



HISTORIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

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Most historians of Indian nationalism have argued that the Indian political nation, in a modern sense of the term, did not exist prior to the establishment of British rule. Most recently, Prasenjit Duara has critiqued such formulations as "teleological model of Enlightenment History" that gives the "contested and contingent nation" a false sense of unity. So the challenge of nationalism in colonial India was twofold: to forge a national unity and to claim its right to self determination. India has been a plural society, everyone agrees, with various forms of diversity, such as region, language, religion, caste, and ethnicity and so on. It was from this diversity that "a nation (was) in making" (sic) to use the phrase of Surendranath Banerjee, one of the earliest architects of this modern Indian nation.

At one end of the spectrum, Partha Chatterjee would argue that nationalism in India which was assigned a privileged position by its Western educated political leadership, was a "different", but a "derivative discourse". Indian nationalism as a response to Western imperialism was "like all such responses, shaped by what it was responding to." The alternative version of universalism, rooted in Indian civilisation and propounded by men like Rabindranath Tagore or Mahatma Gandhi "counter-modernist critics of the imperial west was rejected by the Western educated middle class India.

C.A. Bayly (1998), on the other hand, has recently searched for the "pre-history of nationalism". Indian nationalism, he thinks built on pre-existing sense of territoriality a traditional patriotism rationalised by indigenous ideas of public morality and ethical government.

This school, in other words, ignored the inner conflicts within Indian society- which among other things, led to its division into two nation states and assumed the existence of nation as a homogeneous entity with a single set of interests. In opposition to this, a new interpretation emerged in the Anglo-American academia and Rajat Ray has rather loosely labelled it as the "new traditionalist" school. This new interpretation echoed the old imperialist assertion of authors like Valentine Chirol, that politicization of Indian society developed along the lines of traditional social formations, such as linguistic regions, castes or religious communities rather than the modern categories of class or nation.

If the 'neo traditionalist' historians studied Indian politics within the framework of the province, a few others have tracked these divisions further down to the level of localities. These latter writings, which have come to be identified as the Cambridge School, have questioned the ontology of unified nationalist movement and have traced instead only a series of localised movements in colonial India. As imperialism was weak, since it could not function without the help of Indian collaborators, nationalism that grew out of contestation with it was weak as well, it was nothing more than a battle between the two men of straws. As imperial rule depended on Indian collaborators, there was competition among them for favour of the colonial rulers. This led to emergence of various interest groups, which started to expand their constituencies as the British introduced local self-government and electoral system to rope in more collaborators.

Leaders at various levels were tied through patron client relationships and it was through these vertically structured loyalty networks that they bargained with the British for power and patronage. This school, in other words, completely derecognises the role of a nationalist ideology and seeks to explain nationalist politics in terms of a competition- collaboration syndrome.

This cynical view of history, which took the mind and emotion out of its analysis and followed a narrow Namierite model, reduced nationalist movement to the state of "Animal Politics", as Tapan Raychaudhuri has described it. This model of interpretation is, however, no longer subscribed to even by its one time enthusiastic champions. C.A. Bayly's book *Origins of Nationality in South Asia* (1998), referred to earlier, is a reminder of that significant historiographical shift.

By contrast to this rather constricted political explanation of nationalism, the orthodox. Marxist school sought to analyse the class character of the nationalist movement and tried to explain it in terms of the economic developments of the colonial period, primarily the rise of industrial capitalism and the development of a

market society in India. It identified the bourgeois leadership, which directed this movement to suit their own class interests and neglected the interests of the masses and even to some extent betrayed them. This narrow class approach and economic determinism of the early Marxists like R.P. Dutt and Soviet historian V.I. Pavlov were qualified in later Marxist writings of S.N. Mukherjee, Sumit Sarkar and Bipan Chandra. Mukherjee pointed out the complexities of nationalism, its multiple layers and meanings the importance of caste alongwith class and the simultaneous use of a traditional as well as a modern language of politics. Sarkar showed the non bourgeois background of the Indian educated classes and argued that they acted as "traditional" intellectuals, unconnected with the processes of production, responding to world ideological currents like liberalism or nationalism and substituted for the as yet inert masses of India. In his later book, *Modern India* (1983) Sarkar has warned us that "class and class-consciousness are analytical tools which have to be used more skillfully and flexibly." He recognises the legitimacy of nationalism, but does not ignore the "internal tensions within it. There were two levels of anti imperialist struggles in India, he contends, the one elite and the other populist. One need not ignore either of the two but look at the "complex interaction of these two levels" through which was produced "the pattern of continuity through change" that constituted the dominant theme of the period.

Bipan Chandra and a few of his colleagues have given Marxist interpretation a distinctly nationalist orientation in their collective enterprise, *Indian's Struggle for Independence* (1989). they argue that Indian nationalist movement was a popular movement of various classes, not exclusively controlled by the bourgeoisie. In colonial India they demonstrate two types of contradictions. The primary contradiction was between the interests of the Indian people and those of British rule, but apart from that, there were also several secondary contradictions within the Indian society, between classes, castes and religious communities. As the anti colonial struggle made progress, the secondary contradictions were compromised in the interest of the primary contradiction and in this way the hegemony of a nationalist ideology was established. But the nationalist movement was not the movement of a single class or caste or a religious community and leaders like Gandhi or Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that India was not a structured nation but a nation in the making. These were various groups with conflicting interests and hence the need for constant compromises to avoid class, caste or communal conflicts and to bring all those disparate groups under one umbrella type leadership. As a result, the Indian nationalist movement became a peoples' movement, though all the secondary conflicts were not satisfactorily resolved.

A brave new intervention in this debate came in 1982 when the first volume of the subaltern Studies, edited by Ranajit Guha, was published, with a provocative opening statement: "The historiography of Indian nationalism has for a long time

been dominated by elitism." This "blinkerered historiography", he goes on to say, cannot explain Indian nationalism, because it neglects, "the contribution made by the people on their own, that is independently of the elite to the making and development of this nationalism. This radical Marxist school, which derives its theoretical inputs from the writings of the Italian Marxist, Antonio Gramsci, thinks that organised national movement which ultimately led to the formation of the Indian nation state was hollow nationalism of the elites, while real nationalism was that of the masses, whom it calls the subaltern. There was a structural dichotomy" between the two domains of elite politics and that of the subalterns, as the two segments of Indian society lived in two completely separate and autonomous, although not hermetically sealed, mental worlds defined by two distinct forms of consciousness. Although the subalterns from time to time participated in political movements initiated by the bourgeoisie, the latter failed to speak for the nation. The bourgeois leadership, Ranajit Guha argued in a later essay, failed to establish its hegemony through either persuasion or coercion, as it was continually contested by the peasantry and the working class, who had different idioms of mobilisation and action, which the nationalist movement failed to appropriate. The new nation state established the dominance of this bourgeoisie and its ideology, but it was a dominance without hegemony.

This particular historiographical strand has, however, undergone considerable shifts in recent years, with the focus moving from class to community, from material analysis to the privileging of culture, mind and identity. Complaints have been raised by its one time stalwart contributor Sumit Sarkar about the "decline of the subaltern in Subaltern Studies. "Elite and dominant groups can also have a subaltern past", argues Dipesh Chakrabarty as a justification for this shift in focus.

As for an understanding of nationalism of these subordinate colonial elites, the most important contribution has come from Partha Chatterjee. His earlier assertion was that nationalism in India was essentially a "different but "derivative discourse" from the West that developed through three distinct stages: the "moment of departure" when the nationalist consciousness was constructed through the hegemonising influence of the post Enlightenment rationalist thought, the moment of manoeuvre when the masses were mobilised in its support, and the movement of arrival when it became a discourse of order and rational organization of power. This theory has been further developed in his later book *The Nation and Its Fragments* (1993) where he has argued about two domains of action of this intelligentsia the material and the spiritual.

In the outer world the Indian elite contested the colonial rule of difference, while in the inner domain they sought to homogenise Indian society by producing consent and dominating the space of subaltern dissent. So the two domains of elite

and subaltern politics should now be studied not in their separateness, Chatterjee persuades us, but in their "mutually conditioned historicities"

The subaltern view of nationalism- or what is now being described as a major strand in "postcolonial" theory- has witnessed further development in Gyan Prakash's most recent book *Another Reason* (1999) where he has argued in partial revision of Chatterjee that there was no fundamental opposition between the inner sphere of the nation and its outer life as a nation state, the latter was the former's existence at another, abstract level. The fashioning of the nation state in India was no mere emulation of the nation state in India was no mere emulation of the Western model, as thought by Chatterjee, but a rethinking and critiquing of the Western modernity from the vantage point of India's spiritual cultural heritage, combined with a scientific approach. Contemplated by leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru would be guided by the Indian principles of ethical conduct that privileged collective good, and in this sense, it would not be a "Western import".

Indian nationalism, in other words, is an intensely contested discursive terrain from where it is difficult to arrive at a dialectical middle ground or evolve an eclectic view that would be acceptable to all.

It is difficult to deny the truth in Ania Loomba's observation that here "the nation' itself is a ground of dispute and debate, a site for the competing imaginings of different ideological and political interests".

On the contrary nation building is always a process of continuous adjustment, accommodation and contestation. It is from this historiographical position of recognising the multiplicity of responses, rather than assuming any unilinearity of progress, that we will look at the emergence of nationalism in post 1857 India. We will focus on the different levels at which this consciousness was developing and try to analyse how such various forms of consciousness intersected and interacted with each other, how they viewed contradictions within Indian society and also defined their variegated contestatory positions vis-a-vis their common oppressive 'Other', the colonial regime.

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A CASE STUDY OF MALGUZARS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY CENTRAL PROVINCES - THE UNFULFILLED EXPECTATIONS

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In the 1830s Sleeman had spoken of a class of men who would rise 'above the grade of a peasant' and might contribute to the formation of the middle and higher classes of the society¹. Such men could also be served as a class of collaborators among the subjects, according to Colonel J. Low, member of the Council of the Governor General in 1854. "There shall be numbers of men in every large district" he emphasized in a minute while the annexation of the Nagpur province was being debated on the death of its Rajah, "So prosperous and wealthy and so thoroughly satisfied with their conditions, that they shall be sincerely attached to our government and be both able and willing for their own interests to afford important aid to us, by the exertion of their influence in the event of our Indian possessions being invaded by powerful foreign foes or endangered by any internal insurrection or want a fidelity in our native army².

The outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857 further demonstrated the wisdom of such arguments. The course of the Mutiny showed that the local administration of the British was not very effective and in times of trouble people looked up to their tribe, caste or clan leaders as the only saviour. In the villages of Central India, “the Patel was the head of the little republic.”³ Settlement officers in Wurdah and Narsinghpur spoke of the leaders like functions of the Patel amongst his cultivators, “He is, pointed out Rivett Carnac, “the settlement officer of Wurdah, what would be called in Bengal, the *Maneeb* or protector and patron, in an agricultural sense, of the dwellers in his estate; and upon him the tenants depend, in multitude of matter of every day life, for encouragement, for assistance and support.”⁴ As the land holder would command the entire resources of the village, it would be easy for him to “supply and maintain his cultivators in bad seasons, to dig wells and tanks for the convenience of the village and generally to carry out expenditure which a large proprietary body could not or a large absentee holder, would not undertake.”⁵

During the conferment of proprietary right those who were in possession of malgoozarship were preferred. In the words of Sir George Campbell, a peasant enthusiast who later became the Chief Commissioner “Where there was the smallest shadow of claim on the ground of holding, a farmer or Patel, for any considerable time, and in many other cases where, failing such a claim the descendant of some old patel long out of possession, was dug up and rehabilitated as Malgoozar”⁶ and the Malgoozaree system came into being in the Central Provinces.

The Malgoozars who had received proprietary rights were a heterogeneous body. Most districts contained quite a number of Maratha Brahmins and families connected with the Maratha Court as survivors of Maratha rule. These were mostly absentees residing in cities and combined a moneylending business along with their connection with the land. In Nagpur, Bhandara and Chanda there were many such families who had held for generations while some others had acquired their estates by money lending in the recent past. In Nagpur they included by names like those of the Bhonsla Rajas, Ghatate, the Buti family, the two chitnavis Antoba Kolar and G. R. Pande and the Subedar family. These men resided in Nagpur like the Zamindars and managed through agents, who collected the rents and debts of their principals.⁷

In the Chanda district the Maratha Brahmins composed of the Deshmukhs and Deshpandes and a few Brahmins of minor importance at the Maratha Court. These men preferred large villages near their head quarters. Some of them held their villages on privileged tenure as part of their remuneration. They were not good landlords as they had little in common with their tenants. As a rule they were pure rent collectors who seldom visited their villages.⁸

In Sagar and Hutta too there were many Maratha Brahmin families who had been associated with the Maratha rule. They were headed by Rao Ramchandra Rao, holding the Jaisingnagar Pargana, by Raghunath Rao in the Etawa Pargana, by Shrimant Krishan Rao in the Pithoria Pargana, by Venkat Rao, Subhedar of Sanda and by Rao Ramachandra Rao in Kellai desire mention.⁹

In Hoshunga, too, the Maratha Brahmin Malgoozars took up their residence in Harda and Timarni. They had little sympathy with their tenants and were heard to be rackrenting them.¹⁰ The palliwalas and Kherawal Brahmins in Hoshangabad, like some branches of Maratha Brahmin malgoozars were money lender pure and simple. They looked upon their villages merely as an open zone for money lending and Peasant debts were found to be heaviest in the areas where such malgoozars operated. Closely allied to them were the Banias, who had acquired many villages during the disasters of the quinquennial settlement. These Malgoozars not only valued a village for the profits made out of it as a property, but for the advantages that is offered as a field for the extension of their grain and money lending business.¹¹

In the Nagpur region, the home farm of these money lending Malgoozars was often sublet and they tried to collect all the dues that were permissible under the Wajib-ul-urz. Their agents were often illpaid and they tried to make the most of the estates on behalf of their masters. Thus, although the Malgoozars themselves were not necessarily oppressive, their ignorance and apathy towards what was going on in their estates made the cultivators suffer.¹²

In Sagar and Damoh districts the Parwar Banias as Saraogi Caste were very influential. They had acquired a lot of property in the Khurai Tahsil New Para in the Sagar District.¹³ Their properties were suddenly enhanced in value with the opening up of communications and the consequent rise in the value of its staple produce. Formerly, whatever produce they had to send, they could send them only on pack bullocks which took two months to reach Bombay from Jubbulpore. But the opening of the East Indian Railway line between Allahabad and Jubbulpore in 1867 and the linking of Jubbulpore with Bombay by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway in 1871, gave a great stimulus to the export trade of the district.¹⁴ The East Indian Railway to Jubbulpore brought a railway line Communication with Calcutta within 60 miles of the Sonar Valley and 25 miles of the frontier of the Damoh district.¹⁵

Side by side with the railway therewas also a great improvement in the condition of roads. The North-west road running from Nagpur through Betul and Hoshungabad connected the district to Itarasi Junction.¹⁶

The first thirty years of British rule ruined a number of Wuttunder Patels in Betul and brought many outsiders to the villages as Malgoozars, of them the Telis

and Kalars had become rich by trading in jungle produce, selling liquor and money lending at the expense of patels and cultivators.

The Hindustani Kurmis also came from places like Lucknow, the leaders as Patels and the followers as cultivators, at the beginning of the century and settled in the best villages. They were granted proprietary rights in 1861 and made Malgoozars. The Tenancy Act of 1883 had laid down that even if they forfeited their proprietary right through extravagance, they would still retain a right in their home farm.¹⁷

During the period of our study, these districts of the central provinces witnessed two parallel agricultural booms. The wheat boom in the Narmada valley and the cotton boom in the Nagpur Country. The mid 1860s saw an increase in the demand for Hingunghat cotton. As the supply of cotton, to the cotton mills of England stopped due to the onset of the supply from the southern states of America, cotton prices rose quickly in response to the soaring demand. More areas were sown with cotton, most money lenders thought it wise to sow their fields with cotton in expectation of a large profit. But the short staple cotton which the Nagpur fields produced were not to the liking of the English Mills. They had taken recourse to Indian cotton only as a stopgap solution to the crunch in the supply of American cotton. As the Civil war ended, American cotton hit the markets once again and the demand for Indian cotton suddenly fell to the despairs of all who had invested money and labour in its production. Big money lending houses lost money, the Malgoozars were surely disappointed and the cultivators were at their wits' end to provide themselves with alternative means of subsistence.

But although the cotton boom in the Nagpur region ended by the end of the 1860s, the wheat boom was yet to run its course. The Narmada Valley Malgoozars had made a lot of profits in wheat trade. In Sagar and Damoh the money lender Malgoozars celebrated their good fortunes in spending money on their caste fetes called '*rath*'. It often cost Rs. One lakh to celebrate such fetes and enabled a person to rise in the social scale. The first '*rath*' gave him the status of '*singhai*', the second '*rath*' made him '*singhai Sawai*' and the third one made him '*seth*'.¹⁸

When the grant of proprietary rights to Malgoozars had been proposed for the first time in the Sagar and Narmada territories, Captain Ternan – the Deputy Commissioner of Nursinghpur had warned that all these Malgoozars were already heavily indebted to the money lenders and the grant of proprietary right would be immediately followed by the transfer of such rights to money lenders in satisfaction of decrees of the civil court.¹⁹

Mismanagement and extravagance were two reasons which drove the Malgoozars to indebtedness. "Their expenditure increased by leaps and bounds and there seemed to them no limit of their resources. If money was not available in the house, there was the money lender, ever ready to advance it and the large profits in

a good year gave every hope that the loan could easily be repaid. Expenditure thus began to be based upon the income of good years and was not contracted to meet the exigencies of bad years, where as in old times, with no rights of transfer, the absence of credit would have forcibly reduced expenditure in bad years. Marriage and death ceremonies became more elaborate, there were more frequent occasions for borrowing and more facilities for selling”.²⁰

Earlier proprietary right had been conferred on the malgoozars with the hope of having a person who could mediate between the government and the vast mass of cultivators. But the entire purpose was frustrated as Malgoozars began to default in large numbers under the pressure of a high revenue burden and moneyed capitalists, bankers and merchants began to buy ‘land’ as they would do to any other commodity simply because they think it pays²¹.

By 1873-74 sales or mortgages of proprietary rights had reached on all time high so that administrators began to contemplate a restriction of the right of alienation of land. The maximum number of sales were recorded in the Nagpur and Jubbulpore Divisions²². Rising prices of wheat and cotton made proprietary holdings in these areas very lucrative investments for the city capitalists and many unwise malgoozars fell easy prey to the credit boom which the rising demand for the produce of their land had brought in its wake.²³ The large number of sales and mortgages brought British officers to lament the state of affairs “The state would be injured as well as the community, not only indirectly from the suscitation of political discontent but directly by want of a representative village, here through whom to communicate with the people If crimes are to be detected, information to be procured, supplies to be got together, education to be encouraged, or any other object of public utility to be promoted, in which the concurrence of the people is required, the district administration is reduced to depend upon an unpopular manager or sullen tenantry”.²⁴

Thus considering all perspectives it can be stated that the imposition of the Malgoozars as proprietors on the agrarian community of the Central Provinces was partly an ideological and partly a practical decision. From the beginning of their rule in these territories in 1818, they wanted to wring the maximum surplus that the social could yield. They could never be certain if they had obtained the maximum as they suspected the natural tendencies of concealment. Thus putting the estates up to lease to the highest bidders was only option left to them. They based their assessments on the *Jumas* of the preceding regime which had been functioning rather abnormally during its dying years to make a last bid to survive.

The assessments were thus more than the country could bear. It was impossible to collect such assessments from agriculturists who had any concern for the welfare of the agrarian community or any knowledge of their assets. The British therefore preferred to rely on the agency of the *Mahajans and Sahucars* to conduct the

whole business of making advances to the cultivators to make them carry on the agricultural operations and then siphon off the entire agricultural surplus in the form of interest on the funds advanced, the repayment of the principal amount and the rent of the land. The *mahajan* accepted the leases not only for the margin between government revenue and the collection from the cultivators, but for the unrestrained opportunity of spreading their money lending business in the countryside. Successful agriculturist Malgoozars also learnt the same tricks from them and soon the line of distinction between a money lender Malgoozar and an agricultural Malgoozar was wiped out. They continued to suck the resources of the countryside in the form of rent and interest on capital invested and sent it to the port cities by means of the improved transport network for export to England to feed the laboring mill hands. As the new 'propertied' classes grew outwards from inside and with subversion coming from inside. It was impossible to turn the tide of collapse of the right and privileges of the agrarian community.²⁵

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SWAMY VIVEKANANDA'S MESSAGE TO YOUTH ON SECULAR PERSPECTIVE: AN OUTLOOK

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*“Education is the manifestation of perfection already in man” - Swami
Vivekananda*

The youth today celebrates Rose Day, Valentine's Day, Friendship Day and much more but the National Youth Day is barely given notice. “Youth life is the most precious life. The way in which you utilize this period will decide the nature of coming years that lie ahead of you,” said the great philosopher Swami Vivekananda. As the nation celebrates the National Youth Day on 12 January, the birthday of Swami Vivekananda, it's time to draw inspiration and look at what the youth around the world can learn from his teachings. In this background the present paper made an attempt to explore the message of Swami Vivekananda to youth from his great discourses, apart from religious sentiments. It also discusses Swami Vivekananda's view on religion, love, religious toleration, woman, law and freedom to the entire world.

Love of Fellow Beings

The secular philosophy of Swami Vivekananda, was greatly influenced by the philosophy of his great master Ramakrishna, who take to the religious practices of various creeds like Tantrism, Vaishnavism, Advaitam, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity and realized God through all of them. To him, “the worthiest object of life is the realization of God as the highest human ideal attainable only by the development of high spiritual life and turning all actions and thoughts towards God. It is the essence of religion to a man, who has realized, all religion are the paths that lead to the same goal”. [1]

Like him great master Swami Vivekananda believed that religion is a means to an end, but not an end in itself. All religions are alike, leading to that one end i.e. realization of God. He thought that races and religions like Hindu, Christian, Islam etc. are the greatest bars to fraternal feelings between man and man, and it shatters the very fabric of human society. As Dr. Radhakrishnan said, “racial discrimination is opposed to the teachings of world brotherhood”. Swami Vivekananda therefore asked the people to breakdown these barriers as they had no significance in promoting the spiritual attitude of men.

Swami Vivekananda’s attitude towards other religions with regards to God one can believe what they worship. He quote it as “I shall go to the mosque of Mohammedan; I shall enter the Christian church and kneel before the crucifix; I shall enter the Buddhist temple where I shall take refuge in Buddha and in his law; I shall go into the forest and sit down in meditation with the Hindu, who is trying to see the light which enlightens the heart of everyone”. [2]

Swami emphasized religious toleration and the sameness of truth all religion. He took pride in teaching that India is the only country that believes in religious toleration and accept all religion are true. Similarly he criticized the western countries for their religious persecution and once again felt the refugees of all religion and all nations of the earth.

As he said, “soul laws are created by economic condition under the sanctions of religion. The terrible mistake of religion was to interfere in social matters. What we want is that religion should not be a social reformer but we insist, at the same time that society has no right to become a religious law giver. Hands off keep yourself to your own bounds and every thing would come rights”. [3]

Woman

The men and women constituting a nation represent an ideal that is being worked out through them. So to understand a people we must have a grasp of the ideal for which they stand. To judge them by other standards than theirs not fair or correct. To think of one’s own ideal as perfect and criticize others for differing, is not a

valid procedure; for, if we carefully observe we will find that all ideals develop certain aberrations in the course of their application to life. A people should not be judged by the aberrations. The mother is the ideal of Indian womanhood. The word woman calls up the idea of the mother in the Indian mind. And even God is conceived of as Mother.[4]

In the West, woman is essentially a wife. In a western home the wife rules, but in an Indian home it is the mother that rules. The wife has to be subordinate to her. In the concept of the mother woman stands above all carnality. Woman as mother is “marvelous, unselfish, all-suffering, ever forgiving”. In India it is the father that punishes the child, not the mother as in the west. In a Hindu home, the mother walks in front; the wife follows only. The mother is the mistress of the family; the son’s daughter is under her government. A son doesn’t like to see his wife overriding his mother.

