276) says that the Indians did not like to eat hill paddy and 'in the new villages' they 'took enthusiastically to the growing of wet rice'.

39. Ibid., p. 36: Vegetable or kitchen gardens are common among Indians.

40. See W. H. Wiser and C. V. Wiser, *Behind Mud Walls*, 1930-1960, Berkeley, 2nd ed., 1964, pp. 22-23. Also see *Gazetteer of India*, 1965, Vol. I, Delhi, p. 563 for caste panchayats.

41. See Radhakamal Mukherjee, *The Foundations of Indian Economics*, London, 1916, pp. 2-4.

42. See H. Calvert, *The Wealth and Welfare of the Panjab*, Lahore, 1922, pp. 37-39.

43. The East Indian National Association (like its counterpart in India) was loyal to the British Crown but, as its president R. J. Nanco said in April 1898 it would fight in a constitutional and peaceful way (like the Indian National Congress of India) for the protection of rights of 80,000 Indians in Trinidad: *Port of Spain Gazette*, 8 and 10 April 1899.

44. Public Record, London, C.O. 318/220, p. 78, On the ship the following provisions were supplied: rice, dal,

ghee, turmeric, onion, tobacco, chillies, saltfish, black-pepper, mustard seed, garlic (*lahsun*), coriander seeds, *dhura*, but (gram), sugar, etc., and sometimes goat meat: vide J. A. Weller, *The East Indian Indenture in Trinidad*, Puerto Rico, 1968, p. 143.

45. *Doctor's Office*, London, 1939, pp. 105 and 107-8. The *Port of Spain Gazette* (25 Aug. 1897) mentions a *yajna* 'in fulfilment of a vow' by a shopkeeper in Tacarigua, conducted by a *Sadhu* in pink robes with beads hung round his neck, reading Hindu sacred books in Sanskrit.

46. Klass, op. cit., pp. 104 and 107.

47. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, op. cit., vol. XXIV, p. 175.

48. *Mantika*, *hasuli*, *lolak*, *nathia*, and other North Indian ornaments are even now known to people. For nose ornaments, the most popular name among Trinidad Indians has been *nath* (nose ring) used in U. P., Bihar, Rajputana, etc., *wathiya* (used in Bihar and Sindh), *nathni* (in Rajputana, U. P. and Bihar), *bulak* (U. P., Bihar, etc.), *nak-besar* (of U. P. and Bihar) and *chhuchchi* (of Bihar). See 'The Use of Nose Ornaments in India', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, vol. XXIII, 1927, no. 3. Also see Morton, op. cit., p. 50: An Indian shopkeeper's wife in Trinidad in 1868 had "seventeen bracelets of silver and one of gold on each arm; these were mostly of solid metal, two of them being very massive and of fine workmanship. Around her neck were thirteen silver neck ornaments, mostly solid, some being as much as three-quarters of an inch square in the front and tapering toward the back of the neck".

49. See Hutton, op. cit., pp. 47, 55, 62 and 131. Also A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, 1971, p. 150: The brahmins of the later Vedic period were divided into exogamous sects (*gotra*), a system which was copied in part by other classes and has survived to the present day".

50. On the worship of Goddess Shasthi (Chhathi) see the *Gazetteer of India: Indian Union*, vol. I, 1965, p. 587.

51. Many roadside *roti* shops can be seen.

52. Y. K. Malik, *East Indians in Trinidad: a study in Minority Politics*, London, 1971, p. 7.

53. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, R. K. Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, 2nd edition, 1958, vol. I, p. ix.

54. *Sanderson Committee Report*, vol. III (papers laid before it), pp. 138-139. Fitzpatrick demanded an Indian representative in the Trinidad Council in 1909 and in 1912 he was the first Indian to be nominated to it.

55. M. J. Kirpalani, et al., *The Indian Centenary Review of Trinidad, 1845-1945*, Port-of-Spain, 1945, pp. 141-169. Mahatma Gandhi sent a telegram of good wishes to the Indian Centenary celebration in 1945. The birthday of Gandhi and the death anniversary of Tagore used to be celebrated in Trinidad.