Law and Freedom

It is wrong to think that freedom consists in obedience to the loss of nature. The history of human progress contradicts this idea; for, it is disobedience of nature that has resulted in progress. It may be said that the conquest of lower laws is through the higher. Even there the conquering mind is only trying to be free. As soon as it finds that the struggle is through law. It wants to conquer that also. So the idea of freedom is there, wherever there is growth. The tree never disobeys law; the cow never steals; and the oyster never tells a lie. But yet they are greater than man. Obedience to law, carried far enough, would make us simply matter, inertia in society or in politics or in religion. Too many laws are a sure sign of death. Eternal law cannot be called freedom, because to say that the eternal is inside law, is to limit it. [5]

The doubting and questioning of Swami Vivekananda, was completely transformed by Sri Ramakrishna. The illustrious disciple came to regard his master as a Divine incarnation. All rationalists cannot have the rare good fortune that Vivekananda had. Hence, the importance and relevance of Sri Ramakrishna’s teachings to the rationalists are understood. The teachings of Sri Ramakrishna, who experienced the presence of God, have a message for the believers too. The Bengali saint only re-discovered and re-interpreted the eternal truths handed down to mankind by the ancient seers and sages of India. The incidents in his life confirmed the spiritual experiences and exhortations of those venerable sages.

With regards to religion Vivekananda criticized his own religion as “I do not consider one a Hindu, unless one is spiritual” Many believe that spiritual life is only for the aged, but in truth, it is for all who look for harmony. Tension and conflict, hatred and frustration, greed and jealousy are unnatural. The natural life is when the spirit flows smoothly in peace.

“You are not sinners. To call you so is indeed the real sin. You are the children of immortal bliss. God is within you and discover that great being, resplendent like the Sun. There is no other way to total freedom”[6]. This was the clarion call that Swami Vivekananda gave hundred years ago. This Message is still relevant to the human society. Thus Swami Vivekananda emphasized the need to develop physical, mental and spiritual strength as the solution for all our problems especially to the youth.

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V.R.NAYANAR: A FORGOTTEN CRUSADER IN KERALA POLITICS

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The establishment of the Servants of India Society marks a significant phase in the political career of its founder Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Disillusioned by the dismal scenario of Indian politics in the early decades of the 20th century, when nationalist politics had not gained considerable momentum as a mass movement of the Indian people, Gokhale wanted to transform the political sphere of India by infusing the creative energy of the young men of India through dedicated work for the cause of the people and the country. It was precisely with this objective that he founded the Servant of India Society in 1905 with three other young men who had agreed to join him namely, A.V.Patwardhan, G.K. Devadhar and N.A. Dravid.

The projected aim of the society was to "train men, prepared to devote their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit, for the work of political education and agitation, and will seek to promote, by all constitutional means, the

national interests of the Indian people" (Karve & Ambedkar, 1996). Personally and constitutionally Gokhale had seen to it that the Society as an association of young men prepared to undertake voluntary selfless service for the upliftment of the vast majority of the suffering people of India. And rightly the British journalist, H.W. Nevinson had described them as the "young missionaries of Indian nationalism, the ascetic pilgrims of Indian politics" (Nanda, 1977). Ever since its formation, whatever be the institute rhetoric on the actual political operation in the country and whoever be its effective functionaries, history has recorded that the SIS had become the "powerhouse of India's liberal movement" (Whately, Wilkinson & Menon, 1932).

In Kerala it was the outbreak of the Malabar Rebellion of 1921 which as a historical determinant attracted the Society. It began to function here as a voluntary organization catering to the emergencies of the rebellion and caring its victims irrespective of caste and creed considerations. Though several important personalities were associated with the SIS activities in Kerala, the most distinguished among them, by virtue of courting the path of absolute sacrifice in the cause of service, was V.R.Nayanar. He was, in fact, the SIS incarnate in Kerala in both latter and spirit. The aim of this paper is to present a life sketch of V.R. Nayanar, as a veteran SIS worker, whom modern Kerala history has conspicuously bypassed till quite recently (Jyothirmani, 2007).

The life of V.R. Nayanar was a unique episode in the history of the Servants of India Society in Kerala. Due to historical reasons the work of the Society in Kerala was mainly confined to erstwhile Malabar district. For more than two decades he was intimately associated with the Society. He rendered an astonishing amount of public service with great missionary zeal, in conditions of extreme hardships. But he was quite selfless and unassuming in performing the task, which he took up as the mission of his life. In the short span of his life he embodied the high ideals of the Servants of India Society in such perfect terms in which his master Gokhale conceived them.

V.R.Nayanar was born in 1900 in an affluent *janmi* (landlord) family - Varikkara - of Kunhimangalam village of former Chirakkal taluk of Kannur district. His parents were Ayilliath Rairu Nambair and Varikkara Kallyani Amma. Being the eldest son, he was given the name of his father according to their tradition. Later Varikkara Rairu Nayanar was popularly known as V.R.Nayanar (Smaranika, 1984). The Nayanars were a small aristocratic group of families comprised mainly to the North Kerala districts of Kannur and Kasargod. (Sec notes) Nayanar's father wanted his son to be a doctor. After his B.A. degree he joined the Medical College to become a doctor. But he found it difficult to continue Medical studies. Dissection of dead bodies and practical work in the laboratory were all sickening for him. Eventually he discontinued his medical

studies (Smaranika, 1984). For some time Nayanar was interested in politics and worked as the Secretary of Thalassery branch of Swarajya Party(kunjappa, 1945)

Nayanar's father thought of effecting a change in his son. He asked him to go for a tour to Madras, Bombay and other cities. In the course of this tour he came to the head quarters of Servants of India Society in Poona. He was greatly impressed by the aims and objectives of the Society. He learnt more about the Society's work and soon felt called upon to follow its ideals. He stayed a few months there working as a librarian. This was for him some kind of apprenticeship in the activities of the Society's work. He soon returned to Malabar as a representative of the Society and started work at Calicut.

Nayanar's urge for public service got ample opportunities following the Malabar riot of 1921. He was the volunteer captain of a refugee camp set up at Calicut. He took great care of the victims of the Rebellion (Mathrubhumi, 1945). Refugee camps were also organized by the Congress in Calicut and Thrissur under the leadership of K.P. Kesava Menon and Kurur Neelakantan Namboodirippad respectively (Mathrubhumi, 1945). In Calicut there were other camps set up at Azchavattam, Mooriyad, Francis Road, Puthiyara, Chalappuram, etc. (Smaranika, 1984) Nayanar worked day and night collecting food and materials for the refugees in the camp (Menon, 1973). He considered it his sacred duty to serve and protect the poor and destitute. He also served as a member of the Mappila Aid Committee formed to provide relief and help to the suffering Mappilas after the riot (Regional Archives, Kozhikode, 1933).

When the DMRT (Devadhar Malabar Reconstruction Trust) was formed at Calicut, Nayanar was selected as one of its main workers at the instance of G.K.Devadhar (Janaki Amma, 1984). As an associate of Suryanarayana Rao, (Balachandran, 1982) who was in charge of the SIS of Malabar, Nayanar had already become a seasoned social worker. When Suryanarayana Rao resigned from his position as the Honorary Joint Secretary of SIS, his place was taken by Nayanar during this period. Nayanar's zeal for social service was so immense that he left no area untouched. He was at the forefront of the programme for eradication of untouchability, against superstitions and social evils, for providing education to the downtrodden people and in fostering communal harmony (Balachandran, 1982). These activities were mainly undertaken as the programmes of DMRT. These were envisaged as means to set right the condition of Malabar which was distorted by the Rebellion (Mathrubhumi, 1933-34).

Along with social work, Nayanar also found time to engaged himself with political activities. During 1924-1928 he was the Secretary of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee (Mathrubhumi, 1945 & Kurup, 1985). He was instrumental in setting up Congress Committees in North Malabar. At his instance Congress Committee was formed in Kanhangad in 1924; the Hozdurg Taluk Congress

Committee was organized by him in 1925 (Kurup, 1985). When Nehru visited Kerala to preside over the Fourth Kerala Political Conference held at Payyannur on 25, 26, 27 May 1928, V.R. Nayanar was an active participant. When a resolution was moved by K.Madhavan Nair recommending the ensuing Calcutta Congress, demanding India's total independence as the aim of the Congress, V.R. Nayanar along with K.Kelappan, C. Kuttan Nair and Kurur supported to resolution (Pottekkad et al., 1978). Again, The State Congress launched its struggle for responsible government on 26, Aug, 1938, against the idea of independent Travancore piloted by Sir C.P.Ramaswami Iyer. The KPCC led by Muhamed Abdurahiman formed a support committee and its members were EMS, P. Krishna Pillai, P.Narayanan Nair and K.A. Damodara Menon. The Malabar Committee of the Congress decided to lead a procession to Travancore in support of its agitation. The Captain of the procession was A.K.Gopalan. On Sept. 9, 1938, a great public meeting was held at Calicut beach in support of the Malabar procession to Travancore. The meeting was addressed by Muhammed Abdurahiman, V.R. Nayanar, U. Gopala Menon, Kozhipurath Madhava Menon and K. Damodara Menon (Pottekkad, 1978).

The SIS and the DMRT did great relief operations in Malabar during the famine of 1923-24 (Balachandran, 1982) and the flood of 1927-28. Similarly when the cholera epidemic broke out in Malabar in 1942-43 the SIS and the DMRT rendered, under the leadership of Nayanar, an immense amount of relief work for which there was no parallel in contemporary history (Balachandran, 1982; Assanarkutty, 2002; Balakrishnan 2002). Their other programmes for which Nayanar gave able leadership include adult education, Co-operative ventures, cottage industries, agricultural training etc.

An area in which Nayanar focused great attention was general education. It was one of his great convictions that education could serve as an agency for social change. Nayanar's role as a teacher and as an educationist in the period of nationalist struggle in Malabar was not adequately recognised. Besides general education Nayanar was also greatly interested in 'workers education', on the pattern of Workers Education Association, which functioned in European countries like England. He was very keen to use education and knowledge to fight against religious and caste based superstitions.

Nayanar also had the profile of a trade unionist and journalist (Balachandran, 1984). In the 1920s he worked among the tile workers of Feroke and organized them. He set up a centre to give them workers' education. (Raman, 2004). For sometimes he worked as the editor of the *West Coast Spectator*: at the same time he was also associated with other newspapers *Manorama*, both published from Calicut.

Nayanar was also associated with the activities of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Kongattil Raman Menon was the president of the Malabar Harijan Sevak Sangh right from its inception. After him, V.R. Nayanar took charge as President and continued till his death (Moossath, 1985). He was also associated with Kelappaji and his social and educational work for the Harijans (Nedungadi, 1985). In his busy life Nayanar wrote several articles on various topics and authored a few books including *Pouradharmam* (co-authored by P.M.Kuttikrishnan Nair) and a biography of Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Wherever people were in distress due to illness, poverty and other calamities Nayanar and his team of workers were always prepared to extend alms to them. He once undertook a hazardous journey to Lakadives and the Andaman islands to prove them help when they were severely tormented by illness and poverty (Nambissan, 1984). Throughout Malabar he set up several dispensaries (Thikkodian, 1991). In order to protect and rehabilitate the people and children left orphaned and destitute by the Malabar riot as well as by cholera he set up orphanages from Chirakkal on the north of Ponnani on the south (Thikkodian, 1984).

Born and brought up in an aristocratic family Nayanar could have secured very high positions in life. By virtue of his intelligence and daringness he could have added up to the traditional fame and name of his family. But a noble soul infused with a high sense of commitment to the cause of the suffering lot of his country and induced by characteristic sympathy to the poor and downtrodden, Nayanar chose an unassuming path of selfless service, in the course of which he had to sacrifice his own life (Kerala Koumudi, 2000). His personal life was quite tragic. Soon a daughter was born to him, his wife passed away. On the advice of his friends and relatives, in 1940, he married Madhavikutty Amma of Kayarat family of Ottapalam and settled near DMRT centre, at Tanur. Madhavikutty Amma, popularly known as Mrs. Nayanar emulated the service mentality of her husband. When cholera broke out in Valappad and Nattika of Thrissur and in parts of Malabar she led relief operations.

Nayanar passed away on 14 May, 1945 quite early in life (Mathrubhumi, 1985; Ammini Amma, 2005). In the course of continuous and restless work he had contracted exima. On his way to preside over an anniversary of school in North Malabar, he walked quite a long distance and his illness got aggravated. Following an acute fever he lost his life (Balachandran, 1984). Nayanar was deeply mourned by the people of Malabar. He was admired as an embodiment of honesty, innocence and integrity. As a protector of the distressed lot one was equal to him in Kerala (Kurup, 1985). In its editorial Mathrubhumi described Nayanar as a man who was prepared to take up unattractive, and hazardous, but extremely important tasks as a veteran servant of the country and above all as a most merciful

human being, a *Yogi* in the right sense (Mathrubhumi, 1946). Without hesitation Nayanar can rightly be called the Gokhale of Kerala. Through his life he was demonstrating himself as an ascetic pilgrim of Kerala Politics.

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MAHARISHI DAYANAND'S REFORM MOVEMENT TOWARDS INDIAN SOCIETY

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Among all reform movements Arya Samaj was undoubtedly the most dynamic socio- religious reform movemen in modem society. This socio-religious reform movement tended to have a national scope and a programme of reconstruction in the social and religious spheres to emancipation of Indian society. Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati appeared as a shining star on the socio-religious firmament of princely India in that time when more than half of the population of India was not permitted by the semi-literate Brahmins to read Vedas, what to say of meditating on the Mantras. The women folk were treated by Aryas worse than what the Taliban are doing to them now. Many other sections of the Samaj were left out and counted among the underprivileged and ignored classes. Many invaders came from Europe and Central Asia and plundered India at their will. The Vedic Studies suffered more than any other branch of knowledge because there remained none to study and meditate on Mantras. The books of Hymns were worshipped but never read. The Vedic culture had sunk into a chasm as dark as the night of Amavasya. Having lived in a dark chasm for many centuries, the suffering people of India were blessed with the advent of an enlightened soul who was ready to undergo deprivation for the cause of the country. He studied the Vedic grammar at the feet of Guru Virjanand in Mathura, the janmbhoomi of

Yogeshwar Shri Krishna. The dedicated disciple, Dayanand Saraswati did not have to look back thereafter.

Born in 1824 at village Tankara, district Rajkot in a orthodox Brahmins family, Swami Dayanand Saraswati spoke Gujarati as his mother tongue. He studied Sanskrit both Vedic and laukik or the current language of the common men of religion. However, a visionary that Dayanand was, he learnt Hindi to write commentaries on the Vedas for the learning of the common man and ordinary housewives. Dayanand Saraswati wrote his magnum opus, Satyarth Prakash, in both Sanskrit and Hindi. Swami Dayanand Saraswati ushered in a revival of Vedic Studies among the common men and women to uplift the society as such. Indeed he ushered the Renaissance – revival of ancient studies for modernization of man's outlook and fixed a role in the archives of Vedic Studies. Dayanand's admirers and followers found in him a Renaissance Rishi who was ever ready to do more and more to uplift the common man and enable him and her to become an Arya-an ennobled human being. In 1869, Swami Dayanand made his first attempt to reform in India. This attempt took the form of the establishment of "Vedic Schools" or "Gurukuls" which put an emphasis on Vedic values, culture, and religion or Satya Sanatan Dharma to its students including boys and girls separately. The Vedic Schools represented the first practical application of Dayanand's vision of religious and social reform. They enjoyed a mixed reception. On the one hand, students were not allowed to perform traditional idol worship (murti puja) at the school, and were instead expected to perform sandhya (a form of meditative prayer using vedic mantras from the Vedas) and participate in agnihotra twice daily. Disciplinary action was speedy and not rarely severe. On the other hand, all meals, lodging, clothing and books were given to the students free of charge, and the study of Sanskrit was opened to non-Brahmins. The most noteworthy feature of the Schools was that only those texts which accepted the authority of the Vedas were to be taught. This was critical for the spiritual and social regeneration of Vedic culture in India. After that he decided to invest the greater part of his resources in the formulation and propagation of his ideology of reform, for this purpose while traveling, Dayanand came to know of several of the pro-Western Indian intellectuals of the age, including Navin Chandra Roy, Rajnarayan Basu, Debendranath Tagore and Hemendranath Tagore all of whom were actively involved in the Brahmo Samaj. This reform organization, founded in 1828, held many views similar to those of Dayanand in matters both religious and social (e.g., the need to abolish the hereditary caste or varna system and uplift the masses through education). Debendranath Tagore had written a book entitled Brahmo Dharma, which serves as a manual of religion and ethics to the members of that society, and Dayanand had read it while in Calcutta.

Although Dayanand was convinced on more than one occasion to join the Brahma Samaj, there existed points of contention which he could not overlook, the most important being the position of the Vedas. Dayanand held the Vedas to be divine revelation, and refused to accept any suggestions to the contrary. Despite this difference of opinion, however, it seems that the members of the Brahma Samaj parted with Dayanand on good terms, the former having publicly praised the latter's visit to Calcutta in several journals. Dayanand made several changes in his approach to the work of reforming Hindu society after having visited Calcutta. The most significant of these changes was that he began lecturing in Hindi. Prior to his tour of Bengal, he had always held his discourses and debates in Sanskrit. While this gained him a certain degree of respect among both the learned and the common people, it prevented him from spreading his message to the broader masses. The change to Hindi allowed him to attract increasingly larger following, and as a result his ideas of reform began to circulate among the lower classes of society as well. After hearing some of Dayanand's speeches delivered in Hindi at Varanasi, Raj Jaikishen Das, a native government official there, suggested that Dayanand publish his ideas in a book so that they might be distributed among the public. Witnessing the slow collapse of the gurukuls/Vedic Schools due to a lack of a clear statement of purpose and the resultant flagging public support, Dayanand recognized the potential contained in Das's suggestion and took immediate action. From June to September 1874, Dayanand dictated a comprehensive series of lectures to his scribe. Pundit Bhimsen Sharma, which dealt with his views and beliefs regarding a wide range of subjects including God, the Vedas, Dharma, the soul, science, philosophy, child rearing, education, government and the possible future of both India and the world. The resulting manuscript was published under the title Satyarth Prakash or The Light of Meaning of Truth in 1875 at Varanasi. This huge work would prove to play a central role in the establishment and later growth of the organization which would come to be known as the Arya Samaj. While the copy of the "Satyarth Prakash" was being edited at Varanasi, Dayanand received an invitation to travel to Bombay in order to conduct a debate with some representatives of the Vallabhacharya sect. Dayanand arrived in Bombay on 20 October 1874. The debate, though greatly publicized, never materialized. Nonetheless, two members of the Prarthana Samaj approached Dayanand and invited him to deliver a few lectures at one of their gatherings, which were received with appreciation by all those present. The members of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay recognized in Dayanand, an individual in possession of the knowledge and skills necessary for promoting their aims, the greatest and most comprehensive of which being the general uplift of Hindu society at large and its protection from what they perceived to be the advancing threat of Christian and Muslim efforts to convert Hindus. After his having spent over a month at Bombay,

60 new-found students of Dayanand – among them, prominent members of the Prarthana Samaj – proposed the notion of founding a "New Samaj" with Dayanand's ideas serving as its spiritual and intellectual basis. In that effort when the like-minded Aryas assembled at Kakarwadi in Mumbai on a Saturday afternoon on 10th April 1875 to perform a Vedic Havan, make rules in furtherance of achieving a goal of ennobling Mankind, the Arya Samaj was born. It may be of interest to an Arya Samajist of today to know that there were one hundred members on rolls of the first Arya Samaj that was founded in the presence of Swami Dayanand Saraswati. Our renaissance Rishi was a democrat to his fingertips and preferred his name to figure in alphabetical order sans preference. Notwithstanding fervent appeals made by many newly enrolled members to the Rishivar to accept presidentship of the Arya Samaj, Kakarwadi, Bombay; the ascetic of erudition chose to be just an ordinary member like 99 others sitting there. Now a question arise "what thing compelled Maharishi Dayanand to establish the Arya Samaj"? When he saw the degraded and debased condition of the common people. His heart bled at the sight of millions of people, weak, disjointed, deranged and almost chaotic, helpless and hopeless, ignorant. Deluded, servile and dominated by few proud, parasitical, living in luxury. He wanted to united society into one united people to cast off the artificial and self-imposed bonds that tied them to their present position. He wanted them to remove from their eyes the bandage that prevented them from seeing the light of truth and liberty. He wanted the society to arise pure and strong from the prevailing confusion, ignorance and internal trouble and stand on its own feet and take the proper place among the nations of the world. With the above goals in mind, Maharishi Dayanand established the Arya Samaj. He wanted to get rid the Indian society from polytheism, idolatry, iconolatry, animal sacrifice to please God, ancestor worship (shraddha), pilgrimages, pantheism and priest craft. untouchability, caste system, child marriage, polygamy, ban on widow re-marriages ,sati, purdah, and women illiteracy and inequality. Swami ji was deeply disconcerted by the attitudes of Orthodox Brahmins towards the depressed class of the Hindus, known as dalits or untouchables. They were not allowed to enter Hindu temples, homes and Brahman rituals. They were prohibited to fetch water from the village wells. Their children were not allowed to study in the village school with other children. Swamiji was first to declare equal rights for lower caste, the right for education, right for reciting Ved mantras, right right for marriage and right to fetch water from common wells. Swamiji told that Vedas teach us that in the sight of God, all are equal and the colour or country makes no difference. There is no such thing as a master race or a superior or a Nordic race. The Arya Samaj has been propagating and implementing this in eradicating caste system based on birth. Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati was deeply worried with this sad plight of Indian women. He

was the first to roar like a lion in public platforms for female education giving evidences of admirable type women Rishis like Gargi and Maitriya. Around 1870, Swamji opened a Kanya Patashala (a girl school) at Meerut. After Swamji's death, the Arya samaj movement under the leadership of teachers like Swami Shraddhanand, Lala Dev Raj etc, continued to establish many girl schools. With the success of Kanya Pathshalas, on June 14, 1896 the Samaj established the Kanya Mahavidhyalay (Institute of higher education for women). The students of this institution included a mixture of unmarried, married and widow women. Since then the Arya Samaj has opened over 500 Institution throughout India. The Institutions include girl schools, girl colleges, Gurukuls, Orphanages, Industrial schools and Widow shelter houses. Indian women are indebted to Swamji and the Arya samaj for restoring their rights so that they can become the President, the Prime-Minister of India and can compete with men as equals in every field of life.

The popularity of the Arya Samaj increased among the masses by leaps and bounds. However, the province that became a citadel of the Arya Samaj movement was the undivided Punjab with capital city Lahore as the epicenter. Maharishi Dayanand Saraswati himself travelled from Mumbai to Multan in the North, to Calcutta in the East, Rajkot, Kathiawar in the West and Pune in the Deccan Plateau. The Swami was a popular Sanyasi and his name and fame travelled far and wide. He received invitations from far and wide to preach the original Vedic Dharma and take common man on board. In Rajputana, kings and commoners alike received him with open arms and Maharana Sajjan Singh of Mewar changed the education system of his State as per the details given in the Satyarth Prakash and further augmented by the Maharishi himself. But unfortunately, it was the Diwali evening 30th October 1883 when Swami Dayanand Saraswati breathed his last at the age of only 59-years. Such pre-mature and sad demise of Swamiji shocked all Arya Samajists all over India, but they recovered soon and vowed to carry on the mission of Dayanand so that the masses be benefitted. Among them was Pt Guru Dutt Vidyarthi, formerly an agnostic bordering atheism, who drew sustenance from the last moments of Swami Dayanand Saraswati and became an Arya pracharak par excellence. Swami Dayanand Saraswati was in great demand personally for stepping out for Ved prachar. But on his sad demise the responsibility of carrying on the Dayanand Mission of Ved prachar fell on the young shoulders of various Arya Pratinidhi Sabhas, mainly of the joint Punjab, located in Lahore. They acquitted themselves very well. Most of the contributors of money and material for propagating the Vedic Dharma belonged to the lower and upper middle class families. Doling out a large sum for the Ved Prachar meant that they had to cut expenditure on some other essential items of purchase required to run the household. But they did not mind cutting expenses on fun and frolic and

diverting it to the opening of new Arya Samajes, educating neo-converts to the Vedic Dharm and even on the Vedic wedding of nubile girls of neo-Aryas in neediness. The Aryas committed to doing the Ved prachar bore additional burden monetarily and otherwise but never lost their cheer and mirth. The Arya Samajes and other Vedic Sansthans like the Arya Kanya Gurukuls, the Arya Anathalayas, Arya educational institutions like the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic Schools and Colleges opened in large numbers. So did the Gurukuls, mostly in rural areas that catered to the requirements of wards of the peasant class.