56. In 1897-98 the Indians of Trinidad under the leadership of Rev. Lal Behari contributed to the Indian Famine Relief Fund. Recently they contributed to the Bihar Famine Relief Fund in 1967 and to the Bangla Desh Refugee Fund in 1971.

EARLY RELATIONS OF RAJA RAI SINGH OF BIKANER WITH THE MUGHALS

A. N. SAXENA

(Bikaner, Rajasthan)

According to *Akbarnama* of Abul Fazl¹, Rai Kalyan Mal of Bikaner, the father of Raja Rai Singh, met Mughal Emperor Akbar with his son on 3rd November, 1570, at Nagaur², and married his brother Kahan's daughter to the Emperor³. The above historical truth of matrimonial alliance is confirmed by *Dalpatwilas*⁴, a contemporary Rajasthani source of the time of Raja Rai Singh. This was the first contact of Raja Rai Singh as "Kunwar" with the Mughals.

Causes of the Alliance with the Mughals

Since the death of Rao Jodha, the founder of the Jodhpur State, in 1491 A.D., continuous wars between the blood relations of Jodhpur and Bikaner States were waged against each other owing to personal jealousies, show of chivalry and for imperialist motives. Rao Bika, the founder of the Bikaner State, had desisted on his part from putting forward his claim to the Jodhpur throne, but had demanded the family heir-looms which his father, Rao Jodha, had during his life time promised to hand over to Rao Bika.⁵ After the death of Rao Jodha, Rao Santhal came to the throne of the Jodhpur State. There is no authentic information available in regard to the date of birth of Rao Santhal. Rao Santhal was succeeded by his brother Rao Suja.

According to the horoscopes found in Jodhpur, the date of birth of Rao Suja is 1439 A.D. and of Rao Bika 1440 A.D., but according to the horoscopes found in Bikaner the date of birth of Rao Bika is 1438 A.D.⁶ Dr. Tessitori in a *Kayal* of Jodhpur has found the date of

birth of Rao Suja as 1442 A.D.⁷ All this might prove that Rao Bika was elder to Rao Suja, hence the former could have been the rightful claimant to the State of Jodhpur in place of Rao Suja. Many of the *Khyats* also mention that Rao Jodha had taken a promise from Rao Bika for not claiming the throne of Jodhpur after him in exchange for family heir-looms.⁸

Rao Bika on his part desisted from putting forward the claim to the Jodhpur throne. On Rao Suja's refusing to part with the family heir-looms fierce battles took place between the rulers of Bikaner and Jodhpur States. Successive rulers of both the States remained engaged in wars with each other. Rao Jayatsi, the ruler of the Bikaner State, was killed in battle by Rao Maldeo of Jodhpur and the latter captured Bikaner Fort and a part of the territory in 1541 A.D.⁹

Rao Kalyan Mal of Bikaner with the help of the then Delhi ruler Sher Shah was successful in recovering the Fort and the part of the Bikaner territory that had been temporarily usurped by Rao Maldeo.

By this time the rulers of Bikaner and Jodhpur States had been tired of mutual wars and were on the look out for a Paramount power to intervene.

When Mughal Emperor Akbar came to the throne of Delhi in 1556 A.D. he had already witnessed the severities of life in the wandering days of his father, Humayun, and seen the treacheries and selfishness of his nearest blood

relations who could not be relied upon for establishing and administering the empire in Hindustan. Emperor Akbar very well understood the psychology of the Rajputs, who could be used for the extension of his empire. By his policy of matrimonial alliances, award of Mansabs, Khilats, Titles and Jagirs, and non-interference in their internal administration, Akbar attracted them to accept Mughal suzerainty.

The advent of Mughal imperialism in Rajputana was marked by the voluntary submission to Emperor Akbar of the Kachawa ruling family of Amber in 1562 A.D.¹⁰ By the end of 1570 A.D. all the prominent rulers of Rajputana, except the Rana of Udaipur, submitted to Akbar and recognised him as their suzerain.