In the 20th century, the Arya Samaj spread its Vedic theology, as propounded and interpreted by Swami Dayanand Saraswati, far and wide. The notable growth was also in foreign countries where people of Indian origin, especially those of the Hindu community had settled down. The Island nations like Mauritius, Fiji, British Guyana, now Trinidad and Tobago did exceedingly well in not only accepting the Indians professing the Vedic Dharm for settling down and earning a living off farms but also preach and propagate the same. After such efforts for long time the flame of the Arya Samaj movement is also present in countries like as Guyana, Australia, South Africa, Kenya and other countries where a significant Hindu Diaspora is present. Immigrants to Canada from East Africa and the Caribbean countries respectively form separate Arya Samaj communities in many Canadian cities including Toronto. Most major metropolitan areas of United States have chapters of Arya Samaj.

Gurukul Kangri, Haridwar founded by Lala Munshi Ram, later known as Swami Shraddhanand, with an all out effort of dedicated Aryas Samaj and Vedic Gurukul system, had attractead enthusiastic attention of both the foreigners and Indians. Indeed the nation is proud of all the Vedalankars and Vidyalankars(students) who not only were shining stars on the firmament of Journalism but also made sacrifices as freedom fighters to free India from the clutches of the foreign rule. Dayanand Anglo-Vedic (DAV) schools and Colleges also proudly produced scholars, administrators who were great men of learning. The young men and women, products of the DAV institutions, defended the motherland. They innate this love for the Dharma and motherland from Swami Dayanand Saraswati and Mahatma Hansraj ji. It is the spirit of devotion and dedication to the cause of education and preparing the youth for selfless service to the motherland that brought a good name to the DAV movement. What started just as one school, the DAV School Lahore has now blossomed into Seven Hundred plus educational institutions attracting students from far and wide. From simple school the DAV has risen to the dizzy heights of Engineering Colleges and Technical Centres imparting a high level of education.

Finaly The contribution of the ancient Vedic wisdom and Science and the spiritual traditions as well as philosophical thoughts will certainly make the world

a better place to live for the present and future generations. As a whole, it can be said that the reforms of Maharashi Dayanand Saraswati and Arya Samaj are of great significance and have made huge impacts on the contemporary Indian society. The Arya Samaj has become a major acculturative movement with its purification of depressed Indian society. Indian women have to pay back to Swamiji the greatest. If he had not come forward to improve their social rights, right to education remarriage, equal right as per men, abolition of dowry system equal opportunity to select their partners, oppose the curse of child marriage and untouchability etc. The Indian women could never have attained their emancipation. This had never been done by any of the previous thinkers.

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Text and Context of anti-Colonial Resistance in Malabar: Gleanings from Arabic and Arabic-Malayalam Literature

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Where ever the colonial forces ventured to dominate the indigenous people and their culture, history reminds us that the resistance was the natural outcome. The geographical discoveries was a major breakthrough as far as the Western World was concerned- that all the elements of the West, what we now situate along with modern or modernity, in actual sense, were the by-products of those discoveries. Where as, the new stream of travellers heralded a new era of persecution and atrocities in the Oriental and African World in search of wealth. The people of those lands resorted to resistance, simply for their own existence or preserving their own religious and cultural practices. The Portuguese voyagers came to India not only as the representatives of the State, but also as of the Church, having a 'cultural mission' apart from commercial one. The Portuguese engagement with India, especially on the South-Western Coast collapsed the existing trans-Oceanic or Indian Ocean trade relations, which had been commenced in the early historic age. Though they could not dominate the land politically, the damage upon the economy and state made by them was hazardous. At a later stage appeared the British power, which could successfully colonise the land and the people. However, the response from the part of indigenous ruling

class and the people was not as expected both by the Portuguese and by the British. They vehemently fought against the colonisers, forgetting their differences with regard to caste or religion. And more importantly, we have a very potential genre of literature as the repository of those struggles and also serve as the source of inspiration with regard to the resistance movements in contemporary contexts.

As well known, Calicut, a medieval port city and trading centre on the Malabar Coast of India was adorning a predominant role in the international trade circuit and was the land firstly exposed to early colonial endeavours in India. Naturally, the coastal towns of Malabar have a legacy of anti-colonial struggles, along with a rich literary tradition though a domain which is under- explored. Indeed, we cannot trace the elements of nationalism in these protests, still the sentiments of the people against the alien forces is explicit. The early movements against the colonial forces in Malabar had broadly two aspects: firstly, the leadership was mainly with the Mappilas, the indigenous Muslims who were supported by the ruler of Calicut, the Zamorin and his army as well. Secondly, the religion played the role of ideology supported by the Qazis and *ulemas* who were the ideologues and the movement sustained for a long time since it was perceived as a *jihad* against the Portuguese. But the religious overtones never caused to limit the scope and significance of those struggles.

Major share of the works on this area is basically reconstructed depending upon the Portuguese and the British sources, which naturally shares the colonial subjectivity on the matter. At the same time a large corpus of indigenous literature (Arabic and Arabic-Malayalam) is recently tapped but which has not been used so far. The present paper is an attempt to make a survey of this literature and to highlight the perspectives of these indigenous authors. The first part of the paper makes a review of the literature concerning the Portuguese period and the latter part examines the works sharing the anti-colonial outlook belonging to the British period. The earliest known work coming under the section of anti-colonial literature in Portuguese period is *Tahridul Ahilil Iman Ala Jihadi Abadathisswulban*, precisely known as *Tahrid*¹, which is actually a political composition by Shaikul Islam Abu Yahya Zainuddin Ibn Ali (1467-1521) popularly known as Zainuddin Makhdam senior². The work is

¹ C. Hamsa ed., *Tahrid*, Calicut, 1996; also see, *The Legacy of Anti- colonial Struggle*, Department of Arabic, Farook College, Calicut, 2008.

² Zainuddin senior was also known as Zainuddin al-Ma'bari al- Malabari, and supposed to be a descendent of Arab migrants to Ma'bar(southern Tamilnadu coast). It seems that he lived in Bijapur for long time, which was ruled over by the Adil Shahis. Later he migrated to Ponnani in Malabar and became the first Makhdam in the religious centre established in 15th C. see, J.B.P. More, 'From

of immense value not in terms of its literary qualities but due to its historical significance. Though Makhdum senior had authored some more poems such as *Hidayathul Adkiya ila Tariqat il Auliya* and *Al Urjoosa*, Makhdum is known as scholar of *Hadith* [prophet's tradition] and *Fiq'h* [Islamic jurisprudence], historian, grammarian, reformer and teacher. *Thahrid*, consisting of 135 verses, is actually styled as exhortation to the believers for holy war against the 'worshippers of the Cross'³, indicative of the Portuguese.

Of course, there existed prolonged enmity between the Muslims and the Christians in the Western world in the context of the Crusades. The Portuguese economic and religious motivations were combined with a strong hostility towards Muslims as a result of clashes on the Iberian Peninsula⁴. It is no secret that Vasco da Gamma's journey was a mission with the religious and cultural objectives. He had taken an oath before King Manuel that through the voyage, which was a 'Holy Venture', they would proclaim the faith in the Jesus Christ and wrest wealth and fame by force of arms from the hands of the 'barbarians, Moors, pagans and other races'⁵. The Portuguese invariably pursued the ambitious project of capturing trade monopoly of the Moors on the Malabar Coast, and they started to do every possible crime in order to materialise their motives. Since a chronogram was not found in the *Thahrid* and the author died in the year 1521, the actual date may be before that. The poem is said to be set in the perfect rhythm, composed in Arabic metre, *tavil*.

It is believed that the Portuguese, who had directly associated with the Crusades, had an objective to eliminate the Moors anywhere in the world. Cabral was directed to compel the Zamorin not to allow the Muslims to engage in the commerce within his territory. Vasco da Gamma returned to Portugal completing his first visit after taking pledges to abolish the Kerala's trade relations with Arab world. Then came Gamma's successor Cabral and was permitted to build a factory at Calicut, who acted as sole authority over the sea and pressurised Zamorin to divest the Arab's right of trade in the Arabian Sea. The Portuguese likewise denied the rights of Hindus as well. Eventually there started the Portuguese atrocities

Vasco da Gama to Sheikh Zainuddin's *Tohfut-ul Mujahideen*', in M.P. Mujeebu Rehman and K.S. Madhavan ed., *Explorations in South Indian History*, Kottayam, 2014, p.252.

³ C.Hamza, 'Adhinivesa Viruddha Samara Sahithyangal' *Prabodhanam Special issue*, Calicut, p.33; It is translated in to English and published in *The Legacy of Anti-colonial Struggles*, *op.cit.*, pp.126-142.

⁴ Kunhali V, 'Anti-European works in Arabic in Malabar', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 60th session, Calicut, 1999, p.429

⁵ J.B.P. More, *op.cit.*, p.246

against the Arabs and Muslims which caused the Zamorin to pursue hostile stance against the Portuguese and accordingly they resorted to seek asylum in the territory of the Raja of Cochin and established fort Manuel under his patronage.

As a part of retaliatory steps to Calicut, the Portuguese waged fierce battles and the Zamorin resisted with his thousands of Nair soldiers and attempted to protect Arabs and Mappilas. As a result of the protracted warfare, Zamorin became embarrassed and the Muslims became helpless, in the background of which the composition of the poem, *Tharid* was taken place⁶. The most of the verses of the work suggest that it is partly an elegy on the helplessness of the Mappilas and partly an exhortation on the religious duties to defeat the Portuguese and to emancipate themselves. Thousands of copies of the *Thahrid* had been sent to remote areas and *mahals* of Malabar to extend the ideas of resistance. Interestingly, the author himself had wandered around Malabar to persuade the Mappilas to join Zamorin's contingent against the Portuguese. The first part of the work deals with the Portuguese atrocities, which was out of his direct experiences he had in the course of time. It is deemed to be the first anti- European literature to challenge the colonization tendencies on the Coast of Malabar.

Another work *Tuhfatul Mujahiddeen fi Ba'adi Akhbaril Burtaqaliyyin*⁷ [means an offering to the Holy warriors in respect of a brief account of the Portuguese] written by Sheikh Zainuddin Makhdum junior [grandson of Zainuddin senior], is one of the earliest historical accounts of history of Kerala, which is also considered to be one of the primary sources on medieval Kerala. Of course, *Tuhfat*, dedicated to the Sultan of Bijapur Ali Adil Shah who fought against the Portuguese, is composed in the form of exhortation to the Mappilas to wage a risky war against the oppressive Portuguese⁸. As the work has been taken into account as a historic text, this paper seeks to focus precisely on the section on battles against the Portuguese. As a prolific writer and eminent scholar of the time, Makhdum's works were published not only from Kerala but also from Egypt, Singapore, Malaysia etc., among which *Tuhfat* is considered to be his *magnum opus*, originally published in Arabic from Lisbon and later on translated into the languages of Portuguese, Latin, French, German, Spanish, English, Persian, Czech, and to Indian languages such as Urdu, Gujarati, Kannada, Tamil, Malayalam etc⁹.

⁶ C. Hamza, *op.cit.*, p.34

⁷ Shaykh Zainuddin, *Tuhfat al- Mujahidin*, [Translated and edited by S.M.H. Nainar], Madras, 1942.

⁸ A. P. Ibrahim Kunju, 'Medieval Kerala Arabic sources', in K.K. Kusuman ed., *Issues in Kerala Historiography*, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 2003,p.119.

⁹ The first English translation of the *Tuhfat* was done by Maj. Rowlands of fort St. George in the year 1898 from London. Amerson , James Brigs, Rocks, SMH

If we can believe the author's words, the work was compiled eighty years after the Portuguese atrocities against the Muslims were taken place. There was a year-long warfare that fought together with the Mappilas and the Zamorin's Nair militia to capture the Chaliyam fort from the Portuguese. The fourteenth chapter of the book titled, 'the status of the Portuguese after the fall of the Chaliyam fort is eloquent about the condition of the Mappilas as well as the Zamorin. The first chapter in the fourth part also deals with the Portuguese atrocities. As in the case of *Tahrid*, the context in the *Tuhfat* is found resemblance with it and therefore it shows that there was no gesture of reverting of the Portuguese policies any more. And more importantly, there is view that most of the description found in *Tuhfat* on the matter on *jihad* is found in prose version of *Tahrid*.

The chapter concerning the *jihad* in the *Tuhfat* is titled, 'The Laws Concerning with Holy War against unbelievers, the Reward, an Exhortation to such a War'. It begins:

"Know then: there are two sets of unbelievers. One is the group that permanently dwells in their countries. *Jihad* against them is a collective duty, that means if some among the Muslims discharge that responsibility, then, the rest of them will be released from that duty. If no body undertakes to it, the entire community will be held responsible for committing sin of negligence.

The other set of unbelievers are those who invade Muslim territories as in the situation we are facing now. Engaging in war in such circumstances is the responsibility of every able-bodied individual adult Muslim, male and female living in the city. For this, no slave has to wait for the permission of his master, nor a wife that of her husband, nor the borrower that of the lender and nor the children that of their parents. It is binding on all who are not entitled to *qasr*¹⁰ in prayer. But it will be incumbent on others (who are entitled to *qasr* in prayer) if the number of fighters is not sufficient"¹¹.

Nainar were other English translators. The first Malayalam translation was done by K. Moossan Kutty Maulavi, in which the portion on *jihad*, 'Ahkamul Jihad', is not included in order to avoid the wrath of the British. This part is also left in Arabic version put under the collection of Sheikh Abdul Khader Fadfari [*Jawahirul Ash'aar*]. The complete version is copied by Payyoli Pareekkutty Musliar which was published with annotations from Calicut in 1996. According to the authors of *Mahathaya Mappila Sahithya Parampanyam*, the book in the form of *Tuhfat* actually is the summary of the original text [p.146].

¹⁰ *qasr* meant for shortening of regular prayers of Muslims during travels.

¹¹ Shaykh Zainuddin, *Tuhfat al- Mujahidin*, *op.cit.*, p.13

The succeeding paragraphs of the chapter proceeds the political situations of Malabar in which the holy war was made an inevitable one. Praising the Zamorin for his generous help extended to the Muslims in their fight against the Portuguese, he laments that the Muslim Sultans and Emirs had no interest in the affairs of Malabar, although *jihad* is an obligatory duty upon them. And he goes on to state that whoever from Sultans come forward with wealth and sufficient preparations to challenge these enemies and drive them out of Malabar and liberate the ports they have occupied, he will be a fortunate man deserving Allah's help and support¹². Here fight against any sort of injustices and political domination upon a territory is highlighted in the light of religious scriptures, mainly because the author wanted to get his fellow men to be influenced by which. The exhortation of the author of the *Tuhfat* could have helped in inciting the spirit of revolt among the indigenous people.

Al Fat'h ul Mubeen [complete victory/ manifest victory/ perfect victory] is another work composed by the qazi of Calicut, Qazi Muhammed Ibn Abdul Aziz [Qadi Muhammed al Kalikuti], who is popular for his Arabic-Malayalam Sufi work, *Muhyiuddin Maala*¹³. It is said that he had composed as much as some 500 works in prose and poem reflecting the socio- cultural milieu of Malabar during the Portuguese times. Some other of his notable poems in Arabic consists of *Maqasidunnikah*, *Ma'lumatun fi Ilmil Aflak*, *Mantakhabatul Fara'idh* etc. However the *magnum opus* of the qazi, *Fat'h ul Mubeen*¹⁴ is of immense value both as a historical text and as a literary composition on resistance.

¹² *ibid.*, pp.13-15.

¹³ The work was considered to be second only to Quran until recently by the traditional Mappilas of Malabar. See, V. Kunhali, *op.cit.*, p.430.

¹⁴ The manuscript of the work is kept in India office Library London [MSS No. 1044, section No.VI Folio 152-173]. It was found included in third and fourth chapters of *Tuhfat ul Mujahiddeen*. Both works were written by the same ink and the same handwriting which naturally caused to spread the understanding that *Fat'h ul Mubeen* was the versified form of the *Tuhfat*. *Fat'hul Mubeen* was firstly translated into English by M.A. Muyeed Khan. The work in original form was firstly published by Sheikh Abdul Khadar Fadfari, who published it along with a collection of his works, *Jawahir al As'aar* from C.M. press, Idava in the year 1940. However the first independent Arabic publication with Malayalam translation was by Prof. Mankada Abdul Azeez, titled, *Fathul Mubeen* in the year 1996 [Al Huda] from Calicut. English translations are found in P.M. Joshi and M.A. Nayeem ed., *Studies in the Foreign Relations of India*, Hyderabad, 1975; and *The Legacy of Anti- Colonial Struggle*, Department of Arabic, Farook College, Calicut, 2008,pp.55-125.

As the title itself reads, *Fat'h ul Mubeen* was composed in response to the capture of Chaliyam fort by Zamorin's brave soldiers in the year 1571. It consists of 537 verses in Arabic and is a bonanza of information, which can be complemented with other works such as *Tuhfat ul Mujahiddeen*. It is a work reflecting the political and a historical reality of the time with an element of rhetoric. It is a celebration of the victory of combined Nayar- Mappila forces against the Portuguese forces¹⁵. In fact the Zamorin had endeavoured to form a global alliance of Muslim Sultans against the Portuguese forces against their intention to eliminate the Muslim dominance in Asian trade. Though the Zamorin had made correspondence with both the Sultans of Islamic world and of India, it is unfortunate to say that their response was in negative. In response to a letter from Ali Raja of Kannur, the Bijapur Sultan Ali Adil Shah and Nizam Shah of Ahammed Nagar had waged wars in Goa and Chaul but they came to sign new treaties due to various reasons¹⁶. It was Zamorin who dared to fight against the Portuguese without the support of any other rulers. That is why the author enthusiastically lauds the Zamorin as 'the king par excellence':

“He is the lover of our religion, executor of our Sharia. Further he insists upon saying benedictory prayers for our Caliph Turkey Sultan in the Friday address to the congregation. Muslims, wherever they be[sic] in Malabar, are all his subjects. During the festivals the prerogative to stand on his right side is invariably to the Muslims. On such occasions they stand with Shah Bander, the leader of Muslims. He is the supreme king of the kings of Malabar, the Master of the kings of the mountains and the adjacent Arabian sea...”¹⁷

It is because of this reason that Qazi requests every Muslim to pray for the Zamorin¹⁸. This sort of gestures can be shown as the unique chapters in the history of the cultural integration of the multi-cultural society of India.

The following part of the work is dedicated to the exclusive history of the Portuguese from their landing on the coast of Malabar and the heroic war led by the Zamorin against them. Here the Portuguese is depicted as the worst human beings who follow the most impure way and the staunchest enemies of Allah, His messenger, His religion and the community of the messenger...They are crafty, oppressive, and treacherous and the remotest form of purity. They came to India for trade like the swarms of the locusts out to wreck the social set up and the

¹⁵ M.G.S. Narayanan, Preface, *The Legacy of*, *op.cit.*, p.38

¹⁶ M. Gangadharan, *Mappila Patanangal*, Calicut, 2004, p.104.

¹⁷ Qadi Muhammed Al Kalikuti, *Fathul Mubeen*, in *The Legacy of.....*, *op.cit.*, Lines 17-22.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Line, 49.

business establishments of the Indians. The purpose of their influx was to monopolise pepper and ginger for themselves by eliminating competition by empty promises while allowing small fishes to trade in coconuts¹⁹. These verses show how critical was the poet of the Portuguese and also underscores the fact that he had recognised the economic motives of the Portuguese, though he often metaphorically symbolises the religion in the text.

In the section where the *qazi* explicates the assault and the violence of the Portuguese exerted on the Zamorin and the native people is most objective and critical. For instance he writes, “they burnt countries, demolished mosques, and men were reduced to slavery. They killed many innocent people and harassed all passers-by. They defied Zamorin. Earlier they had cringed before him like an abject slave. They indulged in incessant vexations and engaged in treacherous plots. Zamorin’s experience was that of a master bitten by his own faithful domestic dog. By treachery they even entered the palace of Zamorin but the trespassers were all assassinated”²⁰. A description is hereafter followed on the fierce battle between both forces for three years, on the Zamorin’s side Hindu Nairs and the Muslims fought united until the Portuguese repented to be faithful allegiance to the Zamorin²¹.

The poet presents his version of the story of the Portuguese hostility with the Zamorin in a most fascinating manner: Exploiting the cordial relation with the Zamorin, the Portuguese were permitted to erect a fort at the centre of Calicut [not at Chaliyam], on the assurance that they will not harm his people. But immediately after the completion of the building of the fort, they started to behave like the overlord of the land and ventured to harass the people. He²² demanded 1/10th of the elephant tax²³ and other unfair things of the like. He obstructed the ships bound to Mecca, which was the greatest calamity. He said to Zamorin that he will pay him without fail double the tax that the Muslims pay. Then there was an attempt to treacherously kill the Zamorin, by offering him a gift. Then and there started to take shape the enmity and the fort was demolished by the Nair and Mappila soldiers and about thousand soldiers lost life in a single night. The rest is part of the known history that the Portuguese sought asylum at Kochi Raja, after a series of retaliatory steps against the Zamorin, including violence against mosques and

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Lines,53-60.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Lines,73-78

²¹ *Ibid.*, Lines,79-85.

²² The poet uses ‘He’ to denote a particular Portuguese chief or the Portuguese as an individual; see lines 90-94.

²³ *Aana Chunkam*, the transit duty on elephants, is misunderstood by the English translators as ‘elephant tax’, a tax which was non- existent during the period.

interception of passage across the sea, especially the pilgrimage to Mecca. After a long interregnum, once again came the menace of Portuguese with conciliatory gestures and they had no way other than to conclude treaty with the Zamorin with an intention to resume trade with Calicut. Consequently, the Zamorin gave permission to build a fort at Chaliyam²⁴, which they built impressively high. Comparatively a lengthy description is given by the Qazi on the features of the marvellous fort.

Again we see the repeated acts of the Portuguese towards man hunting, persecutions and torturing upon the natives unleashed from the Chaliyam fort. He writes:

“They destroyed many important places and obstructed the livelihood of the people.

How many Muslims became captives in their prisons and tortured with harrowing mental and physical agony!

How many a boy they made orphan by killing his father and mother and how many a woman they made widow!

How many ships they burnt and how many ships they burnt and how many they wrecked in the sea!

How many a Muslim they converted to Christianity how many a descendant of the Prophet they made captive!”²⁵

Qazi goes on to detail the wickedness of the Portuguese in the most convincing means by writing the following lines:

“...They set fire to copies of the Quran and mosques and they built churches at the places where the mosques loomed large

The Muslims were beaten with chappals and the mosques were polluted with urine.