Although subordination to the centralised despotism of the Mughals naturally circumscribed to some extent the power of the tributary Rajput Princes, it is a fact that they grew stronger during the period of Mughal suzerainty vis-a-vis the feudal nobility within their own territories. There is no doubt that the Mughal political system curtailed the independence of the Rajput States and imposed on them ceremonies which offended their pride, but on the other hand it gave their rulers unlimited opportunities for political and military triumphs outside the narrow boundaries of their ancestral dominions. Akbar's diplomacy thus served the ends of both the parties.

Expeditions of Raja Rai Singh on behalf of the Mughals

According to Col. James Tod, Raja Rai Singh led a gallant band of his Rathores in all the wars of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. One of the earliest military exploits in which Kunwar Rai Singh was engaged was an expedition against Nagaur¹¹. The fort and province of Nagaur was held by Haji Khan, a Commander in the reign of Sher Shah. When

the news of Haji Khan's success against Rana Uday Singh and capture of Nagaur by him was reported to Akbar, he appointed Syed Mohd. Kazim who could not be successful against Haji Khan. It was at this stage that at the behest of his father, Rai Singh led an expedition of the Bikaner forces to Nagaur against Haji Khan.¹² The battle lasted several days, but Khan had to flee away. The capture of Nagaur by Rai Singh took place in 1561 A.D. when he was about 20 years of age.¹³

Soon after ascending the throne, Rai Singh paid another visit to the Emperor at Agra

In the court of the Emperor, the affairs of Gujarat had for some time been a frequent topic of discussion. In 1572 A.D. Akbar gave orders for the mobilisation of his troops against Gujarat. Rao Maldeo of Marwar was hostile to the Emperor. As the high-road to Gujarat lay through the territories of the Jodhpur State, the security of this road was of vital importance for the success of the military operations in that part of the country. The important duty of keeping the high-road to Gujarat open and safe for the imperial army and also of protecting Agra, was entrusted to Rai Singh.¹⁴ According to *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Farmans were issued to the Amirs, Jagirdars and Governors of the surrounding territories to render Rai Singh every assistance that he might require.

Rana Pratap had now become a source of constant vexation to the Emperor. He used to attack the Imperial Caravans and plunder supplies. One of the many important tasks entrusted to Rai Singh was the prevention of attacks from Rana Pratap.

Rai Singh gave a crushing defeat to Ibrahim Husain Mirza, who had captured Nagaur, after fleeing from Gujarat.

In the second Mughal expedition to Gujarat against Mohammad Husain Mirza, Rai Singh and his brother Ram Singh had also accom-

panied the Imperial forces. Rai Singh distinguished himself personally in the assault of Ahmedabad and engaged Mirza Mohd.-Husain in single combat in which the latter was killed.¹⁵

Emperor Akbar conferred the title of Raja on Rai Singh in appreciation of the valuable military services rendered by his army, and the valour and intrepidity displayed by him personally on the field of battle in this war.¹⁶ The Bikaner losses in this expedition were heavy.¹⁷ According to *Tarikh-i-Farishta*, the Emperor also conferred upon Raja Rai Singh 52 Parganas whose total revenue was about 40,206,274 Dams.¹⁸

The territory of Sirohi lay on the high-road from Agra to Gujarat and the Deccan; hence the subjugation of this territory was a matter of vital necessity to Akbar. Akbar readily fell in with Rai Singh's proposal to invade Sirohi,¹⁹ as Rana Uday Singh had approached Rai Singh for help against Rao Surtan of Sirohi.²⁰ Rai Singh was successful in capturing the fort of Sirohi and brought Surtan as prisoner to Bikaner.²¹

In 1576 A.D. Rai Singh also captured on behalf of the Mughals the fort of Jalor, as this too was situated on the high road to Gujarat and occupied a key position in Akbar's scheme of conquests.

By conquering Sirohi and Jalor Rai Singh succeeded in clearing and making safe for the passage of the imperial troops the shortest high road from Delhi to Ahmedabad and to the Deccan.