They dug up the graves of the Muslims and they built castles with the stones of graves

They outraged the modesty of women even in the presence of close relatives and husbands in detention...”²⁶

The cruelties the Portuguese exerted towards the Muslims were incomparable in the hither to history of Kerala and have caused to rouse hatred, contempt and a sense of resistance among the people of Malabar which resulted in the fight against the colonialists:

“....They killed the Muslims with the saw and sometimes with guns and fire

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Line,150.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Lines,173-177

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Lines,180-83

Sometimes suffocating them with quick lime and smoke and at times by using horses and slaves for beating them up to death

Muslims were forced to eat their own flesh and shoot arrows at their own bodies

Often they throttled them with rope and in many cases they killed them amputating limb after limb

Like wise they drowned them in the sea tied in a bag and dropping it like an anchor

Often they slaughtered him with a knife like an animal

They tied one of their legs up the mast of the ship by making their heads downward

This torture inflicted upon Muslims, but they were incapable of resisting it.

Oh! What a miserable fate Oh, Muslims...”²⁷

The description on the Portuguese given by Qazi is substantiated by other contemporary authors including Sheikh Zainuddin Senior and Junior and many other later authors, especially the Missionary, Herman Gundert²⁸. Indeed the descriptions given by the author could ignite the peoples’ minds and they resorted to start *jihad*²⁹ against the Kafirs.

The last section of the poem is exclusively dedicated to the battle to besiege the fort of Chaliyam by the concerted efforts of Zamorin’s army consisted of Nairs and the Mappilas. The account of war in *Fat’h ul Mubeen* is highly impressive as it gives a picture of Muslim- Nair collaboration as the subjects of the Zamorin and each section was pledging that they would be first to die by fighting with the enemy. As the poet writes, ‘the death of a Muslim was a greater agony to him [the Nair] than the death of ten non- Muslims’³⁰. The battle was an exemplary one because it was a complete victory of a very local potentate to a global power of the time and by any means they had to face such a resistance from anywhere. In this respect it is of having immense historical relevance in the saga of anti colonial struggles.

Al Khutubat u Jihadiya or the war speech authored by the Qazi Muhammed bn Abdul Azeez may appended to the *Fat’h ul Mubeen*, though written as a separate text which was sent by the author to Chaliyam fort for the preacher to

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Lines,186-93.

²⁸ Sheikh Zainuddin, *Tuhfat, op. cit.*; Herman Gundert, *Keralappazhama*, (Mal), Kozhikode, 1996[Mangalore,1868], pp. 18-20.

²⁹ *Jihad* means ‘dharma yudh’, a battle for dharma; ‘kafirs’ denotes the enemies of the religion, that is the Europeans, notably, never the native Hindus or Christians settled in Kerala.

³⁰ *Fat’hul Mubeen* , *op.cit.*, Line,408.

deliver to the warriors and other believers³¹. As a text, it meant for instigating the warriors of the Zamorin's army, and has great historical significance. Qazi wrote this speech in order to rouse the valour of those Muslim fighters in the Chaliyam fort and to boost up their morale. The background in which the text is written as it follows. In the initial stage of the battle, the Zamorin's army had to experience several set backs. Afterwards, the desperate Zamorin himself marched on to a nearby hill top and declared that he was on fast unto death until the fort was captured. The Muslims then declared jihad against the Portuguese and unleashed a self less war with a single motive that their ruler should not prolong his vow of fasting. In such a context, the said war speech was of having the impact of pouring oil into the fire.

The author intelligently quotes from various *surahs* [chapters] of Quran to get strong footing for giving incitement to the Muslims to get them enter into the battles against the Portuguese. At the outset Qazi writes, "...with their [Portuguese] killings they orphaned children, widowed ladies and dames. They destroyed shelters of the country, took away the livelihood of the people, interrupted traders and travels, compensated profit with loss. How many Muslims were confined in their prisons...out of grudge".³²

According to Qazi, 'the holy war is a trial by which God entitles one whom he loves to reward. Who turns away from it is subject to disgrace in this world as well as to heavy burden of sin hereafter. So blissful is the one who seeks everlasting life and thereby prepares himself for jihad and endures (hardships) with patience. Wretched is the one who seeks the life that won't last and lose this world as well as hereafter³³. In such a situation he persuades the people to get ready for holy war. Qazi reminds the Muslims that "the martyr while being killed does not feel the pain but equal to what one feels from the bite of an ant. He will be forgiven in the instance, see his place in the paradise highest in rank, is saved from punishment in the grave and is secured of the highest panic..."³⁴ Obviously, the *khutba* (speech) of the Qazi had inspired many Mappilas to step in to the battle meant for retaining the fort of Chaliyam and by which the prestige of the Zamorin as well.

³¹ Qazi Muhammed bn Abdul Azeez, *Al Khutubat u Jihadiya*, translated by Dr. N.A.M. Abdul Khader, in *Ideology and Struggles, op. cit.*, pp.32-39.

³² *Ibid.*,p.35.

³³ *Ibid.*,p.36.

³⁴ *Ibid.*,p.38

There is also one more work by the same author titled, *Al Qaseedat ul Jihadiya*³⁵ (The War Poem), written for the purpose of sending to Chaliyam fort to congratulate the Muslim fighters who won the decisive victory over the Portuguese and to celebrate their courage, dedication and heroism. Then the poet turns to be a staunch critic and warns those fighters who might be carried away by material motives and thereby spoil divine blessings of this world and alluring rewards for them in the life after death. From this, it is understood that, a small number of Muslim fighters might have misbehaved after gaining the victory by attacking some ships passing by the sea with the aim of looting the sailors belonging to the same fate. In the concluding verses he underscores that mutual criticism is the duty of every believer and asks for forgiveness if anybody felt otherwise.

Another literary composition dealing with the anti- Portuguese sentiment during the period is *Manaath Parambil Kunhi Marakkar Ballad* [popularly known as *Kottuppally Maala*] by an anonymous author which deals with the heroic acts of Kunhi Marakkar of Veliyamkode³⁶. The ballad revolves around the martyrdom of Kunhi Marakkar, who was brutally assassinated by the Portuguese during his fight to save a Muslim girl from their custody. Kunhi Marakkar, said to be a disciple of Sheikh Zainuddin Makhdum came to hear the news of capture of girl by the Portuguese and rushed to the site from his own wedding ceremony and fought until the last breath.

The author describes the story and the context like this: "...there were festive songs all over the wedding trip in the spouse's house. They arrived at spouse's house. He [the bride groom, Kunhi Marakkar] sat down in the middle of the pavilion and the *Nikah* [wedding ceremony] was solemnised blissfully. While an aged man rushed in to wedding pavilion disparately asking 'who among you urge to attain paradise?'. He proceeded to state that unquestionably it is a great worth while mission for ever. Two Portuguese vessels anchored in the harbour and two men of Nazareth [read Portuguese] landed on the sea shore. They were drunk. They captured a young Muslim woman drunk and hided her in their ship. Definitely, you ought to have paradise if you have fight and free the captured woman. The whole audience paid attention to the touching words of the aged man. But there were seldom response. They whispered, it might to be done, but not in

³⁵ Qazi Muhammed bn Abdul Aziz, *Al Qaseedat ul Jihadiya*, Translated by Nizar E, in N.A.M. Abdul Khader ed., *Ideology, op.cit.*, pp. 41-44.

³⁶ *Mannath Parambil Kunhi Marakkar Ballad* is composed in Arabic-Malayalam by an anonymous author . It is recently collected and translated by Abdul Jaleel M and published in a collection of pre-modern manuscripts titled, *Ideology and Struggles (A Study of Muslims)*, edited by N.A.M. Abdul Khader, Department of Arabic, University of Calicut, 2012.

such a circumstance. So put it down and started to serve the food. This news startled the bridegroom. He could not sit in wedding pavilion. He asked for some water in a traditional sprouted water pot [*Kindi*] to urinate and vanished from the place abruptly...³⁷

From the bride's house Marakkur quickly went to his home to tell the whole story to his mother and to seek blessings from her. After some moments of sentiments he rushed to the seashore where the Portuguese captivated the girl. While the drunken soldiers were sleeping, he entered the ship and could take the girl and sent her to the shore along with the boat man he arranged. Then there is a luminous description on his surprising attack on the Portuguese and final attainment of martyrdom, as he supplicated a profound prayer to the Almighty: 'kindly make me a martyr for the sake of Islam'³⁸. The rescued woman reached back her home and the news spread like wild fire. The subsequent part of the ballad is filled with the miraculous occurrences and responses to which by the people. For instance, the ballad goes on, "...everyone gathered in search of body fragments to the river bank... The body parts were buried in several places namely, Tanur, Kalattu, Vatakara, Mattungal, Beypore and Calicut..."³⁹ Again there are an extensive description about miracles, dreams, and other omens which shows the attainment of martyrdom and subsequently the *Nercha*⁴⁰. This poem and the ceremony called *Nercha*, though are basically religious in nature, it gives insight in to socio-political and cultural milieu of the medieval Kerala.

Another work, which is also recovered and translated recently, dealing with the resistance against the Portuguese is *Ramanthali Ballad (Ramanthali Maala/ Seventeen Martyrs' Maala)*⁴¹, by anonymous author in Arabic Malayalam. The translator has relied upon the transliterated Malayalam version rather than the original. As per the translator's words the original manuscript is brittle and damaged. Some verses from the middle part is found missing. Some verses are

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.17

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.18

⁴⁰ *Nercha* is a ritualistic mode of paying tribute to a particular Saint or martyrs annually by traditional Mappilas in Malabar. See Stephen F. Dale and M. Gangadhara Menon, "Nerccas": Saint-Martyr Worship among the Muslims of Kerala", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, Vol. 41, No. 3 (1978), pp. 523-538

⁴¹ *Ramanthali Maala* is also collected from Ramanthali (Kannur district) Muslim Jama'ath committee and translated by Abdul Jaleel A and published in *Ideology and Struggles, op.cit.*, pp. 21-27. The translator has mainly relied upon the transliterated Malayalam version rather than the original.

disordered and a few words are confusing and misgiving. However these drawbacks do not hindrance to highlight the historical significance of the *Ramanthali Maala*.

The ballad actually is a eulogy of the collective anti Portuguese resistance of the seventeen martyrs in the northern part of Kerala. The Portuguese had set up a fort at Ramantali, near the pre-modern port of Ezhimala, the place which is found mentioned in sources variously as Heli, Mount Eli etc. When the Portuguese atrocities towards the Muslim community of that religion crossed all limits, a group of seventeen young native fighters planned to retaliate with the Portuguese under the brave leadership of Pocker Mooppan. They were compelled to attain martyrdom before defeating the enemies. Out of seventeen martyrs, the Ballad mentions only ten members such as Pokker Mooppan, Pari, Kalandar, Kunhippari, Pari, Qamber, Abubacker, Ahammed, Bakiri Bakiri Hassan and Cherikkaka. Each verse is in the form of description of the valour showed by each martyr and prayer to the God, be well pleased with the person who led a valiant war against the Kafirs. As a matter of fact, the ballad is historically significant, though it is an unfinished one. The period or date of the work or the event is not mentioned as in the case of *Mannath Parambil Kunhi Marakkar Ballad*. However there is a reference to an encounter occurred between the Portuguese and the native Muslims at the place called Heli [Ezhimala]. Further explorations can shed light on whether the struggles really occurred in the place Ramantali itself.

The works above mentioned evidently manifest the response of the indigenous people against the Portuguese from the sixteenth century itself and also the inspiration extended to the rebels. Some of the text could serve as intellectual or ideological base for the struggles and some others can be seen as the narrative of those episodes of rebellions. More importantly, most of the works of the period under discussion could provide energy and inspiration to the anti-colonial resistance under the British in Malabar.

This part of the paper will be dealing with the anti-colonial literature composed and circulated in response to the British colonial state in Malabar. The most significant contribution from an individual family to this genre of literature [and also direct participation in the anti- British struggle as well⁴² was from Mamburam Syed family of Tirurangadi, Syed Alavi and his son Syed Fazl Pookoya, who had authored a number of works to rouse the anti colonial sentiments among the people of Malabar. Syed Alavi alias Moula al Daweela alias

⁴² Syed Alavi Moula Al Daweela had participated in the struggles at Manjeri (1817), Muttichira (1841) Cherur and other outbreaks. See KKN Kurup in NAM Abdul Khader ed., *op.cit.*, p.46.

Mamburam Tangal, the nephew of Syed Hasan Jifri, was born in Tarim town of Hadramouth of Yemen in Hijra 1166 and came to Malabar as missionary and later settled at Mamburam by A.D. 1754. The boy Alavi embarked from Sahar Mukhalla harbour to Calicut, where he was received by Sheikh Jifri who introduced him to the prominent persons of Mamburam. Later on he came to be known as Mamburam Tangal or Tarammal Tangal, after he opted for Mumburam as his abode. [He belonged to Khadiri branch of Ba'alawi Twarikhat]. His work, *Saiful Bathar* [*Assaiful Bathar ala man Yuvalil Kuffar*], and Syed Fazl's *Uddathul Umara* are greatly significant due to their anti-British ideology and the vitality to incite the rural Mappilas. Fazl had also written a book titled *Tanbeeh Al Ghafileen* which also generated anti-British feeling in Malabar.

Assaiful Bathar ala man Yuvalil Kuffar ['The sword that aimed at those who authorise the infidels as rulers'] is an Arabic work by Syed Alavi calling upon the people of Malabar to non-cooperate with the British and fight against them. This work had been circulated throughout the Muslim Mahals in Malabar. The work offers the frame work of the staunch stance to be taken by the Mappilas in their struggles against the oppressive colonial state. The author always relies upon Islamic scriptures and values in order to inculcate the feeling of patriotism among the people of Malabar. He always stood with the exploited section of the society which naturally led him to take an anti-landlord position throughout his life. As a social reformer Thangal had exhorted the lower caste to abolish the practice of honorary salutation of the upper caste Hindus⁴³ and not to eat the leftovers of the elites. He was also the founder of Harijan festival at Munniyur, which has still been celebrated annually. He was highly aware of the British plans of dividing Hindus and Muslims of Malabar and perpetuation of their rule with the collaboration of the elites/upper class.

The composition of the *Saiful Bathar* was in the context of the British pre-meditated conflict between Hindus and Muslims held at Muttiyara near Tirurangadi. With an intention of humiliating the Mappila *kutiyans* (tenants), the upper caste *Janmi* [landlord] initiated a confrontation with the support of anti-social elements which resulted in casualties. Subsequently the police reached in Muttiyara and entered in the mosque in search of the culprits, and they instigated violence. In the conflict followed, a number of Muslims, including the influential persons, became martyrs. They came to be known as the Muttiyara Shuhadakkal [martyrs]. The Tangal wrote *Saiful Bathaar* as a response to this incident, which invigorated the Muslims to fight against the British rule. Realising the influential

⁴³ See R. Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* New Delhi, 2002 [1983], pp.20-28; p.51

nature of the work, the British confiscated and banned it. Later on it was republished from Istanbul by his son Syed Fazl, who was deported by the British and served Yamane's government as a governor of a region.

It is believed that the Cherur uprising (Cherur Pada) of 1843 was occurred after the composition and popularisation of *Saiful Bathaar*. The whole British army was confronted with a group of seven courageous Mappila youth, though they courted martyrdom at last. Interestingly, sixty soldiers of fifth Madras Battalion had lost one *subedar*, and five soldiers and seven *taluk* sepoy's suffering severe injuries⁴⁴. It is believed that this incidence became a source of energy for the later anti British rebellions in south Malabar.

Saiful Bathar, an eleven page treatise actually is structured in the form of questions and answers centred around the existential issues of the Mappilas under the British colonial rule. It also tries to find answers to follow the *sharia* by Muslims under the western laws introduced by the British. As mentioned, the basic intention of the author was to incite anti- British sentiments among the Mappilas and to non-cooperate with the British administration. This ideological stance was later taken over by his son Syed Fazl and disciple, Umar Qadi of Veliyamkode, who launched a no-tax campaign for which he was imprisoned by the British as early as 1815⁴⁵.

Uddathil Umara'i Val Hukkam Li Ihanthil Kafarati Va Ibadathil As'nam, is a work authored by Syed Fazl Pookoya Thangal, who was deported to Arabia by the colonial government as they charged him guilty of inciting Mappilas against the British⁴⁶. This work was published from Arabia and secretly circulated into the remote *mahals* of Malabar. The 24 page Arabic text actually was an 'ammunition to the *amirs* and rulers to conquer the non- believers and the idol worshippers. Here the British, is considered to be the non-believers where as the 'idol worshippers' stands for the local rulers and the supporting upper caste landlords [janmis]. Obviously the prime objective of the work was making the Mappilas and

⁴⁴ The martyrs were cremated at Manthanipparamba near Tirurangadi. It is said that Syed Alavi of Mamburam had also directly fought in the war and he suffered a bullet injury on his thigh and which is considered to be his death after some times at the age of 94 in the year 1845; see, C.Hamza, 'Adhinivesha Viruddha...' *op.cit.*, p.38.

⁴⁵ KKN Kurup, introduction to *Tanbeeh al Ghalibeen*, in NAM Khader ed., *op.cit.*, p.46.

⁴⁶ The British had to pay a great price for this act; the Mappila rebels shot dead collector H.V. Connolly at his residence in the year 1855 when they came to know that he was instrumental in his deportation.

their leaders prepared to fight against the British colonialism and landlordism prevailed Malabar.

The work is actually not a direct call for the anti-British struggles per se. But it is in the form of a call for the reform within the holds of religion of Mappila community. It begins with quoting four Quranic verses which reminds the necessity and methods of religious propagation. The work laid focus on knowledge, education, teaching virtues, the obligations and status of the religious scholars and leaders of jihad etc. The author has seriously addressed the issue of literacy and calls upon the Mappilas to attain it. He firmly believed that ignorance was the death before the actual death of a person and the body of an ignorant was compared to the sepulchre. In this way, the initial rays of social reform among the Mappilas of South Malabar came from Syed Fazl Pookoya Tangal.

Syed Fazl also penned another treatise titled *Thanbeeh al Ghafileen*⁴⁷ [Awakening the Negligent] in Arabic, which was instrumental in instigating anti-colonial sentiment among the Mappilas of Malabar. Here the text is composed in the form of an oration, where most of the portion carries the Quranic verses. Sometimes it takes shape of the Arabic rhetoric known as *iqthibas*, a style of utilizing Quranic verses without directly mentioning it⁴⁸. Interestingly the author never mentions the term ‘British colonizers’, instead he uses the Quranic term ‘Kafirs’, means the enemies of believers at the time of warfare. Sayed Fazl was of the firm belief that no Muslim could tolerate with colonialism of any genre or of any stage.

In the section where the cruelties of the British colonisers discussed, the author writes: ‘who are the actual foes rather than Kuffars? How the alliance is expected with them? They dishonoured our religion, which is dearer to us than our fathers, progenies, brothers, relatives, accumulated wealth and the dwellings. They [the British] disregarded us by all means; encroached our land, demolished our mosques and built churches, raped our sisters, humiliated our brothers compelled to convert into their religion. And the signs of *sharia* vanished from lands they occupied . . .’⁴⁹ The subsequent sections are reminder of necessity of Jihad and others are verses persuading jihad. He writes, “O[h] believers, please be informed that jihad is a treasure from God to those peoples whom he likes most of the glory of Islam.”⁵⁰ He goes on to remind that, ‘My brother, sale of your lives is a great transaction. Here the purchaser is Allah, cherisher of the world through his

⁴⁷ Syed Fazl Ibn Alavi Moul al Daweela, *Thanbeeh al Ghafileen*, translated by Abdul Jaleel M, in NAM Abdul Khader, ed., *Op. cit.*, pp.50-59.

⁴⁸ Abdul Jaleel, *op.cit.*, p.48.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.53.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.55.

messenger, the leader of the prophets. The cost is the Paradise and its width is that (of whole) of the heavens and of the earth, prepared especially for the pious. Make this best deal compulsory for yourselves. For this let all strike hard . . .”⁵¹ In the following part of the work, from Quran and *hadith* are quoted extensively in order to assert that one believer’s foremost duty is to fight against injustice and oppressors. The author praises the martyrdom and martyrs without any limits. For instance, he writes, Allah said to ‘think not of those as dead who are killed in the way of Allah; Nay, they are alive with their lord and they have provision. They rejoice in what Allah has bestowed upon them of His bounty and rejoice for the sake of those who have not yet joined them, but are left behind (not yet martyred) that on them no fear shall come, nor shall they grieve’.⁵² Like any other works of this genre, *Tanbeeh Al Ghafileen* has succeeded in inviting the attention of his fellowmen to set off ideological and armed struggle against the enemy, the British.

There is another work titled *Muhimmatul Mu’mineen*⁵³ (Responsibilities of the Believers) issued in the form of a Fatwa by Aminummantakath Pareekutty Musliar composed in the context of Khilafath and non-co-operation movement (1921) in Malabar. The Musliar was the secretary of Tanur Khilafat Committee and the 40 page book was published by the Committee itself. The work is attested by the contemporary Islamic scholars such as Cherusseri Ahammed Kutty Musliar, Panayikkulathu Abdurahman Musliar, Koottayi Mudarris Bava Musliar etc. By a declaration in *Madras Gazette* (1921) the work was declared illegal by the British state and it is said that the author went underground and finally took refuge in Mecca in disguise⁵⁴. The work is dealt with the matters such as non-cooperation with the enemies of Islam, support to the existence of Khilafath, protection of the sanctity of the Jaseerathul Arab. In tune with much other anti-British literature, this text also exhorts the Mappilas not to co-operate with the British administration and to extend whole hearted co-operation to the National Movement, which until then was considered to be an upper caste Hindu affair. It is to be underscored that it was only with the participation of the Mappilas, the National Movement was transformed to the status of a grass root level movement.

Similar to all other treatises, this text also is enormously depended upon the Quran. The author writes, “we should not have comparison and affinity to those people who are giving us troubles whoever they are. Those who support them are supposed to be in hell as described in chapter Hud [Quran]. “And incline not those

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp.56-57.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.59.

⁵³ Aminummantakath Pareekkkutty Musliar, *Muhimmatul Mu’mineen*, in NAM Abdul Kader ed., *Op. cit.*, pp.60-71 (Elaborate his Declaration in p.71).

⁵⁴ C. Hamza, *Op. cit.*, p.39.

who do wrong, or the fire will touch you; and you have no protectors other than Allah. Nor shall you be helped.” He believed that the Ottoman sultans were the men of real caliphate and their power won’t cease to exist and their caliphate won’t terminate with weakening or taking hostage of any Caliph among them. So it is a compulsory duty of every Muslim to oppose those who are opposing the Ottoman caliphate.”⁵⁵ Though the basic concern here was religious, indirectly could it harness, support to the National Movement in Malabar.

CONCLUSION

The arrival of the Portuguese on the South Western Coast had culminated far reaching impact on the various domains of the contemporary society. Most importantly, the economy experienced the ever great smash from the Portuguese as it put upside down the whole structure, and practice of trans- Oceanic trade. It was quite natural to take shape the reaction from the local potentates and the people against the colonialist and despotic tendencies of the new forces, say the Portuguese. The only native ruler of Malabar who challenged the Portuguese was the Zamorin along with a mighty force consisting of Muslim and Nair soldiers. During the period there flourished a new stream of literature in Arabic and Arabic – Malayalam which was essentially aimed at the instigation of anti-colonial feeling among the Mappilas. This genre of literature consisted of historical texts such as *Tuhfath ul Mujahiddeen*, war poems such as *Al Qaseedat ul Jihadiya*, *Flat’hul Mubeen* and ballads such as *Manaath Parambil Kunhi Marakkar Maala*, *Ramantali Maala*, War Speech like *Al Khutubat ul Jihadiya*, war literature like *Tahrid* etc. directly addressing the Mappilas and contributed in the natural formulation of the anti colonial sentiment in medieval Kerala. Most of these texts are found unnoticed by the academic circles due to various reasons – may be because of ignorance, or of lacuna of language, apart from the deliberate negligence due to the socio-religious reform movement among the Kerala Muslims. The people of Kerala found this tendency of colonization should be resisted and they embarked on a series of struggles to defend their land from the clutches of colonial powers.