Elphinstone in his *History of India* records that in 1572 A.D. the territories of Jodhpur were given by Emperor Akbar to Rai Singh by means of a formal grant.²² The fact of this grant is corroborated by the events cited in *Tabqat-i-Akbari* and by Major K. D. Erskine's *Rajputana Gazetteer*. Col. Tod has also recorded this.²³ Rai Singh, however, did not make any use of this grant at this stage.²⁴ It was only

when his hands were free from pre-occupations, that preparations were made for an attack on Jodhpur. A fierce fighting ensued in which the Bikaner soldiers gave a grand exhibition of their dash and valour.²⁵ The Jodhpur forces gave way and retreated in confusion.²⁶ The gates of the Jodhpur Fort were flung open and the victorious Bikaner troops rushed in and occupied the Fort and also the surrounding city.²⁷

The following other expeditions were also undertaken by Raja Rai Singh on behalf of the Mughals, in all of which Rai Singh came out successful:

Attock War	1578 A.D.
Kabul War	1582 A.D.
Suppression of rebellion in Bengal	1583-84 A.D.
Baluchistan expedition	1585 A.D.
Sindh expedition	1591 A.D.
Deccan War	1593 A.D.
Nasik expedition	1600 A.D.

Raja Rai Singh ranked as Mansabdar next below the Imperial Princes and only below the Amber House as a Hindu Raja. All the other Hindu Princes were below him. "At the death of emperor (Akbar) Rai Singh was a Commander of 4,000."²⁸

The *Ain* records that great care was taken by the Emperor in appointing Viceroys. The posts were conferred on persons of exalted character and outstanding merit in whose integrity and administrative capacity the Emperor had full confidence. Akbar appreciated the talents of Raja Rai Singh and conferred on him the exalted appointment of Viceroy on two different occasions, viz: in 1583 A.D. as Viceroy of Punjab and then in 1585-92 A.D. as Viceroy of Khandesh (Burhanpur).

On 26th June, 1585, at Lahore Salim's second marriage was celebrated with the daughter of Raja Rai Singh of Bikaner, and Emperor Akbar himself attended the marriage ceremony.²⁹

Albany, with an excellent reputation in the French military service, became Regent of Scotland (1515-24). During his regency naturally Anglo-French relations further declined whereas French support for Scotland was greatly strengthened. Thus every effort of Henry VIII to entangle Scotland came to naught during those years.

In this neat monograph Dr. Richard Glen Eaves has lucidly told the story of England's nagging aggression towards Scotland over the course of two centuries. He has traced clearly the complicated diplomacy by which Scotland preserved her independence, including the part played by France in this. Dr. Glen Eaves' book merits the quality of a good text book on the subject.

UMA DAS GUPTA

Renascent Bengal (1817-1857) (Proceedings of a Seminar organised by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta) with a Foreword by Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, The Asiatic Society, 1972, PP. 1-86. Price : Rs. 10.00.

The work under review is a collection of seven papers read and discussed at a Seminar on 'Renascent Bengal (1817-1857)', organised by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in April 1971. In the first paper, 'The Political Framework', Dr. Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri discusses the redeeming feature of the political framework established by the British, which actually paved the way for the awakening of India in various ways. He has analysed the defects of this administration and its impact on the general life of the people. In certain areas of the Bengal Presidency insurrections and revolts took place. But, on the whole, in the opinion of the author, the Bengalees remained loyal to the British. He cites a few examples in support of this statement. In fact, no attempt was made by the educated Bengalees to identify themselves with "the whole complex of anti-British attitudes" during the period under review. Though this aspect of

Bengali character was glorified by the press of Renascent Bengal, they were hated by the rebels of 1857. Nevertheless, this political framework facilitated the growth of political consciousness which was eventually merged with the larger issue of Indian political struggle. Giving a socio-political analysis of the position of the English educated Bengalees of that time, Dr. Chaudhuri observes: "It was a great age for India, an age of assimilation of all that was best in Western Culture and discarding all that was evil, both foreign and indigenous. And yet there was a contradiction which was basic to the issue. But all great history, as we know, has a built-in ambivalence. Renascent Bengal was not an exception to this".