The tradition of anti-colonial writings continued to be a source of energy for the anti- British struggles, though there emerged new stream of literature in the succeeding centuries of the British domination. Most important works included *Uddathul Umara*, *Thanbeeh al Ghafileen*, *Assaiful Bathar*, *Muhimmatul Mu’mineen* and *Patappattus*. It is a fact that the *Patappattus* (war songs) such as *Cherur Patappattu* caused to invigorate the rebels of the Mappila peasant insurgencies of late 19th century and the Rebellion of 1921. The authors of these works in fact, were to borrow Gramscian phrase the ‘organic intellectuals’ of the

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.69

time. They of course belonged to the Islamic scholarship and upheld religious ideology, which prompted them to arouse the people to save this land from the colonizers. Interestingly, they started to write these texts as they felt it was their religious responsibility to protect their land and identity of the people. And more importantly, there was no other dominant ideology other than religion to make the resistance into a solid form and vigour. The language they used was Arabic/Arabic-Malayalam in order to reach their voice to each and every Mappila and to make him a warrior for his religion and mother land. Naturally, most of the texts deliberately used verses from Quran/Hadith, probably with an objective to get the readers a wider appeal of significance of martyrdom in the name of religion. Generally, almost all the authors frequently use predominantly the Islamic idioms and expressions such as *jihad* and *kafir* because they were well aware of the influence of religion upon the common people. Interestingly, though the ‘Kafir’ actually stands for ‘non-believers’, the Mappilas of Malabar never considered their coreligionists such as Hindus or Christians hostiles before. In such a way, though the texts repeatedly speak of Christians as enemies, it essentially implicates the Portuguese invaders, not the native Christians, who had been on the land even before the coming of Muslims. While this collection of literature offers space communal interpretation of the anti-colonial struggles, the secular analysis of religion can lead us to the vacuum of ideology to give the struggles right direction.



'Decriminalized' Indian emigration: Mauritius 1833-1922

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Abstract

Predominantly to facilitate the continuation of labour emigration to the crown colonies of British the colonial Government of India had few Ordinances in force by which approved their travel on provisionally. Each recruited laborers, who had accepted the contract, had to appear before any one of the Magistrates of Calcutta where need to assure his or her intention of the travel voluntarily. The contracts were termed for five years initially, but which looked much liberal only enough on deed alone, Rs. 8 with sufficient dietary, being fixed as the minimum monthly wage. In too many cases, lacking any knowledge to the government, unregistered emigrants had also transported to the colonies devoid of any punishment. Indentured recruitment system, however, underwent changes overtime with amendments to the original legislation. The amendments made in the first fifty years were due to the lobby of the white planters, the changes effected in the next fifty years were because of the mounting pressure from the Indian nationalists like Gokhale and Gandhi. To provide lucidity to the objective of the paper which has been divided into three parts. The first part discuss about the initiation of the regulated Indian labour emigration to British crown colonies. The implicit and tailored laws had also affected the Indian immigrants in the Mauritian plantations

which have contended in the second part. Final part of the paper has been explained the wicked nature of the indentured labour system in Mauritius.

Introduction

In 1834, British Empire had eliminated the draconian slavery system from its colonies and from their plantations too, on the same year, to reshuffle the existed legal system of the colonial India the Governor General in Council authorized a cluster of new Law Commissioners under section 53 of the Government of India Act of 1833. The duty of the Law Commission had assigned to inquire into the then existing state of the laws, particularly related to the Acts and Ordinance which were administered Indian labor emigration to the crown colonies, to propose a comprehensive Penal Code for India.

The First Law Commission of India had constituted under the Presidentship of Lord Macauley and Macleod, Anderson and Millet as members of commissioners to prepare the Penal Code for India. The Commission submitted a draft Code on 14 October 1837 which was distributed for acquainting views of panel of juries and law experts. In 1845 the Second Law Commission was constituted, as the term of the First Commission expired, with the same members, which submitted the report in two parts, one in 1846 and the other in 1847. The Draft Code again underwent a thorough revision by Benthune and Peacock, the Law Members of the Governor General's Council and was submitted to the Legislative Council in 1856 which after a thorough discussion was finally passed and received the assent of the Governor General in Council on 6 October 1860 and then Indian Penal Code, Act XLV of 1860 came into force on 1 January 1862.

The earliest emigration had materialized from the southern part of India. Mammoth Tamil exodus to the Straits Settlements had begun prior the end of the 18th century. Soon after the conquest of the Tenasserim Provinces emigrant laborers began to flow towards from the other side of the Bay of Bengal. Early emigrants to the Straits Settlements and Burma were employed both as domestic servants and as agricultural laborers. Ceylon had also from the period of its European colonization, attracted labor from the south of India. Nevertheless such labour emigrations to these countries were uncontrolled by colonial government of India.

Since 1834, the planters of Mauritius had also tried in several manners to bring labourers into their plantations from various parts of Africa and Asia. Captain Birch, Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, in his evidence before the Emigration Committee of 1838, supposed that he believed emigration to Mauritius and Bourbon started from 1819. But according to Geoghegan, when a French merchant, by name Joseph Argand, carried some 130 artisans to Bourbon in 1830, a real beginning was made.

Predominantly to facilitate the continuation of labour emigration to the crown colonies of British the colonial Government of India had few Ordinances in force by which approved their travel on provisionally. Each recruited laborers, who had accepted the contract, had to appear before any one of the Magistrates of Calcutta where need to assure his or her intention of the travel voluntarily. The contracts were termed for five years initially, but which looked much liberal only enough on deed alone, Rs. 8 with sufficient dietary, being fixed as the minimum monthly wage. In too many cases, lacking any knowledge to the government, unregistered emigrants had also transported to the colonies devoid of any punishment. Indentured recruitment system, however, underwent changes overtime with amendments to the original legislation. The amendments made in the first fifty years were due to the lobby of the white planters, the changes effected in the next fifty years were because of the mounting pressure from the Indian nationalists like Gokhale and Gandhi. To provide lucidity to the objective of the paper which has been divided into three parts. The first part discuss about the initiation of the regulated Indian labour emigration to British crown colonies. The implicit and tailored laws had also affected the Indian immigrants in the Mauritian plantations which have contended in the second part. Final part of the paper has been explained the wicked nature of the indentured labour system in Mauritius.

I

Law Commission for India: Initiation of Regulated Emigration

During the year 1834, Macaulay came to India as a legal representative to the Legislative Council and President of the Committee of Public Instruction and the appointment of a specialised Law Commission to examine a uniform system of law was envisaged by 53 of the charter Act of 1833. The acting Governor General Metcalfe and his legislative council, directed by Macaulay, created a law commission in May 1835. The Government of India asked the Law Commission in 1835 (led by Macaulay) to make proposals for regulating emigration. In May 1837 the Law Commission submitted an initial draft of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) to the Governor General Auckland and in the same year in the month of October presented a complete report.

While presenting the regulations of Indian labour emigration, the Law Commissioners were of opinion that, "...with respect to emigrants to British or foreign settlements beyond sea, no legislation is advisable, except what may be required for the purpose of supporting precautionary arrangements, such as have been already made, to prevent undue advantage being taken of the simplicity and

¹ Wing-Cheong Chan, Barry Wright and Stanley Yeo (ed.), *Codification, Macaulay and the Indian Penal Code* (Great Britain: MPG Books Group, 2011), p. 34.

ignorance of those persons. with this in view a law might be framed by which any magistrate, within whose jurisdiction the port or place of embarkation may be situated, should be empowered to cause the attendance before him of any natives of India, who he may have reason to believe are about to emigrate to any British or foreign colony beyond sea, under contracts of service, and enacting that no contract of this description shall be held valid unless certified by Magistrate to have been assented to by the native parties to it, with a full understanding of its provisions.”² It was suggested that the Magistrates furnish in every instance to the Government a copy of the contract under which the emigrants had left. The Magistrates were expected to take care, on behalf of the emigrants, that all conditions were distinctly stated in the contract.³

The Act V of 1837, with eleven classes became law on the 1st May of that year, has contained the subsequent provisions: No Indian making a contract of service to be performed outside the “territories” was to be received on board any vessel at any place within the territories under the jurisdiction of the presidency of the Fort William, in Bengal, lacking the permission of Governor. Before the grant of such permit, the Indian and the persons with whom the contracts were made or his agent, must appear before the designated officer and produce a copy of the memorandum of the contract (in English and the mother tongue of the Indian or some language understood by him). The contract letter should specify the nature, the term and the wages of service. The contract was to be tenable for one term not exceeding five years, or of successive terms not exceeding five years each. It should contain a clause for the re-conveyance of the Indian to the port at which he embarked.⁴

The officer concerned was to have authority to examine the parties and to explain the terms of the contract to the Indian. If satisfied that the Indian understood the essence of contract and still desired to proceed, the officer was required to attach a note to that effect, which the Indian had to keep during his period of service. If more than 20 emigrants embarked on the same vessel, the officer was empowered to summon the person in charge of the vessel and to examine requirements like “accommodation, food and medical attendance” for the emigrants in the vessel.⁵ The officer would not to grant permit unless satisfied that

² Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, p. 3.

³ William Theobald, *Report on The Legislative Acts of the Governor General of Indian*, 1834-1851, Vol. I (Calcutta: Spink and co., 1868), p. 74.

⁴ *Report on the Papers Presented Related to The East-India Labourers' Bill* (London: The General Court, 1838), pp. 148-150.

⁵ Ibid.

“accommodation, food and medical attendance” were sufficient for the maintenance of the emigrants.⁶

A register specifying name, period of contract, date of permit, destination and vessel in which each embarked was to be maintained. A fee of one rupee for each permit granted had to be levied from the employer or his agent. The penalty for breach of Section 1 on the part of the master of any vessel was a fine of 200 rupees, or 30 days imprisonment, inflicted on every person allowed to embark without permit. However contracts with Indian seamen or menial servants were exempted from the operation of this Act.⁷

The Superintendent of Police, Calcutta, was appointed as the authorised officer to grant permits to the agents and for his functioning certain guidelines were also provided, which were:

- (a) The due notice should be given of an intention to ship emigrants.
- (b) The length of the voyage to Mauritius being estimated at that time was from 46 to 65 days in which the dietary noted below be made available to every emigrants on the board: Rice – 14 chataks, Dal - 2 chataks, Ghi – ½chatakas, Oil – 1/4 chataks, Salt - ¼ chataks, Turmeric – ½ chataks, Onions – ½ chataks, Tobacco - 1 chatakas and five pints (a measure for liquids), one-eighth of a gallon (0.568 liter) of water for each labourer for every day of the voyage. There was variance in the days of travel according to the season of the year.
- (c) That a medical officer, European or Indian, with sufficient supply of medicines, should accompany each ship
- (d) That not more than one labourer for every 1½ tons of actual tonnage should be carried.
- (e) That the agreements should state the name of the employer, the estate in which the labourer was to be employed, the hours of labour and refreshment, the wages, rations and clothing allowed.⁸

The Madras and Bombay governments subsequently urged the extension of the regulations to their territories. The Act XXXII of 1837 was passed on the 20th of November of that year and the same extended to the whole of territories of the

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, pp. 3-4.

⁸ Ibid., p. 4.

East India Company.⁹ Nevertheless, the new system had only just began to work while the actual state of affairs of coolie emigrations abruptly turn into to be acquainted with to a wider audience and confrontation sprang forth in Britain and India. Thomas Fowell Buxton established the Aborigines Protection Society in 1837 in order to watch over peoples threatened by colonial or commercial dominance. In 1839 the British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society was founded.¹⁰ Consequently, the secretary for the colonies, Lord Glenelg ordered to prepare a legislation to regularise the “coolie traffic.” As a response, a Natives of India Protection Bill was placed before English Parliament. The Court of Directory of the East India Company asked for time to study the Bill.¹¹

In 1839, when this system was first legalised by ordinance, it was immediately suspended in consequence of an agitation in British Parliament.¹² At what time the phenomenal death toll of Indian emigrants in empire colonies touched almost 24.7 per cent and the mass return of approximately 60 per cent demonstrated their dissatisfaction. A general state of frustration and disillusionment among the indentured labourers arose partly from the gross ill-treatment of the immigrants by the plantation managements and partly from the ignorance of those in position of authority and their inability to understand and appreciate the Indian customs, traditional ways of life, food habits and caste-based social structure. This lack of understanding is illustrated in the reports of the member commission appointed to inquire into the problems of East Indians. Reports on the Indian miseries echoed in the British Parliament as well as in the chambers of Indian Government. The Colonial Gazette of London reported that, “Slavery Under another name had been sanctioned in Mauritius and Demerara. The coolies were also like the slave apprentices.”¹³

Lord Auckland, meanwhile insisted on the necessity of obtaining complete information as to the actual treatment of the Indian emigrants. He questioned the propriety of allowing Indians to go to such distant colonies as the West Indian settlements. The Governments of Bombay, Madras and Bengal had, on the 11th

⁹ William Theobald, *Report on The Legislative Acts of the Governor General of Indian*, 1834-1851, Vol. I, p. 74.

¹⁰ Robert A. Hill (ed.), *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers: The Caribbean Diaspora, 1910-1920*, vol. XI (United States of America: Duke University Press, 2011), P. 96.

¹¹ Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*, pp. 64-65.

¹² Charles Bruce, *The Broad Stone of Empire: Problems of Crown Colony Administration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 353.

¹³ Mohammad Abdur Rauf, *Indian Village in Guyana: A Study of Cultural Change and Ethnic Identity* (Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1974), p.26.

July 1839, been directed to withhold permits and vessels carrying emigrants to the West Indies and to appoint a Committee to consider the whole question of emigration, its abuses and their remedies.

The Government of Mauritius was also asked to appoint Committees to inquire into the condition of the Indians who had emigrated to this colony. On its receipt, a draft Act was at once prepared and communication made to the Government of Mauritius, requesting its co-operation in carrying into effect the views of the Home authorities. The new enactment repealed Acts V and XXXII of 1837 and declared that any person contracting with a resident of India for labour in any British or foreign colony outside the territories of the East India Company or knowingly aiding or abetting a Indian in emigrating from such territories for the purpose of being employed as a labourers, shall be liable to fine not exceeding 200 rupees, in default of which, to imprisonment not exceeding three month.¹⁴

Meanwhile the committee appointed at Calcutta (The Bombay Committee had reported that no such abuses prevailed on that side of India), as emigration from Bombay had hardly commenced. The Madras Committee had not contributed anything of value. However, very grave abuses had prevailed in India; emigrants having been in too many cases, entrapped by force and fraud and systematically plundered of nearly six months wages, nominally advanced to them. The three members of the Mauritius Committee who signed the Report of the Enquiry condemned the whole system in every stage. They expressed their conviction that no regulations would avail to prevent the abuses and recommended that the prohibition of all emigration should be maintained.¹⁵

The Act XIV of 1839, that prohibited overseas emigration for manual labour applied to all places outside the subcontinent, except for British dependencies like Burma and Straits Settlements.¹⁶ For the better prevention of the offences related to the crimping (emigrants agents), the Act XIV of 1839 declared and enacted as follows: “Any person who, by force or fraud, unlawfully detains in any place or decoys to any place any Native of India, with intent to force or prevail upon him to enter into any service, or contract for service to be performed out of the territories under the Government of the East India Company into which he was not minded to enter without such force or fraud, or who, by means of false imprisonment, intoxication, intimidation, force or fraud, causes any Native of India to enter into any such service or contract for service, or who attempts, by force or fraud or by any false promise, pretence or representation, to cause any Native of India to

¹⁴ Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, p. 5.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁶ George Smoults Fagan, *Report on The Un-Repealed and Unexpired Acts of the Legislative Council of India*, Vol. I (Calcutta: G.C. Hay and Co., 1862), p. 908.

depart either by land or water from the territories under the Government of the East India Company, is a crimp, and guilty of crimping, within the meaning of this Act... and Every crimp within the meaning of this Act, is liable to be imprisoned for a term not exceeding six calendar months and to pay a fine not exceeding Five Hundred Rupees...”¹⁷ The emigration was then stopped to Mauritius, Demerara, Reunion and Ceylon: and incidentally to Australia, where 89 Indian labour had been despatched by 1838.¹⁸

II

The Act Should be More or Less Modified...

For the protection of the emigrants from the British India to the Mauritius, on 15th January 1842 an order passed in the British Council which indicated that the emigration of the inhabitants to the Britain’s colonial possessions will be shortly repealed and the order reads that:

“Whereas it is probable that the laws now in force in British India, for preventing the emigration of the inhabitants thereof to Her Majesty’s colonial possessions, will be shortly repealed, so far as respects emigration to the island of Mauritius; and that such last mentioned emigration will be sanctioned by laws to be for that purpose enacted in India, subject to various provisions to be in such laws made for the protection of such emigrants, and for the prevention of abuses: and whereas it is probable that, amongst the provisions so to be made as last aforesaid, there will be a provision for enabling the Governor-General of India to appoint, at ports or places in India, officers charged with the care, protection, and superintendence of all persons proposing to emigrate as labourers from India to Mauritius: and whereas it is probable that provision will be made by law, at Mauritius, for defraying, from the public revenue of that island, the expense of introducing immigrants thither from British India: and whereas it is necessary that effectual provision should be made by law, at Mauritius, for regulating any such expenditure, and for the prevention of abuses in the introduction of immigrants from British India into that island. It is, therefore, hereby ordered by the Queen’s Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice of Her Majesty’s Privy

¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 908-910; see also Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, p. 5.

¹⁸ Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*, pp. 69.

Council, that, in the event of any law being made in British India authorizing the immigration to Mauritius of the natives of India, and repealing the restrictions now in force there in regard to such immigration; and in the event of any such law containing provisions enabling the Governor General of India to appoint, at the several ports of embarkation in India, officers charged with the protection of persons emigrating from such ports to Mauritius, the various rules and regulations comprised and set forth in the schedule to this present Order subjoined shall, within the island of Mauritius, have the force and effect of law, and shall be observed and carried into effect by all Her Majesty's officers, civil and military, in Mauritius, and by all Her Majesty's subjects within the said island, as to them may respectively appertain.¹⁹

As for emigration to the island of Mauritius a schedule of regulations was permitted and sent.²⁰ The Governor of Mauritius was acknowledged to appoint an Emigration Agent at the ports of embarkation in India and empowered the government of India to, 'nominate a proper person to act as Protector of Immigrants at Mauritius.'²¹ The schedule had 22 regulations in total in which most of them were about the condition for sea voyage. However, Rule 18 stated that, "No emigrant, arriving from India at Mauritius, shall be capable of entering into any contract of service to be performed in that island, until he shall have been at least 48 hours on shore there; and every such contract of service, made before that time, shall be null and void to all intents and purposes."²² The Directors addressed the governor General in a despatch of 22 March 1842 expressed the opinion that, "the Act should be . . . more or less modified." In drafting a new legislation, the

¹⁹ *Report on British and Foreign State Papers 1842-1843*, Vol. XXXI (London: James Ridgway and Sons, 1858), p. 1266.

²⁰ *Reports of the Commissioners of Colonies: Colonial Land and Emigration*, Vol. XXIX, 1843, p. 29; And further the report refers that: "Under the Order in Council of the 15th January 1842, the emigration has been renewed of Hill Coolies from India to the Mauritius; the measure opening it was finally proclaimed in India on the 23d December 1842. The number of people who arrived in the Mauritius under this renewed permission, between the 23d of January and the 31st of March 1843, appears to have been 2,516. There has not been time yet to form any opinion on the results of this measure within the Mauritius..."

²¹ *Report on British and Foreign State Papers 1842-1843*, Vol. XXXI, p. 1267-1272; see also Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*, pp. 73-74.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 1272.

Directors insisted that the main consideration should be to promote the advantage of certain classes of people in India.²³

Lord Stanely therefore gave implicit orders that the Governor, before assenting to any grant of public money for the immigration service, should take care that grant should be connected with due legal provision for the free return passage to India, at the end of five years.²⁴ The Governor of Mauritius was to nominate from time to time fit persons to act as Emigration Agents at the ports of embarkation in India, as well as Protector of Immigrants at Mauritius. The former was to ascertain by personal communication that the intending emigrant had not been induced to emigrate by fraud or misrepresentation; to explain the real advantages likely to be derived from such a course and to ascertain that he was in good health and not incapacitated for labour because of old age or other causes.²⁵

Meanwhile on 28th January 1843 Queen Victoria of Great Britain issued a Proclamation related to the Indian emigration, which reads as:

“Whereas by the first Article of Ordinance No. 11 of 1842 (1), passed on the 20th day of August last, it is enacted that it shall be made known by Proclamation of the Governor on what day the Order of Her Majesty the Queen in Council, dated 15th January 1842 (2), and the Schedule of Regulations thereunto appended, will come into operation in this Colony, in consequence of the removal by the Government of India of the restrictions previously existing upon the Emigration of natives of that country ;

Whereas by the 10th Article of the said Ordinance No. 11 of 1842, passed for the purpose of establishing rules and regulations for the protection during their passage to Mauritius, and whilst resident thereof, labourers emigrating from India, and also for ensuring the return of emigrant labourers at the expiration of five years residence in the Colony, or at any other subsequent period when they may be desirous of going back to their country, subject, however, to a Law being passed in British India to authorise the Emigration to Mauritius of Natives of India, and to repeal the restrictions then in force in that country hi regard to such Emigration;

²³ Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*, pp. 73-74.

²⁴ *Report on the treatment of Immigrants in Mauritius*, Part. I, 1875, p. 50.

²⁵ *Report on British and Foreign State Papers 1842-1843*, Vol. XXXI, p. 1267-1272

And whereas official communication has been received from the Government of India that an Act, No. 15 of 1812, has been passed by the Honorable the President of the Council of India in Council, under date the 2nd December 1842, which removes, so far as concerns Mauritius, the restrictions placed on the Emigration of Natives of India by the Act No. 14 of 1839.”²⁶

III

Morality Vs Women: Criminalized Sexual Freedom

Prior to 1853 there was no law which specially provided for the celebration of marriages among immigrants. In that year provision was made (Article 8 of Ordinance 21 of 1853) for that purpose, but marriages contracted in India were never recognised until 1856, when Ordinance No. 3 of that year was passed to facilitate the proof of such marriages and the legitimacy of children born to them. Ordinance No. 15 of 1854 provided that the immigrants of each year should be divided among the planters in proportion to the produce of their estates, but subject to the condition (contained in the 6th and 7th Articles of the Ordinance), that those who desired an extra share of the Government immigration might obtain it by paying £ 3 additional for each extra immigrant allotted to them. Ordinance No. 12 of 1855 provided that extra labourers might also be procured by payments of the full cost of introduction: which labourers were supposed to be introduced not as part of, but in addition to, the Government contingent.²⁷

Ordinance No. 3 of 1856, required married emigrants with any children they might have, to go before the Protector or Assistant Protector or Emigration Agent or any Magistrate or Justice of Peace in India, accompanied by two witnesses and to make a declaration, that they had been lawfully married according to the forms and ceremonies of their religion and that the children by whom they were accompanied were legally born to them. They were further required on arrival in the colony to appear before the Protector of Immigrants to confirm the declaration made and the Protector, if satisfied of their identity, certified the confirmation of it.²⁸

Dr. Conran, the Emigrating Agent at Madras, was in the habit of sending not only certificates of the marriage of immigrants but also certificates of those living in a state of concubinage, which he stated, was done in the expectation that the

²⁶ *Report on A Collection of the Laws of Mauritius and Its Dependencies*, Vol. V, 1867, p. 138.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 466; see also *Report on the seasonal Papers of the House of Lords*, Vol. XLIV, 1854-1855, p. 142.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

Protector at Mauritius would advise all persons so living to contract a legal marriage according to the laws of Mauritius, prior to leaving the Depot. The Emigration Agent of Madras reported that concubinage was an established institution in Malabar and that to forcibly separate those living in this state would particularly after having had several children be a hardship. He in many instances advised the parties to marry prior to embarkation.²⁹

But all marriages solemnized in India and duly certified by the Protector were not considered sacred in Mauritius. In 1871, a complaint was made by Kasseewah before the Magistrate of Grand Port against his wife Moonah and one Tarkoo, against the former for having absconded from his house and against the latter for harbouring her.³⁰ The Certificate of marriage was produced, from which it appeared that Kasseewah was married to both Meeginee and Mooneah and the Magistrate, finding that Articles 1 and 5 of Ordinance 3 of 1856 only contemplated one wife as being married according to the forms and ceremonies of their religion, referred the question to the Procurer General who, on 20th April 1811, informed that never could a man, under the law of Mauritius, marry a second time during the first wife's time, unless his marriage with her had been previously dissolved. He therefore suggested that the Magistrate should call upon the complainant to prove which wife had been married first. Subsequently it was proved that Meeginee's name was first on the certificate and hence Kasseewah's charge against the Tarkoo and Moreach did not sustain.³¹

With a view to preventing such enticing away and harbouring of wives of Indian immigrants, Ordinance 3 of 1856 was passed, to facilitate the proof of marriage contracted in India, and of the legitimacy of children, the issue of such marriages.³² The District Magistrate had jurisdiction against persons charged with enticing away or harbouring the wives. Many of the murders committed by Indians, and tried before the Supreme Court, had taken place not so much because the injured husband of a faithless wife sought revenge for her guilt, but because she left his hut, her desertion as much as her infidelity being the occasion of her death. Interestingly individuals who sought to entice gangs of labourers from one estate to another, succeeded best by enticing away the wives of the leading men of the gangs first.³³

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., p. 467.

³² W. Green and L.E. Schmidt, *Labour Laws of Mauritius: A Collection of the Laws Specially Relating to Masters and Servants at Mauritius* (Mauritius: L. Omannell's Steam Printing Establishment, 1869), p. 398.

³³ Ibid.

The District Magistrate had Jurisdiction in these cases (Article 8) and provided that every person convicted of enticing away or harbouring the wife of an Indian immigrant should be liable to a fine not exceeding £ 50 and imprisonment, with hard labour, not exceeding six months.³⁴ The change made by the Ordinance 12 of 1870 was that it provided for additional punishment for fraudulently harbouring the wives of immigrants. Though the convict was subject to imprisonment for twelve months with hard labour in such cases, the punishment for fraudulently harbouring wife was an additional fine of £ 50 or six months imprisonment.³⁵

Ordinance 12 of 1870 likewise empowered the Magistrate, by the demand of a husband, to order the police authorities to reinstate any wife of the immigrant laborer from India, who had deserted her conjugal domicile, unless good cause was shown to the contrary. There was no punishment provided if the woman, after having been so reinstated, again deserted her home. If she resisted the police, they might use their power to have her by the legs and arms bound and carry to her husband's house.³⁶ Lord Canning often listening to various stories felt that the Government of India should have the power of suspending emigration in certain cases. A measure for this purpose was introduced and became a law, Act XIX of 1856. It enabled the Governor General in Council, by notification in the 'Gazette' to suspend emigration to any British Colony where proper measures had not been

³⁴ Ibid. Article 7, 8 and 9 of the Ordinance 3 of 1856 declared that : "The originals of all declarations of marriage made in India and confirmed by the Protector of Immigrants as hereinbefore mentioned shall be deposited at the Office of the Protector of Immigrants, and in the month of January in each year the Protector of Immigrants shall deliver over to the Officer of the Civil Status of Port Louis, all the declarations of marriage which shall have been deposited in his Office during the preceding year such declarations having been first properly bound up together in a book. The said book shall be filed and kept on record in the Office of the said Officer of the Civil Status...The District Magistrates shall have jurisdiction in their several Districts in all cases of complaints brought before them against persons for enticing away or harbouring the wives of Indian Immigrants, where such wives shall be natives of India...Any person who shall be convicted before a District Magistrate of having enticed away or harboured the wife of any Indian Immigrant, as aforesaid, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £ 50 or imprisonment with hard labor not exceeding six months."

³⁵ *Report on Colonization Circular for Great Britain Emigration Commission (Coolie Immigration and Bounty Proclamations)*, 1872, p.56.

³⁶ *Report on the treatment of Immigrants in Mauritius*, Part. I, 1875, p. 469.

taken for the protection of emigrants and for their safe return passage to which they were entitled.³⁷

Conclusion

The Act VII of 1871 which consolidated all previous Acts and provided for a Protector of Emigrants in each presidency who would, in addition to his other functions, collect emigration figures. The Principal administrative measures of 1880-1 affecting colonial emigration were the restoration of the rule that not less than 40 per cent of women to men should be shipped on board each vessel. With a view to reducing the mortality among the children during the passage down the Bay of Bengal, in the face of the monsoon, arrangements were made that the proportion of women shipped should be increased as the season advanced.

The Indian Emigration Act XXI of 1883 had been postponed until rules could be framed for its administration. These rules were framed during 1885 by the Government of India in consultation with the Agents for colonies and came into force on the 1st April 1886. The changes made by the new law were chiefly in matters of detail with regard to the registration of emigrants, the appointment of registering officers, the entry into the execution of contracts, the accommodation to be provided on board emigrants 'vessels' and the 'fees' to be levied on emigration.

Under the Indian regulation Act XXI of 1883, an Indian 'emigrant' was one who went by sea under contract to labour for hire to some country other than Ceylon and the Straits Settlements. These countries were exempted on account of their proximity and of the similarity of their general conditions to those of India. The emigration under this Act was termed as "colonial emigration." The amending Act of 1896 enabled the Government of India to work with an agreement with the imperial Government and under the Act of 1902, which gave the Government control over the emigration of Indians to work as artisans, public entertainers, etc.

The Act XII of 1904 to amend the Indian Emigration Act of 1883 was designed to provide for the imposition of a fee on the registration of emigrants under Act X of 1902. It was also to empower the Governor-General in Council to permit, in special cases, emigration under the Act of 1902 from some ports other than those from which emigration was lawfully permitted. Orders were issued by the Government of India during 1906 for measures to be taken to diminish mortality from Cerebral-spinal Meningitis in emigration depots and on emigration ships. A rule made under the Act of 1883 had already provided for the detention of lunatic emigrants in separate compartments on board ship.

An Inter-Departmental Committee under the Chairmanship of Lord Sanderson had been appointed by the British Government to investigate the whole system of indentured. This Committee had reported in 1910 in favour of the

³⁷ Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, p. 22.

system. Gokhale's effort to have the system abolished was not successful. Despite The public feelings in India were against of the indentured system. By 1915 it had gathered momentum.

In 1916, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council urging the Government to take early steps for the abolition of indentured labour. The resolution was accepted and Lord Hardinge announced that the Secretary of State had agreed to the proposal. But it was felt, 'that time must be given to the Colonies to re-adjust themselves to the altered situation.' But the indefinite period for the final abolition of the system did not satisfy the public.

The Government of India under the Defense of India Act of 1916, stopped indentured emigration during 1st World War to Mauritius, Fiji, Trinidad, British Guiana and Jamaica. In the early part of 1917, Mahatma Gandhi launched his offensive against the indentured labour system. He was supported by C.F. Andrews, Polak, K. Natarajan, J.B. Petit and various organizations in the country. The campaign was carried on throughout India. At a public meeting held in Bombay on 9 February 1917, under the chairmanship of Sir Narayan Chandvarkar, the citizens of Bombay expressed their alarm at the continuance of the indentured system.

The Indian Emigration Bill was introduced into the legislative assembly by Sir George Barnes on 21 March 1921. He began his speech by observing that "some would like to keep every Indian in India." While that was unjustified, there was a definite need for the protection of unskilled workers wishing to emigrate. The Government of India prohibited the emigration of all unskilled workers, except to such countries and on such terms as the Governor General in Council may specify. Although the law would not apply to skilled workers, the Governor-General retained the power to prohibit this emigration also. This measure was sought to be included in the proposed bill which was passed through both the houses of the legislature. It received the Viceroy's assent in March 1922 (as Act VII of 1922).



Women migrant Labourers in Contemporary India : a theoretical Approach

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Abstract:

Migration is a developing survival strategy for women labourers in search of a better livelihood and opportunities. It is inevitable that many of them will leave their home towns and villages in the coming years, and that the future will see an increase in the number of migrant labourers in developing countries such as India. There is a scarcity of information on ethical issues relating to the migration of female labourers in India. This article examines these issues and addresses the issues of equity, non-discrimination, the provision of culturally competent care to migrants, allocation of scarce resources, and achieving a balance between benefits and risks for migrants.

“Migrants are an asset to every country where they bring their labour. Let us give them the dignity they deserve as human beings and the respect they deserve as workers.” Juan Somavía, Director-General of the International Labour Organization marking first UN designated International Migrants Day (18 December 2001).

In recent years, there has been an increase in the number of women who migrate independently in search of work. Women form more than half of the interstate migrant workforce. Ninety-two per cent of the 20 million domestic workers in the country are women and children, and 20% of these females are under 14 years of age.

¹ Women constitute more than one-third of the labour in the construction industry. Female migrant labourers face several important gender-based problems, including gender-based discrimination at work and violence. Several women are subjected to physical, verbal and sexual abuse at the workplace and their place of residence. Apart from this, emerging research shows that intimate partner violence is higher among migrant women than other women. Given the lack of a supportive environment and social system, this can have a significant impact on the physical and mental health of these women.

The present paper intends to provide an overview of the issues related to the scope of the protection of the rights of the women migrant workers in India. As a part of the UNIFEM's Programme a legal brief has been prepared which applies human rights standards to the situation of migrant domestic workers. It was commissioned to provide some tools for advocates in countries covered by UNIFEM's Asia-Pacific and Arab States Regional Programme on Empowering Women Migrant Workers in Asia. At present, UNIFEM is using the brief to prepare a user-friendly publication to be shared with the CEDAW Committee when completed. The treaties covered in the brief include the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and the Convention for the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families.

The brief also draws heavily on the recent work of the Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants, the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, the work of the IOM, and the many detailed studies that have been produced by the ILO². It addresses seven critical areas of concern for migrant women domestic workers:

1. Exploitative terms of work;

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1deHaan A. Migration and livelihoods in historical perspective: a case study of Bihar, India. *Journal of Developmental Studies* 2002;38(5):115-42.

²Deshingkar P, Akter S. Migration and human development in India. Human Development Research Paper 2009/13; United Nations Development Funds; 2009.

2. Restrictions on freedom of movement;
3. Labour market discrimination;
4. Dangerous and degrading working conditions;
5. Gender-based violence in the workplace;
6. Gendered forms of racism and xenophobia;
7. Restrictions on women's ability to organise for their rights;

For each of these areas of concern the brief provides overviews of the most frequently encountered violations, the specific treaty provisions that apply, and recent recommendations from the treaty bodies. Drawing from these sources, the brief also provides a summary of the main measures that have been directed by the treaties and treaty bodies. This paper will highlight the findings related to Exploitative terms of work, Restrictions on freedom of movement, and Gender-based violence in the workplace.

Exploitative Terms of Work

Migrant domestic workers encounter a range of difficulties with contracts. Contracts may be concluded between employers and recruitment agencies alone, giving the women no protection. There is frequently a failure to pay on time, or according to contract terms, and withholding of pay for long periods of time. Many migrant domestic workers have extremely long working hours, and little or no time off or vacation. One of the primary underlying difficulties is that in many countries domestic workers do not count as 'employees' under the labour codes. Labour standards therefore do not apply to domestic workers and working conditions of migrant domestic workers are frequently unregulated. Even where domestic workers are covered by the general labour standards, there are often discriminatory rules that exempt them from certain rights, such as the exemption from the requirement for the employer to pay overtime and holiday pay, or specific more onerous terms for domestic workers, such as an exceptional limit on daily working hours at 10-12 hours or fewer days of rest than other employees.

There is also a lack of monitoring of work-place conditions for domestic workers. The overall effect of this lack of regulation, and the failure to enforce the regulations that may exist, is that the terms of work for many migrant domestic workers is unscheduled availability at all times- an expectation obviously mirroring stereotyped gendered assumptions about women's role in the home.

One ILO study found that employers of domestic workers often justify the requirement of very long working hours by saying that the domestic worker is 'part of the family.' Not surprisingly, the domestic workers interviewed felt very differently about this. The fact that domestic work is often effectively outside the law needs to be understood in the context of gender discrimination and the stereotypes associated with domestic work. Domestic work is an employment sector dominated by women. It involves tasks which are often understood as

traditionally female and are often expected to be provided to families by their female members for free.³

The effective exemption of domestic workers from the application of labour standards has to be understood as both having a discriminatory impact – as this female sector is disproportionately left unprotected – but also a discriminatory origin or intention, rooted in sexual stereotypes associated with this form of work. Article 11(1) of CEDAW is particularly relevant in this context, especially with reference to ensuring equality of remuneration, benefits, conditions of service, and the right to paid leave.

Surveying the measures that are required by the human rights treaties and have been recommended by the treaty bodies, there are some common directions: Comprehensive studies should be conducted on the working conditions of female migrant workers, and on the impact of gender discrimination on these conditions, as the Committee on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women has recommended in the past. States that currently exempt domestic workers from labour regulations should include them, as the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has recently recommended. To make these measures a reality, enforcement of standards should be ensured, monitoring should be conducted regularly, fines should be imposed and licenses revoked where necessary.

Restrictions on Freedom of Movement

Migrant domestic workers frequently encounter situations in which employers confiscate travel documents, making it impossible for them to leave the country. Many domestic workers are required to live in the same home or on the same property as their employers, and employers often prohibit domestic workers from leaving the home alone, or prohibit leaving at all. Some employers even forbid letters and telephone calls, and there are instances of women being locked up in rooms of the home when they are not needed for work. Article 15 of CEDAW requires that states ensure that men and women have the same rights under the law relating to the freedom of movement of persons and the freedom to choose their residence and domicile.⁴

For the most part of course, these restrictions are not prescribed by law. But based on the substantive model of equality used by the Convention, and the broader requirement to eliminate all forms of discrimination, the failure of the State to take

³Keshri K, Bhagat RB. Temporary and Seasonal Migration in India. *Genus*. 2010;66(3):25-45.

⁴Mehrotra S. Social Insurance System for India's Unorganised Sector Workers: the case and the cost. *Indian Journal of Labour Economics*. 2008 April-June;51(2):183-96.

measures to prevent employers from imposing this high level of restriction of movement on this female dominated occupation, does engage the Convention. It should also be noted that a number of the other treaties, including CERD, the ICESCR and the Migrant Workers' Convention, contain strong protections regarding freedom of movement. The CERD Committee has in this year's concluding comments addressed this issue directly, commending one state for taking measures that put an end to the practice of employers retaining the passports of migrant domestic workers.

Measures should be taken to ensure that employers, employment agencies and domestic workers themselves are aware that it is prohibited to retain identity documents. Measures should be taken by host country governments to end restrictions on movement imposed by private employers.

Gender-based Violence in the Workplace

Women migrant workers as a class are generally vulnerable to gender-based violence at all stages of migration—at home when being recruited, while in transit and finally at work. This vulnerability is even more pronounced for migrant domestic workers who often live in close proximity to or in the homes of their employers. In one recent ILO study, half of all of the migrant domestic workers interviewed reported physical or verbal abuse. The heightened vulnerability arises from a combination of dependence on the employer, close living relations with the employer and frequent social isolation.

Migrant domestic workers are exposed to a wide range of assaults, from verbal and psychological abuse, to beatings, to rape, and other forms of torture. Assaults come in the form of 'punishment' for poor performance, and sexual assaults are connected to the broader premise of the women's availability to the employer and family members. As the CEDAW Committee has clearly articulated in General Recommendation 19, gender-based violence is a form of discrimination against women which is protected by the Convention. Also, in that General Recommendation the Committee directly targets sexual harassment in the workplace, and specifically recommends monitoring of the employment conditions of domestic workers.⁵

It should be noted that the ICCPR and the ICESCR's sexual equality provisions have both been interpreted to include the prohibition of sexual harassment, and that the Migrant Workers' Convention provides a number of related protections against violent and degrading treatment at the hands of private actors. This has also been a concern directly raised with state parties by CERD. The CERD Committee has requested, for example, information on measures the States have taken to prevent

⁵Banerjee A, Raju S. Gendered mobility: women migrants and work in urban India. *Economic and Political Weekly* 2009;54(28);115-23.

the rape and physical assault of migrant domestic workers. The CEDAW Committee is quite familiar with the range of measures that states may need to take to protect women from these forms of abuse. To highlight just a few that have common support across the treaties: (i) Laws and programmes to prevent abuse by employers, which include measures for monitoring and penalties; (ii) Ensuring that services are available and accessible to migrant domestic workers; (iii) Awareness raising for migrant domestic workers, their employers, and the general public on domestic workers' right to be free from violence; (iv) Ensuring that domestic workers are able to obtain legal redress for violations, and know how to access this legal redress.⁶

We may argue here that the unregulated nature of much domestic work is an absolutely critical, crosscutting concern for migrant domestic workers. It has repercussions across the board for domestic workers, in terms of their pay, their hours of work, their mobility and exposure to abuse and violence. Above all, therefore, there is an urgent need for effective legal regulation of their employment and the implementation of measures to ensure that these workers will be able to effectively claim their rights. Following ethical measures can be taken to improve the situation of the female migrant labourers of the present time:

Equity and Avoiding Disparities: Migrant labourers are at a significant disadvantage in the community into which they have migrated. They are in unfamiliar territory amidst strangers. They are also not familiar with the language and culture of the new place. In addition, they are discriminated against by the members of society, who feel that they "belong to another culture". As a result of these factors, migrant labourers may be deprived of access to healthcare facilities and services. There is, therefore, an urgent need to prevent discrimination on the basis of these disparities.

Ensuring Health as a Human Right: According to the UN Declaration of Human Rights, the 'highest attainable form of health and well-being' has been described as a basic human right under the economic, cultural and social rights. The government is to ensure that all its citizens, irrespective of their state of origin or residence, enjoy the full realisation of this right. Since economic, cultural and social rights are not justifiable in the 'here and now' manner, their realisation often remains a mirage. However, the realisation of favourable social determinants of health and access to healthcare services as basic human rights is an important ethical principle.

⁶Raj A, Silverman JG. Violence against immigrant women the roles of culture, context, and legal immigrant status on intimate partner violence. *Violence Against Women*. 2002;8(3):367-98.

Efforts to Mitigate Negative Impacts:

While planning health services for migrant labourers, it is important not only to provide curative services, but also to create circumstances under which the negative health impacts of migration may be mitigated. For example, when there is an outbreak of a water-borne disease in a migrant construction colony, it is important not only to provide treatment to the patients and a proper water supply and sanitary and hygienic conditions; it is also important to make sure that the services are rendered in a culturally acceptable manner, and in a way that the migrant labourers can access and use. The availability of a healthcare provider who speaks the same language as the migrant labourers or of translators in the health system can go a long way in improving the health-seeking behavior of the migrant labourers.

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ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF KANKANDIGHI

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Kankandighi, with a rich archaeological potentiality, is yet to be properly investigated. In the absence of any scientific archaeological excavations report the present report should be seen as a preliminary Endeavour, based on personal field investigations at the site. This paper also incorporates the results of earlier explorations made by different archaeologist and scholars. This site was reported for the first time by Late Kalidas Dutta in his article ‘the Antiquities of Khari.’¹ Kankandighi had also been investigated by Prof Dilip K. Chakraborti² and Prof. Nimalendu Mukhapadhyay³.

Kankandighi (20°00′22″N-88°27′E) is situated in the district of South Twenty Four Parganas under the jurisdiction of Raidighi police station and is at a distance of about 12kms south-west of Mathurapur Railway station (of the south suburban section of sealdah-Lakhmikantapur branch line). The site lies on the eastern bank of the river Mani, a tributary of the river Ādi-Ganga. It is surrounded by several other archaeological sites like Chattrabhog-Khari, Krishnachandrapur, Barasi, Madpur, Madhavpur, Gojamuri, Naluya, Manirtat, Baribhang, Dhasbhanga, Radhakantapurabad, Bakultala, Delbari etc (Plate-1). The famous temple Jata is situated about 7km from this site. The major hurdles which lie in the path of further investigations in this region are both man-made and natural causes. Still not

everything is lost. The surviving mounds are scattered with ancient habitational remains including potsherds, brickbats, stone fragments, parts of structural remains etc. These remains undoubtedly speak of the hoary antiquities of this place. The large number of Chance finds made by amateur archaeologists, professional archaeologists and private collectors indicates the potentiality of this site. Most of the chance finds and certainly the structural remains are assignable to the early medieval period.

To understand the nature of ancient settlements in this region in a proper perspective, it is necessary to know its present day geological characteristics. Geologically the antiquity of the region is of late Holocene age. The site Kankandighi is located on the low-lying alluvial plains of deltaic West Bengal. The Ganga delta, well-known as the Bengal delta is divided into three distinct formations viz moribund delta, mature delta and active delta. The moribund delta comprises parts of Murshidabad, Nadia and North Twenty four parganas, while the mature delta comprises both North and south Twenty four parganas and the active delta includes the rain forest area of Sundarban.⁴ Further this area has been divided into two main divisions (mainly South Twenty Four Parganas district): i. Kulpi-Diamond Harbour-Phalta plain and ii. Baruipur-Jaynagar plain.⁵ Kankandighi is located in the mature deltaic formation and lies on the Baruipur Jaynagar plain. The intermediate deltaic plain which is also mature to some extent is developed at a lower topographical level of 4-9m above MSL⁶ Subsequently fluvial and tidal processes have modified the plain under estuary deltaic environment.

The village Kankandighi is mainly divided into two major parts viz. Uttar Kankandighi and Dakshin Kankandighi. From the archaeological point of view Uttar Kankandighi is more important than Dakshin Kankandighi. Mounds in northern part of Kankandighi are rolling and are of pyramidal formations (Locally called *Bati or Danga*). Remains of brick structures were exposed at several areas of this site while digging the land for cultivation, road constructions and brick hunting. The first mound which is locally called Pilkhanarbati(PLATE-2) is highly elevated from the surrounding cultivated land. A small pond is situated near the mound. This mound is characterized by extensive structural remains. About a distance of ½ km from Pilkhanar mound there is another structural mound known as Kacharidanga. Here the main structural remains is crucified in character. Another mound which is locally called Mathbari is in Majipara and this mound bears a small elevation from the nearest road. Mathbari has structural remains. The main area of this site which is locally called Svetarajbatil and lies in the Sipahipara in Uttar Kankandighi. A Number of flat and low mounds characterize the sipahipara area and they are strewn with potsherds and brickbats. Therefore it is clearly apparent that Kankandighi comprises of a number of structural mounds.

As mentioned earlier a series of explorations undertaken by both amateur and professional archaeologists and the local people, have resulted in the discoveries of large number of ceramics, terracotta objects, and stone and metal sculpture etc. These findings thrown significant light on the settlement parameters experienced in this area. There is no doubt that Kankandighi was a dynamic coastal site from the early medieval period onwards.