The contradictions are more thoroughly analysed by Sri Benoy Ghose in his paper 'Social Change'. Referring to the salient features of economic change, Sri Ghose observes that as a result of the enactment of the Permanent Settlement the old feudal aristocracy was replaced by "a more dehumanised new feudal aristocracy" and "the net result of this policy had been inhuman fleecing of the mass of peasantry upon whom a hydra of exploitation was let loose". The economic policy pursued by the colonial masters distorted the process of urbanisation and gave birth to a semi-feudal urban social hierarchy. Then, Sri Ghose discusses the influence of caste and urbanisation on trade and the subsequent exclusion of the Bengalees from commerce. He writes that the upper-caste Hindus traded with the English Company and thereby amassed huge fortune. But the traditional 'Banik' caste, who occupied a much lower rank in society, was deprived of it. Thus the upper-caste Hindus, viz. the Tagores, the Deys and others, invested their money in land and in English education. They became Zamindars and joined service under British Rulers. But it did not change the feudal structure, rather it strengthened the social and institutional structures of feudalism. Following the pattern set up by Professor Needham in analysing the Chinese society, Sri Ghose observes: "The impact of Western liberal ideas was mainly

confined within a section of upper-class and middle-class caste-Hindus and English-educated élite, and as such the socio-religious reform movements emanating from it in urban areas had very little spread effect, vertical and horizontal. Neither it was 'Renaissance' in historical sense, nor was it a fundamental social change, as it was not related to or integrated with the organic whole of Bengali Society."

Dr. Sunil Kumar Sen in his paper 'Economic Transition in Bengal' discusses the pattern of economic enterprise and the structural change in the agrarian system. He points out that 'de-industrialisation' was not the only feature of Bengal's economic life, because the basis of capitalist development was also laid in this period. There was a shift in the economic situation with the construction of railways under Dalhousie. Dr. Sen observes: "The foreign investment in manufacturing industry gathered momentum as India entered the railway age". But as the Capitalist development took place within the framework of a colonial system, the process of industrialisation was not accelerated.

Dr. Kalyan Kumar Das Gupta in his paper 'Trends in Literature' deals with the development of Bengali literature from the establishment of Fort William College at Calcutta in 1800 to the publication of *Nildarpan* in 1860. He attaches great importance to the writings of Carey and the Bengali Pundits of Fort William College who laid the foundation of Bengali prose. He has also given a short account of several associations and institutions which played an important part in the development of literature. Estimating the role of writers, Dr. Das Gupta observes: "In other words, the Renaissance witnessed in the second half of the 19th Century in Bengal was made possible by the efforts of the creative artists of the first half of the Century."

Dr. Amitabha Mukherjee in his paper 'The Religious Ferment in Bengal' thoroughly discusses the role of socio-religious reformers,

activities of Rammohun and Devendranath, the Christian Missionaries, the Dharma Sabha and the Wahhabis. He writes that before Rammohun several religious groups or sects among the Bengalee Hindus renounced openly polytheistic and idolatrous worship. In this connection he refers to six religious sects, viz., the Karta Bhajas, the Spashtadayakas, the Balaramis, the Sahibdhamis, the Khushi Viswasis and the Ramvallabhis. The author thinks that these "religious sects formed a sort of link between the great religious reform movements of the middle ages and those of the nineteenth Century". Rammohun gave a new shape to the idea which ultimately culminated in the foundation of the Brahma Sabha in August 1828. According to the author though there was a temporary stir in the Hindu society in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, "it did not affect deeply the life of the people or produce any abiding result". After Rammohun's death the Brahma Sabha fell into a moribund condition. Devendranath resuscitated the Sabha and converted it into a well-knit organisation. Thus it acquired a position of importance in Bengali life. Dr. Mukherjee acknowledges the positive contribution of the Christian missionaries to the religious ferment in the first half of the nineteenth century. Analysing the reaction of the orthodox Hindu society to the Brahmo movement, the Christian onslaught and the Young Bengal agitation, Dr. Mukherjee observes that the contribution of the Dharma Sabha to this religious ferment was not at all significant. Discussing the Wahhabi movement, the author observes that it originated outside Bengal, "spread in this province in 1830's and created a stir in the society for some time".