POTTERY

Pottery is one of the most important materials found from all the ancient habitational sites. Pottery is used by people of different strata of the society. Both hand made and wheel made, fine and coarse, well levigated and burnished, well fired and ill fired, decorated pottery have been noticed. The bulk of pottery noticed from several explored/excavated sites have been generally classified by scholars into three classes: utilitarian, ritualistic, non-utilitarian. Several explorations at Kankandighi yielded a large number of potteries and potsherds of different ceramics. The major colours of the potteries are red, buff, black, grey and dull red. The major shapes are miniature pitcher, bowl, spouted vessel, handi, Ghat, lamps of different shapes, vessels, vases etc. Some of the better specimen have been described here. A fine grey colour small miniature pitcher(PLATE-3,A) found from this site is now preserved in Sundraban pratna Gobeshana Kendra (Kashinagar, Mathurapur). The basic features of this pottery included an elongated neck, inflated body and a very thin rim portion. This pottery maybe used for some votive offering or incised in rituals. The texture is very fine. This pottery can be dated to c.8th A.D. A considerable number of spouted vessels assignable to the 10th/11th century AD have been discovered from this site. The colour of these potteries is grey. The main characteristic features of these potteries are a thick rim portion, bulging body and long spout(PLATE3,B). Few of them have an indented rim portion. Another type discovered from site is vase. A small black vase now in the collection of the Dr. Ramcharan Chakraborti Memorial Heritage Museum is noteworthy. The basic feature of this pottery is a bulging body, a flat rim and a small mouth. Another specimen preserved in the same Museum is also black in colour. The body of this vase is heavy and round in shape. This pottery is well burnt, wheel made and well- levigated. Some circular decorations are still visible in the middle portion of the vase. This specimen can be dated to the 9/10th century A.D. Another specimen preserved in Dr. Thulsicharan Bhattacharya Smsiti Sangrahasala (South Vishnupur) is grey in colour. It is round in shape with an elongated neck, a thick rim portion and some dotted incised lines decorating its neck. A grey coloured narrow mouthed vase with a straight neck and incised parallel lines on the shoulder and necks has also been reported from Kankandighi(Preserved in Dr. Tulsicharan Bhattacharya Smriti Sangrahasala). Handis have been recovered from several areas of this site. A buff coloured handi

now preserved in Dr. Tulsicharan Bhattacharya Smriti Sangrahasala show a splayed out featureless rim, a short neck, prominently convex profile and a narrow flat base. This pottery can be dated to the 11th AD. A red colour inflated pottery found from this site is also preserved in the same Museum. This pottery may be dated to the 10th Century A.D. Two dull red colour footed bowls (Preserved in Dr. Tulsicharan Bhattacharya Smriti Sangrahasala). found from this site, may be assigned to the 9th-10th century A.D.

TERRACOTTA

Terracotta art in Kankandighi mainly reflects secular and religious idioms. This paper attempts to highlight the stylistic features of several art objects assignable to the early medieval period. A terracotta plaque depicting the upper portion of a human figure is now preserved in the Kalidas Dutta Smriti Sangrahasala (Jaynagar). The broken portion of the figure is visible back of the figure. The basic features of this image include elongated eyes, thick lips, truncated nose and long ears. This figure wears a beaded wreath and a decorated turban. The hair reaches down to its shoulders, and it expresses a delightful smile. This art specimen can be dated to the 6th/7th century AD (PLATE-4,A). Two significant terracotta plaques have been described here. A small rectangular plaque depicting a boar (PLATE-4,B) (Sundraban pratna Gobeshana Kendra (Kashinagar, Mathurapur). is assignable to the 7th century AD. Another terracotta plaque datable to c. 6th century AD (PLATE-4,C) shows a group of elephants transporting wood from the forest (Sundraban pratna Gobeshana Kendra (Kashinagar, Mathurapur).

A number of terracotta plaques depict Buddha, *Marichi*, *Linga*, *Ganassa*, *Durga*, *Lakshmi* and other motifs. Some such specimens have been described here.

A terracotta plaque from Kankandighi shows lord Buddha seated in *dhyana* posture (PLATE-5,A) inside a temple motif. (Kalidas Dutta Smriti Sangrahasala). The main image is surrounded by some motifs of elongated votive stupas (c. 9th century A.D). Another important terracotta plaque recovered from Kankandighi (Kalidas Dutta Smriti Sangrahasala, Jaynagar) shows lord Buddha seated in *bhumisparshamudra* under a pillar arch decked with leaves (PLATE-5,B). A number of elongated votive stupas are depicted on both sides of the figure. This specimen can be assigned to c. 7th C A.D. A small head of Buddha is depicted on another plaque. The basic features of this figure include elongated eyes, thick lips, truncated nose and a crest on his head. This head can be dated to c. 10th/11th century AD. An interesting specimen is recovered from this site is a three headed and eight armed *Marichi* image (Preserved in Chattrabhog-Khari Sangrahasala, Mathurapur). She wears a *Karandamukuta* on her heads and sari like garment. The deity stands in *alidha* posture. The weapons are not very distinct. Few of them can be identified as the *dhanusha*, *Bana*, *ankusa* and *akashapaspa*. The deity stands under a *Chaityagriha*. The *padapitha* is like a *ratha*. These *ratha* is divided into

several compartments. The small animals carrying a chariot. The animals are most probably boar. The charioteer is seated in the middle of the chariot. The image can be dated to C. 10th century AD.

A number of terracotta's depicting linga motifs have been found from the district. These motifs were perhaps related to the tantric religious cults of Saivaite sects. A *linga* motif in a terracotta plaque found from this site shows a women embracing a *linga* (10th centuryAD). This specimen is now persevered in Sundarban Pratna Gobeshana Kendra Kasinagar (Mathurapur). An interesting plaque found from Kankandighi, shows an elephant embracing a *linga* (PLATE-5,C) and it is presently preserved in the Chattrabhag-Khari Sangrahasala (Khari, Mathurapur). This image can be dated to 10th C.A.D. A conical shaped terracotta from Kankandighi shows *Devi Durga* and her family depicted on it and can be dated to C. 11th C.A.D. A few other terracotta plaques depict the Hindu God *Ganesa*. A 10th/11th centuries A.D terracotta image of *Ganesa* found from Kankandighi, is preserved in the Sundarban Pratnagabeshana Kendra Kasinagar (Mathurapur). Here the god is seated on a two tiered oval shaped pedestal in *Vajraparyankasana* posture. The deity wears a *mukuta* on his head. The upper part of his body is nude and the lower part is covered by a *dhoti* like garment. The hands of the image are broken. Another corroded *Ganesa* image seated on a triangular shaped motif has been found from same site. The god is seated in *lalitasana* posture. The *ayudha* of the god are quite indistinct. The image can be dated to 10th C.A.D. Two *Lakshami* images have been recovered from this site. The first is image (PLATE-5,D) now preserved in the Sundarban Pratnagabeshana Kendra Kasinagar (Mathurapur). The *devi* is seated on a full blossomed lotus. This four handed deity holds louts buds in her upper hands and the lower left hand shows *varadumudra* and the right hand displays the *abhyaymudra*. The *Devi* icon is bejewelled by several types of ornaments. A small *jhanpi* lies on its armpit. According to the description found from *Nygrodh-Pratimandala*⁷ and *Tantrasara*⁸, the icon can be identified as *Lakshmi*. However Gustav Oppert⁹ identified it as *Bhagya-Laksmi*, on the basis of the *janpi*. Another *Laskhmi* image found from same site, is depicted as seated on a lotus pedestal(Preserved in Dr. Ramcharan Bhattacharya Heritage Museum). Her upper two hands hold lotus buds. A lower hand rests on her laps. These images can be dated to about the C. 11th century C.A.D.

A figure of a male devotee has been found from this site. The figure is depicted with folded hands (*anjalimudra*) on his breast. His sharp eyes long ears, unclothed body, simple face with pleasant smile are noticeable. He wears an *upavita* and a *Kanthahara* (C. 9th CAD).

STONE

A considerable number of stone sculptures have been recovered from this area and few of them have been described here. The stone sculptural remains may be assigned to a period ranging C. 7th century AD to C. 11th/12th century AD.

The earliest specimen which have been recovered from this site is a six armed Mahisashuramardini image (PLATE-6,A). The Devi stands in alidha posture on a full blossomed lotus. Her main right hand holds a trisula, which pierces the breast of the demon and the left one holds a tuft hair of the demon. The other hand holds Kamandulu, Khardga, Khetaka and an distinct ayudha. She wears Karnakundala, Karandamukuta, bajubandhu. The image is dated to C. 7th C.A.D. and closely resembles the image found from Gangarampur (presently preserved in the Malda Musum). A four armed Mahisamardini (PLATE-6,B) engrave on a small rectangular plaque has been found from same site. The Devi is standing in alidha posture on the buffalo. She holds a sula in her left hand and pierces the shoulder of the buffalo. Her upper left hand holds a Kheatak. The lower right hand holds an indistinct object and the lower left hand lifts the animal by its tail. The elongated eyes, thick lip, truncated nose, well breasted bosom and a slender lower portion are the basic features of this image. She wears a basket type headgear, beaded wreath and long earring. This high relief sculpture is aesthetically of an inferior order and it may be assumed that the image belonged to C. 8th/9th century AD.

A small well-carved Vishnu image (PLATE-6,C) shows the god standing on a two-tiered pedestal in *samapadasthanaka* posture. The upper part of his body is bare and the lower portion wears a well-arranged dhoti like garment. He wears a basket like turban and a jewel on his turban. His upper left hand holds a *padma* and the lower right hand holds *chakra*. The upper right hand holds a *sankha* and the lower left hand holds a *Gada*. A round shaped halo is seen on the back of its head. This image closely resembles the lost bronze Vishnu image of Rangpur Sahitya Parishad Museum¹⁰. On stylistic grounds, this image is assignable to a period ranging from the post Gupta to the pre Pala periods.

A small *Caturmukhalinga* (PLATE-7,A) found from this site is now preserved in the Dr. Thulsicharan Bhattcharya smriti sangrahasala (South vishnupur). The *Gouripatta* projects its *nala* towards the proper left. Each face with *jata* emerges out of the otherwise plain cylindrical *Rudrabhaga* which slightly tapers upwards. The *Vishnudharmattara* speaks of the five faces of *Siva* under a double set of names. The first includes *Isana*, *Tatpurasa*, *Aghara*, *Vamdeva*, *Sadyojata*. The second series consist of *Sadasiva*, *Mahadeva*, *Bhairva*, *Uma* and *Nandi*¹¹. This image can be dated 10th Century AD.

A four handed Ganesa (PLATE-6,D) found from this site is presently preserved in same Museum. The God is seated in a two-tiered pedestal in *lalitasana* posture. He wears a *Karandamukuta* on his head. His upper left hand bear *akshamala* and upper right hand bears a *Parasu*. The lower left hand is in

Varadamudra and right hand holds a *madoka*. The trunk is applied to the *madoka* on the right. This image can be dated to about the 10th C.A.D.

Two Buddha images have been noticed from this site. The first image is a seated Buddha (PLATE-7,B) on a two-tiered lotus pedestal. His two hands are placed on his lap. His curly hair, elongated ears, closed eyes and urna on his forehead are noteworthy. The Buddha image is seated under a pillar decked arch. Some decorations are shown below the pedestal. The stella is quite bereft of ornamentation. This image can be dated to about the 8th century AD on stylistic consideration. Another image shows The Buddha seated on a throne in *Pralambapada* posture (PLATE-7,C). He is displaying *dhramachakrapravartanamudra*. He wears a long tight fitting *sanghati*. He wears a *mukuta*, *Kanthahara*, and *Karnakundala*. This image can be dated to about the 9th century AD on stylistic consideration.

An image of *Varahi* has been found from Kankandighi. The Devi is seated on a full blossomed lotus in *lalitasana* posture. She holds *Khadgra* and *Khetaka* in her upper right and left hands respectively and *Kapala* and *matsya* in her lower right and left hands respectively. She wears *Karandamukata*, *Kanthahara*, *nupura* and *Katibandha*. A *Garuda* is seated on a separate *Visvapadma* and there are *chamara* and *ghanta* in his right and left hands. The usual *Kritimukha* and *Vidhyadharas* are depicted on the stella. A devotee is situated below the *visvapadma*. This image is dated to C. 11th C.A.D.

A broken part of a *Vishnu* icon discovered from this site shows the image standing on *Samapada* posture. The upper portion is completely broken. The God stands on a full blossomed lotus in a *pancharatha* pedestal. The *devi Saraswati* stands to the right of the *Vishnu* in *tribhanga* posture. Two devotees are depicted on both sides of the pedestal. This image can be dated to about C. 11th century AD. Another specimen is a broken part of *Vishnu* image where the *devi Saraswati* stands on a *tribhanga* posture with a *vina*. This image can be assigned to C. 11th CAD.

An image of *Kalki*, (PLATE-7,D) the last incarnation of *Vishnu* was found from Kankandighi. The God is seated on a horse. His right hand holds a sword and the left hand holds a skull. The stella has a beautiful depiction of flame. This image is dated to C. 12th CAD.

A number of square rectangular stone plaques showing *Vishnu* on one side and his ten incarnations on the other have been discovered from different parts of the Bengal. N.K.Bhattachali¹² called them *Vishnupatta*. R.D. Banerjee¹³ designated them variously as *Yantras* used in the tantric worship of *Vishnu* and elsewhere *Vishnu chakra*. The general characteristics of these plaques are that the obverse is divided into several square and rectangular compartments demarcated by narrow raised borders and in the centre of them, *Vishnu* is invariably seated in *padmasana*, *lalitasana* and *Maharajalilasana* with four arms holds *padma*, *chakra*, *Gada* and

Sankha clock wise. Above the god are depicted in a separate panel, figures of seated *Gaja-Lakshmi* with two elephants holding reverted jars pouring water over the head of the goddess. Again below the god and in a separate compartment is shown a *Garuda* Kneeling in *anjanimudra*, in spite of the presence of *Lakshmi* at the top, the god is often accompanied by a pair of standing *Lakshmi* and *Saraswati* on either side of the main deity or *Ganga* on the back of the *makara* and *Prithivi* on the back of the *Kurma*. The other compartments are variously filled with a selection of rosettes, *Vidhyadharas*, *Ganas* etc and occasionally, other deities like *Ganesa*, *Karttikeya*, the *Navagraha* and *Astadikpalas*. This type of Vishnupattas have been found from Kankandighi and some of the specimens are now preserved in Ashutosh Museum of India Art, University of Calcutta and is dated to C. 11th CAD. Some other specimens of Vishnupattas found from kankandighi is now in the collection of the Chattrabhadra-Khari Museum. (Khari, Mahurapur).

The *Navagrahas* are usually carved in a row either on a single slab of stone serving as an architectural component or on the stele of different sculptural deities. A fine Navagraha slab found from Kankandighi is now preserved in the Ashutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta. It is a combined image of nine planets standing in a row, including *Ganesa*. They are standing in a line on a single full blossomed lotus. Each of the figure have over the head an oval halo with a lotus border and a serpent like design between them and each figure wears a sacred thread and a short Skirt tied round the waist by a girdle. The *Vahanas* of the individual planets are depicted below.

A fragmentary sculptural panel depicting three Tirthankara (9th CAD) standing in Kayotsasra posture has been found from Kankandighi. It is now preserved in the Chattrabhadra-Khari Museum. (Khari, Mahurapur).

METAL IMAGES

A good number of metal images have been found from this site. On the stylistic grounds the metal images are assignable to C. 8th century AD. Similar images have been reported from Rangpur, Kurkihara, Mainamati. Some of them display close affinity with Nepalese and Tibetan stylistics.

An *ugra* image of *siva*, *Bhairava* (PLATE-8,A) has been recovered from this site and can be dated to C. 8th century AD. The God is standing on a lotus shaped three tiered pedestal. The four handed god has a *trinetra*. He holds a *Kamandula*, *Kuthara*, *Yajnadanda* and displays *Varadamudra*. He wears a *Kiritamukuta*, *makari*, a garland of skull and his neck is surrounded by a snake. The upper part of the body is bare and the lower part is covered with a short dhoti. His body is ornamented with *bajubandha* and *nupura*.

The *Jambhala* is regarded as an emanation of *Akshobhaya* as well as that of *Ratnasambha*. He is regarded as the god of wealth. A metal image of

Jambhala(PLATE-8,B) (c 9th CAD) found from Kankandighi shows the god seated on a two tiered oval shaped pedestal in *ardhyaparyankasana* posture. The upper part of the divinity is bare. His head is decorated by a trident in the middle of which a *Bodhisattava* image is visible. The *Jambhala* icon is depicted with different types of ornaments and its right hand holds a purse while the left hand holds a mongoose emitting jewel.

Sadaksari Lakesvara is regarded as another form of *Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara* according to the *Sadhanamala*. A metal image of *Sadaksari Lokesvara(PLATE-8,C)* from Kankandighi dateable to C. 9th-10th century AD, shows the god seated on a four tiered pedestal in *Vajraparyankasana* posture. His front hands are in *anjalinudra* and the back left hand is broken. He wears a *Karandamukuta* and there are different types of ornaments on his body.

A magnificent image of *Padmapani (PLATE-9)* recovered from this site has close affinity with Nepalese sculptures preserved in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston¹⁴. The God stands on *samapadasthanaka* posture on a two-tiered lotus pedestal. The God is bejewelled by several types of ornaments. On the stylistic grounds this image can be dated to the later Gupta or Pre-Pala idioms.

Another bronze Buddhist image of *Tara(PLATE-10,A)* has been noticed from Kankandighi and this dated to C. 8th century AD on the basis of stylistic consideration. In this image *Tara* is seated on a three tiered lotus pedestal in *lalitasana* posture. Her right hand is broken and her left hand holds a fruit. She does not wear any ornaments except a *karandamukuta*

A small *Varahi(PLATE-10,B)* image has been noticed from this site and shows it the *Devi* seated in *lallitasana* posture on a oval shaped pedestal. Its hand are broken. She wears *Kundala, Kanthahara, Karandamukuta*. Here bearded body, well-shaped breasts, prominent naval and corpulent belly are noteworthy. This image can be dated to about the 10th/11th century AD.

A metal *Ganesa(PLATE-10,C)* image found from this site may be assigned to 9th century A.D. The upper right hand holds a *parasu* and the left one bears a *Pasa*. The lower left hand holds a *madak* and the lower right hand bear a pot. His trunk is applied on the pot.

A metal image of Lakshmi (PLATE-11) found from this site shows the *Devi* seated on a one-tiered lotus pedestal. Her upper hands hold lotus buds. The lower left hand display *Varadamudra* and its right hand is in *abhyaymudra*. An interesting feature is that the *Devi* wears a *Karandamukuta* and a small linga type figure has been depicted on her crown. She is bejeweled with several types of ornaments. This image closely resembles south Indian metal images and can be dated C. 9th/10th CAD.

The above mentioned site pattern and several artifacts discovered from the site throw enough light on the archeological as well as the historical background of this area. In this regard it may be mentioned that the site Kankandighi is not a single settlement but it is a cluster of settlement from the Khar-Tripurasundari area to GodaMathura besides the Delbari area of the Sundarbans. This region is a part of the *Khari Vishya* or *Khari-mandala* in *Pundrabardhanabhukti* as referred from early medieval inscriptions. The Barrackpur copper plate grant of Vijaysena¹⁵ and the Sundarban Coper plate inscription of Lakshmansendeva¹⁶ refer to donations of land to several Vedic Brahmins in this region. We find the names of two donated villages viz *Ghasambhogabhattavada* and *Mahdalagram*. So during the early medieval period this region was settled by several groups of Vedic Brahmin. Dakarnava a Buddhist manuscript of the early medieval period mentioned this Khari regions as one of the important Buddhist Tantric center of early medieval Bengal.

The Brahminical deities like Vishnu, *Mahisasuramardini*, *Ganesa*, *Caturmukhalinga*, Varahi, Lakshmi, Navagraha panel reflect the Brahminical stronghold in this region. Spread of Tantra a certainly influenced the religious background of the concern settlements. The influence of Tantra may be perceived on several sculptural remains like the linga with elephant depicted in a terracotta plaque or the depiction of a women embracing a Linga. A large number of sculptural remains of the Buddhist ideology attest to the fact that Buddhism was quite popular during the early medieval times. A Jaina Thirthankar panel discovered from this site perhaps indicates that the site is a polycultural one.

The exposed brick structures of different periods show some characteristic features. Some structures show a crucified pattern and while others reflect ratha projections. A full scale excavation will certainly highlight the type of structures that were used.

Potteries preserved in different local museums reflect early medieval character and closely resemble the ceramics found from Chandraketurgarh and Bangarh. Some of the ceramics may be associated with rituals. The major colour of the pottery is grey perhaps the site was a manufacturing center of grey pottery.

The terracotta art found from this area is assignable a period ranging from the 9th to the 12th centuries A.D. The terracotta specimen has similar counter parts found from other early medieval site of West Bengal. So far as the Buddhist sculptural remains are concerned there were perhaps two artistic idioms operating here. The first one closely related to some Buddhist temple type feature. The second specimen show a Buddha image closely related with South East Asian

Physionomical features and this figure encircled some elongated stupas reflects South East Asian architectural motifs.

The miniature stone sculptures found from this site have similar counterparts recorded from a number of early historic and early medieval sites like Gosaba, Boral, Harinarianpur (South 24 pgs), Harinarayanpur (Hawarh), Tilda, Mandirtala, Chakfuldubi, Rajbaridanga, Tamruk, South Vishnupur, Mahasthangarh etc. Several Scholars opine different dating of these plaques. F. Asher¹⁷ opines that this type of plaques were found from post Gupta and medieval levels of Sonkh, Mathura etc. Goutam Sengupta¹⁸ has dated such plaques to the 6th/7th century AD. Sandrine Gill¹⁹ was of the opinion while studying a similar Surya plaque from Mahasthanagarh: "The representation of Surya on the Shale plaque from Mahasthanagarh is strongly associated with north-western tradition of Kushana period." Alam²⁰ observes an art of transition' datable to 8th/9th C.A.D. The *pralambapada* Buddha attaches Bengal with western India, Nalanda, Sarnath and South East Asian country where this type is very common

Metal images mainly relate to Buddhist affiliation. The *Padmapani* image which is closely related with Nepalese type of art is a magnificent specimen of Bengal Art. Another important image is the *Lakshmi* image which is closely related to the South Indian style on the basis of its mukuta and physiognomical character.

Kankandighi is located on the intermediate deltaic plain of coastal Bengal where a number of early historic and early medieval settlements have been found. This area is well connected by water ways with other parts of Bengal as well as the South East Asian countries. Buddhism played an important role for cultural relation with the South East Asian countries. Numerous numbers of antiquities recovered from Kankandighi attest to this South East Asian countries. This site is highly significant not only in the archeological context but also so far as the historical perspective is concerned.

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PLATE-1

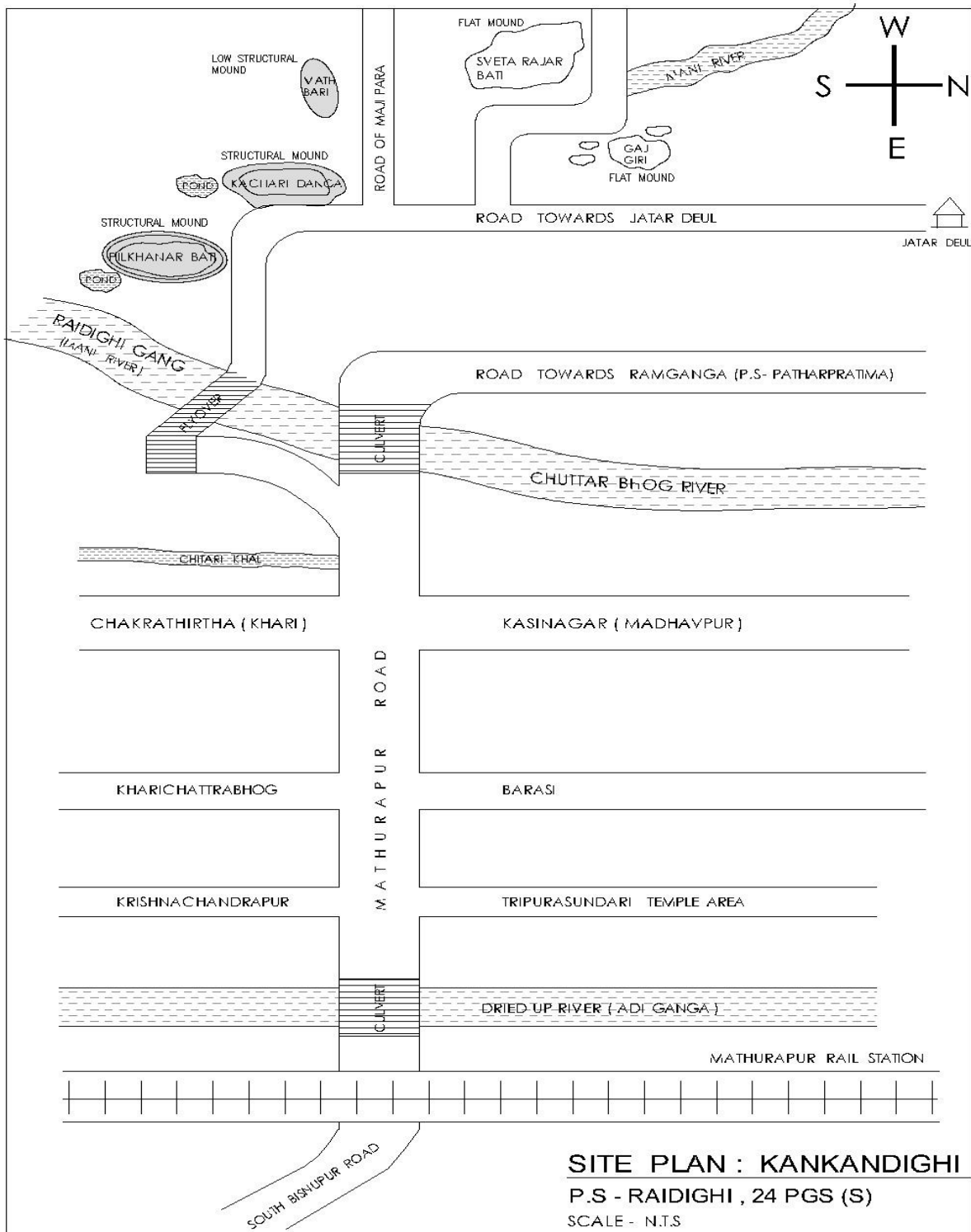


PLATE-2



PLATE-3



PLATE-4

A



B



A



C

PLATE-5

B



B



A



c



D

PLATE-6



A



B



C



D

PLATE-7



A



B



C



D

PLATE-8



A



B



C
PLATE-9



PLATE-10



A



B



C



PLATE-11



Condition of Modern education in early Colonial india

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In the ancient tradition, education was regarded as the most important tool for self realization. During ancient period, two significant impacts on education were, the impact of Aryan civilization and the Buddhist influence and education was imparted only to priestly class.