The author concludes: "It did not make any significant contribution to the religious thought of the age, at least so far as Bengal was concerned." But the scholars who are familiar with the activities of the Farazis and the Wahhabis in Bengal right from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the days of anti-partition agitation would hardly agree with the concluding remarks of Dr. Mukherjee. Dr. Mukherjee

has missed to note that there are some differences between the Arabian and the Indian Wahhabis as well as the characteristic features of the nineteenth century purificationist religious reformation movements among the Muslims in India and Bengal.

Dr. Tarasankar Banerjee in his paper 'The Young Bengal : A General Estimate' discusses the different stages of the Young Bengal movement. According to him "the Young Bengal movement was the harbinger of the political consciousness in the country which may be said to be the embryonic stage of nationalism". They failed because "they did a lot of intellectual exercise, but could hardly frame any solid programme of action". So the author characterises it purely as "an intellectual phenomenon in the history of Bengal".

Sri Chittabrata Palit in his paper 'The Young Bengal : A Self Estimate' discusses the main features of the Young Bengal Movement. Analysing their writings Sri Palit observes: "The Young Bengal appealed to the head in a country of educational backwardness and inevitably their efforts were 'cribbed, cabined and confined' to the charmed circle".

This is no doubt an useful addition to the growing literature of nineteenth century Bengal and the Asiatic Society deserves congratulations for publishing it.

AMALENDU DE

The Making of the Mahatma. By Chandran D. S. Devanesan. Published by Orient Longmans Ltd., 36 A, Mount Road, Madras 2. Madras, 1969. Pp. 432.

The book under review is based on the doctoral thesis, which the author submitted to the Department of History of Harvard University, in 1961. While several thousand books in several languages have been written on the Mahatma, what made the author to add one more to the plethora, it may be asked, to which

the author's reply is "that the Mahatma has often been interpreted in too ethnocentric a fashion," and that no one cared to delve deep in finding out the "very powerful forces of acculturation" which moulded him for his future role in the history of mankind. This book is an attempt to investigate this aspect of Gandhiji's character and personality, during his first forty years, as the author believes that the acculturative processes at work operated most decisively in this period. The product of these formative years was *Indian Home Rule* or *Hind Swaraj*, the spontaneous expression of Gandhiji's seeing, doing and feeling till then.

The process that makes a man is indeed difficult to analyse and that of a *mahatma* much more so. In that too a man like Gandhiji whose activities embraced many fields of life, who tried to sustain political activities, hitherto the 'last resort of scoundrels' from a plane of higher nature, a person who became a legend in his own life time is most difficult and requires a magic-pen of a writer as possessed as Gandhi was when he poured out in *Hind Swaraj*. However, the author makes a serious effort to understand Gandhiji's 'make-up' in three periods: the Kathiawad Period (1869-1888), wherein he tries to look at Gandhi's Kathiawadi heritage. Kathiawad was a land of great contrasts, where tradition-bound society and state structures were still very powerful in the 19th century, though undergoing a silent change. The second period is the London Period (1888-1891), wherein we find a portrait of a 'Young Indian as a Late Victorian'; and finally the First South African Period (1893-1909) wherein the 'Birth of A Fighter' is seen. The sixth and the last chapter is called 'The Manifesto of the Gandhian Revolution' as *Hind Swaraj* is seen by the author. As a meticulous Ph.D. student, he analyses the *Hind Swaraj* from the points of view of writing, content, significance, style and cultural conflict and concludes: "it was South Africa that made the Mahatma."

That Gandhi has been and will remain an abiding topic of interest is a foregone conclusion.

The work under review does try to place his early life in proper perspective. The author tries to recapture the atmosphere of 'Kathiawad in the Nineteenth Century' in the best possible manner in which a non-Gujarati would do and so a Gujarati reader is likely to miss the touch of familiarity in the writing. Three small printing mistakes in Gujarati names may be pointed out. On p. 79 the word in italics should be *Baharwalya* and on p. 91 in the eighth line it should be Chotecla. On p. 265 the poetess is Mirabai. Some factual mistakes have also crept in. On p. 196 Surdas is called a Gujarati poet, which he is not. He is one of the *Ashta-Chhap* poets of Vraj. One is also not likely to agree with a statement of the author on the same page in respect of Gandhi's appreciation of Vaishnav devotional songs as a result of his liking English hymns. After one goes through the whole book one is also likely to feel that both in the narrative and in the treatment the author tries to get over the drab *clichés* of a Ph.D. thesis, but does not succeed fully. But at the end it should be said that for a student of history, the work deserves to be read for understanding the process that made Gandhiji a Mahatma, or as Lord Sorensen would say a "Great Soul."

V. K. CHAVDA

Gandhi In The Modern Context. Edited by M. Krasa. (Prague, 1970).

In this volume incorporating the papers presented in a seminar held at Prague in 1970, the contributors seem to concentrate on the last luminous phase of the Mahatma's life and hardly tell us much about his role in the national movement, although doubts have been raised about his concept of non-violent struggle against the British Raj.

Dr. Krasa emphasizes the Mahatma's deep love for the common people and his vision of free India which, in the Mahatma's words, "gives no quarter to capitalism, but gives the

present owning class a chance of reforming itself". With the coming of independence the Mahatma's views on the power structure and secularism did not find favour with the dominant leadership of the Congress which was "becoming attractive for selfish power-seekers and job-hunters"; the developing situation in post-independence period filled him with horror, and in his last testament the Mahatma pleaded for the dissolution of the Congress. In his excellent paper Mr. Pilat presents a factual account of the conspiracy of Hindu communalists which led to the Mahatma's assassination on January 30, 1948.

SUNIL SEN

Jadavpur University Journal of History, Vol. I, 1971-72: Department of History, Jadavpur University; Editor-in-chief: Professor J. N. Sarkar, Pp. 110.

Professor J. N. Sarkar and his colleagues in the Department of History, Jadavpur University, deserve congratulation on their unique venture—the publication of the first volume of J. U. Journal of History. Journals of history are unfortunately very few in India; this publication in itself, apart from the intrinsic value of its contents, is a welcome addition. The subjects dealt with by the teachers of the Department cover a wide range of studies from the Concept of Dharma to the Sikh War of Independence and Indigo Trade in Bengal. Interspersed with these are dissertations on 'Towns, in Mughal India' and the 'First British Resident at the Court of Poona.' Appropriately enough, the first in the contents dwells on some aspects of the history of the National Council of Education to which the University owes its existence. The Research Forum giving an account of the original papers published by the members of the Department during the last five years is yet another interesting feature of the Journal. The perusal of the volume, as a whole, is a rewarding experience. One can only wish that the journal will continue to make its annual appearance, a testimony to

the work of the Department and an index of profitable corporate venture in the field of historical research journals.

NISITH R. RAY

Recent Researches, Vol. I, Edited by Dr. Panchanand Misra, Published by Bhagalpur University, 1972, pp. 190.

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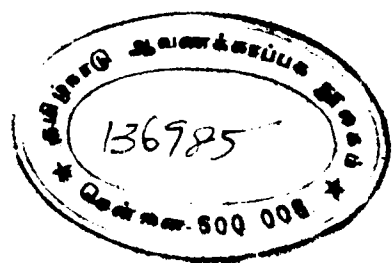
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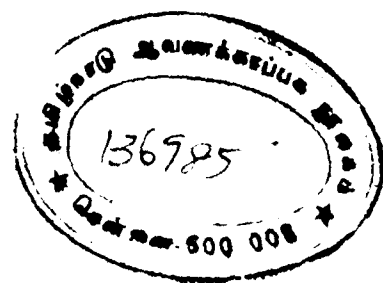
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