But with the advent of the medieval period another system of education found its way into the country i.e. Muslim education. Like the Hindus, the Muslim also had two types of institutions—the Maktabas and Madrasahs. During medieval period, education was a Mughal Legacy which could be seen during the period of Akbar who was deeply interested in the work of spreading education and learning. During the reign of Aurangzeb, Hindu education received a setback. But after Aurangzeb inspired by the disturbed time, a popular system of education survived and both the Hindu and Muslim institutions flourished side by side.

From the early decades of British rule, deliberate attempts were made to introduce and propagate the British educational system in India but that was a period of controversy between those who subscribed to orthodox ideas and those who advocated new and liberal views.

Hindu society was very rigid as far as the liberal view and caste was very concerned and in the caste scheme, each caste was performed a specific function

for instance Brahmins only had the exclusive right to preach religious doctrines . The main function of the Brahmins was to officiate as priests and teachers for which they had acquired higher religious and secular knowledge. The medium of instruction was Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Hindu in which religions and secular knowledge was imparted.

In every village and town vernacular school were those which taught reading, writing and rudiments of arithmetic to common people. Mainly the sons of traders were taking advantage of these school but on the contrary women and the lower caste and agriculturists were left behind from receiving this education and only the Brahmins enjoyed the monopoly of all higher education.

On the other hand among the Muslim in pre-British India, the higher education was not a monopoly of a particular section because Muslims were basically democratic in their character. All Muslims were free to study at the Madarasa. The medium of instruction was Arabic, since the Koran was written in that language. There were schools which taught vernaculars and Persian, the language of Islamic culture and administration.

Thus we can say that the education imparted in pre-British-India was to make the pupils stanch Hindu or Muslims. Therefore, the introduction of modern education was an event of great historical signification for India. It was no doubt a progressive act British rule.²

Though the education was literary for Hindus and Muslims even then the Brahmin children were only to going schools of accounts only, in number of schools using living even then school of language where Muslims were more liberal because both the system (religions and literary) struck firmly to their traditional knowledge.

SOCIAL POLICY OF EAST INDIA COMPANY:

After acquiring the territory of Bengal the East India Company made its target to spread over a political power in India for which the company felt the India Agency and fulfilled its aim by promoting these agencies among the families and caves hereditary linked with the revenue and judicial employment under the state³.

Till 1833, the East India company was primarily interested in its trading activities and get maximum profits deprived from the revenue administration of the

¹ A. J. Richey, "Selections from Educational Records (1840-1859)", Superintendent Government press, Calcutta reprint, Government of India press, 1965, page-138

² A.R.Dasai, "The Social Background of Indian Nationalism, Popular Prakashan, Delhi, 2014 page-139.

³ Unpublished thesis, Shukla S.C., University of Delhi.

territory under its control rather than taking any interest in spreading education among the Indians⁴.

The strong religious basis of Indian society dispirited many a reformer administrators and liberal policy maker of their alien origin, culture, religion and status, any attempt on their part might be understood by the people of India who could even create a powerful and bitter opposition to the extent of shaking foundations of colonial India⁵. Even the leaders of the public studied the Indian scene in the late eighteenth century and made themselves conscious of their responsibilities in India.

The results of the effect of the modern ideas on India was the emergence of a series of national leaders with deep knowledge of western and Indian education and culture “whose supreme task in the early nineteenth century was the defense of the Hindu society and culture from the challenging west”⁵.

The two most prominent exponents Warren Hastings and the noted orient list H.H Wilson also persuaded the company to govern in India in the typical Mughal and general Indian tradition by provided security and peace for the society o continue its habitual course. The Calcutta Madarsa 1711.

of India considered it fit to pick out a considerable class of musalman of credit and learning and used his power, influence and money to persuade one Maulvi “Mudjid-o-Din” to remain at Calcutta for giving instruction to young folks in Mohamedan Law and started a Madarsa with his own resources at the cost of Rs. 625/- per month including scholarships as in incentive to the young students.⁶

Similar in 1792 the company’s resident at Banaras proposed a portion of company’s surplus revenues to be spent on the establishment of “A Hindu college or Academy” for the preservation and cultivation of laws, Literature and Religion of the Nation⁷.

In 1811, Governor General Lord Minto explored the decay in learning under British rule on account of support from the British Government . He initiated for the establishment of two more Sanskrit College in Nadia and Tirhoot to overpower the lack of decay in learning . His other recommendation included the grant of Persian to distinguished teacher, provision of a public library in each of the proposed college under a learned India⁸.

⁴ Narain V.A., “Social History of Modern India, page-10-15.

⁵ Mukherjee- Haridas and Uma, “The Growth of Nationalism in India, Mukhopadhyay Publisher, Catcutta1957, page-22-23.

⁶ Shukla, S.C., “Development of Education in British India”.

⁷ Minute Indian Education, page-144.

⁸ Minute of Lord Moira on Judicial administration. Oct.2.1815.

During the period 1815, Education was a cause very dear to Moira's heart . He was of the opinion that "The strength of the Government in India must be based not on ignorance but on the enlightenment of the people"⁹. Lord Moira was of the opinion that instead of creating new institutions for public instruction improvements with an emphasis on the introduction of western education should be effected in the existing elementary school in rural areas. Lord Moira proposed the establishment of two experimental school (one for Hindu and the other for Muslims) under the superintendence of a committee consisting of all the civil servants at the station.

AGENCIES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF WOMEN EDUCATION:

The decision of introduction English Education in India by the British Rule was a momentums step which can be considered as an important Land mark in the Modern Indian History¹¹. This was a period when English was decided as a language western knowledge which would have far reaching efforts on India's culture and political life. On the arrival of the Britishers in India , the type of education was almost entirely religious and higher education for Hindus and Muslims was purely literary.

Before 1813 there were sporadic efforts to introduce modern education by missionary group and the East India Company . The combined education work of these two agencies had significance only as pioneering week¹⁰.

Actually three main agencies were responsible for the spread of modern education in India.

A) The Foreign Christian Missionaries

B) The British Government

C) The Progressive Indians and Non official agencies.¹¹

ROLE OF MISSIONARIES IN EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:

The Christian Missionaries did extensive work in the field of education and their main motive behind spreading the modern education was the spread of Christianity among the Indian people. They directly attacked the caste inequalities among the Hindus and imparted modern secular education through religions instructions.

Both in the matter of conversion to Christianity and of education, missionary activity has confined to lower classes among the Hindus while the

⁹ Basu, Aparna, "The Growth of Education and political Development in India", 1889-1920, Delhi Oxford University Press, 1974

¹⁰ Desai, A.R., "A History of Freedom Movement in India, page-179.

¹¹ Desia, A.R., "The Social Background of Indian Nationalism, page-139.

influential upper class was scarcely affected. ¹²The chaplains of the company also started missionary work in India being the products of the universities. For instance:

- 1) David Brown- Opened a boarding school for young Hindu of Calcutta.
- 2) Henry Martin- Served in Calcutta, Dinapur and Kanpur for the spread of education.
- 3) Daniel corrie- Who was posted to Agra and then to Banaras induced Raja Jay Naraya Ghosal to open a school which was the pioneer in English Education in Utter Pradesh.

Carry- Who had an insatiable appetite for learning and unusual interest in scientific knowledge, engrossed himself to obtain mastery over Indian language like Sanskrit, Bengali, Marathi and Hindi. He even meant to the extent of appointing a teacher of Bengali in the Fort William College started by Wellesley in 1801 for training candidates for the Indian Civil and Military Services. He produced a grammar and a dictionary of Sanskrit and prepared a new edition of Valmiki's Ramayan¹³.

The educational activities of the missionaries fulfilled a need which was felt by the new classes arising in India. This class of people felt that both on grounds of utility and social prestige, a knowledge of the English language was necessary because in their commercial activities they had to deal with English merchants and to be able to speak to them in their language was put natural advantageous. Secondly those Indian knowing English had better prospects of advancement in private services or in company's administration than those who were ignorant of English language.

ATTITUDE OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT:

The second principle agent in expanding modern education in India was the British Government. It establishment a network of school and colleges in India. The introduction of modern education in India was primarily motivated by the political, administrative and economic needs of British in India. 'It was not accidental that under the governorship of Lord Dalhousie the inauguration of education was made rather it was intentionally done because of the float of industrial products of Britain into India'¹⁴.

The main aim behind the spread of education was that the British Government required a larger number of educated individuals which could by no means be acquired from the British herself which made essential for the government to establish school and college in India to turn out educational people

¹² Tara Chand, "Story of Freedom Movement in India, Volume II, page-174.

¹³ Tara, Chand, "Story of Freedom Movement in India, page-75.

¹⁴ Tara, Chand, "Story of Freedom Movement in India, poage-183-184.

who would serve the administrative apparatus of the Colonial India.¹⁵ The British Government played a clever trick by entrusting the key posts to the Bruisers and filling the subordinate posts with the educated Indians.

Another view point of British Government to encourage modern education was that the British culture was the best and the most liberal in the world that is India and later on the entire world were Anglicized culturally, it would bare the way for social, political unification in the world.

A group of prominent Englishmen and Mount smart Eloping among them held that English Education would make the Indians gladly accept the British Rule.

CONTRIBUTION OF PROGRESSIVR INDIA AND NON-OFFICIAL AGENCIES:

The third powerful agency in spreading modern education in India was the Indian themselves. Besides the contribution of Missionaries and British Government in spreading the modern education, the Indian themselves were becoming alive to the need for modern education. Inspire of their limited resources and opportunities, they were fortunate to receive the support of official and non-official Englishmen in making provisions for western education for Indian boys and girls.

Among the progressive Indians were Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Deshmuhk, Chiplunkar, Agarkar, Maganbhai, Karamchand Karve, Tilak, Gokhale, Malviya, Gandhi and other workers towards the establishment of educational institutions both for men and women for imparting modern education throughout the country.

Another non-official agency which did education work was the School for Society which imparted Teacher's Training. The success of these private agencies endeavored to spread modern education was rapidly growing. The company's government which had been neglecting the issue of education among the Indians

ACT OF 1813:

The charter act of 1813 from a turning point in the History of Indian Education. This act only empowered this missionaries fully to spread education in India and a clause was introduced to spend a some of one one lakh rupees in each year on improvement of the literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India. In the long run this clause led to the foundation of the state educational system in India but the freedom of the missionaries in the field of education aroused a sense of education in the hearted of the Indians.

The charter Act of 1813 marked a point of departure too in the East India Company towards the education of its Indian subjects. Company for the first time felt the state responsibility for education as a result of which a considerable

¹⁵ Desai, A.R., "Social Background of Indian Nationalism, Popular Parkashan, Delhi, 2014.

progress was made in the Presidency of Bengal, Madras and Bombay in the sphere of education. In Bengal Hindu education launched by Duff and political and Economic Values of English were rising day by day.

In 1821, when the Peshwa territories came under British control a similar step of establishing 'A Sanskrit College at Poona was taken in 1821¹⁶' by Monstuart Aplington. He even decided to allot the Dakshna Fund of Peshwas to those 'who were most skilled in the more useful branches of learning , law, mathematics and that a certain number of professors might be appointed to teach those sciences¹⁷'.

In 1823 Adam who was holding temporary charge of the post of Governor General appointed a General Committee of public instruction consisting to ten members including H.T. Prinsep and H.H. Wilson. But these were two problems before the committee, firstly to decide upon the character of education to be imparted, secondly to decide the issues of the recipients of this education. The question to be decided was whether teaching should ne continue to the traditional learning of the Hindus and the Muslims, in the Sanskrit and Arabic languages and secondly whether education should be given to the upper class alone or whether the masses also should be included in the scheme.

GROWING POPULARITY OF WESTERN EDUCATION:

The trend of changing over to English and gaining popularity of western education continued for quite some time to guide the educational policy of the country. This trend was an instrument of far reaching social change in India in a period in which ruling Britain itself and the whole Europe generally were undergoing important school transformations. One of the prime movers in this venture was an Englishman David Hare who was keen on liberating India life and thought as a reformer looked upon English language and literature as the best means to this end¹⁸.

Charles Grant also strongly approved the introduction of English and western education but side by side he was in favor of this view point that the Indian language could also be the medium of instruction.

The other group which exercised considerable pressure in formulating the policy for India and supported the western education were the Radicals and Utilitarian's. Their chief spokesman was James Mill whose History of India won

¹⁶ Minute Indian Education, page-144-148.

For more detail of Charter Act of 1813 see Appendix A.

¹⁷ Saini Shiv Kumar, "Development of Education in India, page-37.

¹⁸ Cited in an unpublished thesis of shukla S.C., University of Delhi.

him an important position in India House and in the formation of the policy of the company.¹⁹

There was yet another strong group comprising of matured British administrators in India who played an important role in the rise of the British power in India and held key positions in the company's government but this group was aware of the stagnant surface of Indian society who wanted to enforce gradual measures of reform and type to suit prevailing Indian conditions.

Prominent men in this group were Mount Stuart Aplington who introduced western education in Bombay Charles Metcalfe practiced liberal principles while ruling Delhi Territory and John Malcolm made policy for Central Asia²⁰.

After the Reform Bill 1832 The Radicals, Utilitarian's Evangelicals and Liberians were keen to implement some definite policy for the people of India. Lord William Bentinck, the Governor General from 1828 to 1835 was active in taking initiative of directing and implementing the policy of reform in India. Utilitarian's too an opportunity to introduce new ideas into India affairs. By this year 1828 the situation change to a greater extent and a Tory President of the Board of Control even wrote to Bentinck: **"We have a great moral duty to perform in India"**²¹.

Among the progressive India Raja Ram Mohan Roy was strongly in favor of spreading Western education in India. He was so much enthusiastic for English education that he even opened an English school at his own expense. Raja Ram Mohan Roy formed an association for founding an institution where the Hindus were to receive instruction in European languages and sciences.

The name of Raja Ram Mohan Roy stands foremost in the field of school development although he himself was one of the orient lists of the age his conviction was that India could progress only through Liberal Education conversing all the branches of western learning.²²

During his stay in England 1831-1833, Raja Ram Mohan Roy agitated for reform in the administrative system of British India rather he was the first India to be consulted on Indian affairs by the British parliament. His political ideas were influenced by European philosophers and Juries like Bacon, Hume, Bentham, Blackstone and Montesquieu. Thus we can say that the most important result of the popularity of the western education on India was the replacement of blind faith in

¹⁹ Narayan V.A., "Social History of India".

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Narayan, V.A., page-15.

²² Mahajan V.D., "British Rule in India and After".

current traditions, beliefs and conventions- Characteristics of Medieval Age to accept any thing blindly.

THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN ANGLICIST AND ORIENTALISTS:

While educational activity was proceeding apace in the year 1823-33, there was a controversy called Historically The Oriental Anglo list Controversy over the issue of spread of education and its medium of instruction as Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian or English²³ .

The orient list stressed that the literature should be taught only in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian to particular great classes of population, the Muslims and the Hindus.

The Anglo list did not favor the idea of grafting the new western learning upon the old stalk of oriental learning rather than they supported the idea of imparting western sciences through the medium of English.

The orientalist group staunchly advocated the encouragement of Indian language rather this group was strong in Bengal and was influenced by the views of Lord Warren Hastings and Lord Minto.

The other group of Anglo list was led by the Munro Doctrine and Aplington which held that western education could reach the mass of the people only if it was imparted in vernaculars.

By 1831, the two groups were equally balanced on the appearance of Macaulay on the scene who decided once for all that English only would be the medium of instruction in India. The resolutions passed by the Government led to the establishment of schools to teach European literature and science. The English Education imparted during this period becomes Passport for entrance into Government Services due to proclamation issued by Lord Hastings²⁴. The charter act of 1833 provided the full freedom to the missionaries of other countries also on their work in India. In this charter a special provision was made to increase the educational grant from £ 10,000 to £ 1000,000 which strengthened the hope of further educational expansion and important changes in the type of education to be imparted to the youth of the country was introduced in the first half of the 19th century.

MACAULAY'S MINUTE 1835:

Macaulay an eloquent speaker and the most outstanding Anglo list landed in India in 1834. In 1835 he submitted his famous minute to the council. Lord William Bentinck the Governor General of the period approved the minute of Lord Macaulay. In this resolution the following points were emphasized:

²³ Saini S.K., "Development of education in India", page-38.

²⁴ Ibid, page-39.

The great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India.

Funds proposed for education would be employed on English education only.

The Government funds were not to be spent on the printing of oriental work.

Substitution of Western Culture for the Indians and set as the aim of education, the creation of class of Indians who would be Indian in blood and color but English in task, moral, opinion and intellect²⁵.

This declaration of Lord Macaulay gave a definite term to the education policy in India. It was not at all realized that 'If civilization is to be transplanted and raised in a foreign soil, it must be from seed rather than cuttings and in any case not by the importation of full grown products'.²⁶

Thus by 1835, the intellectual ferment among Indians, the promotion of administrative convenience, the Christian missionaries and of liberally inclined individuals among officials and non officials and their popularity of English schools started by them induced the Governor General to approve the main proposal in Macaulay's minute.

Though Bentinck made no choice in favor of European literature but he did not accept the recommendation to abolish the institutions for oriental learning. He continued Government Aid to the Calcutta Madarasa Calcutta and the Banaras .

Lord William Bentinck accepted the arguments advanced by Lord Macaulay. In support to his view he passed the following order in his resolution:

First) His Lordship-in-council is of the opinion that the great object is the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India.

Second) It is not the intention to his Lordship-in-council to abolish any college or school of native learning and the existing professors and students in all institutions under the superintendence of the committee shall continue to receive their stipends.

Third) It has come to the knowledge of the Government-committee on their printing of oriental works. He directs that no portion of this funds will hereafter be so employed.

Fourth) All the funds will be employed in importing to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of English language.

This was the first declaration of the British Government in the sphere of education in India which determined the aim, content and medium of instruction in India. Sir Charles Trevelyan, member of the committee of public instructions, advanced two other reasons for the adoptions of English. He held that the effect of

²⁵ Cited in an unpublished thesis of Shukla, S.C.

²⁶ V.A.Narayan, page-41.

English education would be to enrich the India language to unity them. He hoped that English education would make Indians enthusiastic to supporters of British rule. 'Education in the same way, interested in the same subject, engaged in the same pursuits, they became more Roman than Italians'.

English education which stimulated all round awakening in India, during the 19th Century had been introduced in this country through the efforts of the Christian missionaries and the progressive elements in society. The trading and the service holder classes were the first to show their new English rulers who on the country were least interested in the introduction and promotion of western learning among their Indian subjects.

East India Company was only interested in the profits from its commercial activities in India for developing British industries and economy rather than laying the foundations of an empire. It did not therefore; recognize the promotion of education among the Indians on its territories as a part of its duties. The decision to concentrate on providing western education in English language has made from other motives than economy.



COMMUNALISM IN KANPUR : A HISTORICAL Perspective in first half of 20th century

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Kanpur has been a well known city in the industrial and commercial world of India. It had been also the largest city in U.P. It had assumed a major proverbial importance in the political sphere of communal politics too. Kanpur became the centre and seat of perpetual communal conflicts and flare ups. Two simultaneous movements like the revivalist Arya Samaj and Congress National Movement were gaining significant importance in this city, while Muslim population was working in a contrary direction. The consequences were more than obvious. In 1913, the British destruction of a Mosque, deeply wounded the Muslim religious sentiments which later took the form of communal riots. Kanpur, which had been traditionally known as: vantage ground of religious militancy and Congress nationalist activism, now become the focal point of communal disturbances. During the first world war and after there appears to be some co—operation between the two conflicting parties which lasted for a very short period (1919—1922). Khilafat Congress alliance brought the Hindus and Muslims into closer proximity due to efforts of Mahatma Gandhi & other nationalist leaders. National & local events after 1922, brought the two political tendencies into open conflicts & clashes, On the national front numerous incidents-(including the Mopla rebellion, the murder of Swami Shradhanand, wide spread rioting & the publication of incisive anti-Muslim tract, Rangela Rasul) depend the Hindu-Muslim division

generated an over whelming surge for all India defensive organisations. The fresh communal agitations promoted intensive Congress efforts according to many Muslim leaders (which was mainly a Hindu organisation) to intensify a mass following The Nationalists got ready to launch a massive Civil Disobedience Campaign after the announcement of Simon Commission in 1927.

The whole of Northern India was now in a grip of communal hostility which had slow but dramatic effect on Kanpur politics. Verbal and printed antagonistic attacks were accelerated by the opposing parties and on military footing local groups were organised to meet the new challenges. The City Congress Committee, dominated by Hindu majority used economic pressure & threats to secure Muslim co-operation in large demonstrations. To paralyze local administration they adopted the strategy of closing shops inciting public rage. They succeeded to a large extent as this resulted in a series of hartals traffic snarls in a tramway system by unbroken marches.

¹ The Muslims of the city lost trust in Congress leaders of the town and looked upon them as communalist in spirit & attitude. So the Muslims by large resisted Congress efforts started holding their own meetings and organised separate Muslim marches. The situation took a serious turn when the antagonist moved about the city singing religious songs and abused the morals of their fellow opponents. Contemporary evidence also reveals the fact that militant opponents of either side were drilled and armed in Para military mode. For example, a Muslim procession consisted of 70 boys, dressed in Khaki, with fur caps, holding clubs, led by two officers dressed in military uniform. The officers publicly trained their groups in military groups in military drill and received salutes from trainees observers.

In 1927, a minor communal riot broke out in Kanpur in an incident over a mosque. But this unto ward happening surely did not lead to any severe outbreaks. Early in 1931. There occurred two unrelated incidents which drastically directed the entire situation. During the first months of 1931 riots broke out in some cities of U.P. (Agra, Benaras, and Mirzapur) causing deep tensions further damaging communication between the Hindus the Muslims. What added fuel to fire was the trial execution of Bhagat Singh a Nationalist Hero. Hunger strikes other means of publicity proclaimed Bhagat Singh a hero martyr of the day. Mahatma Gandhi in particular other Congress leaders made eleventh hour efforts but failed to prevent his execution by hanging. On the 23rd of March 1931, Bhagat Singh was ultimately executed.

On that fatal day most of the Congress members were at Karachi attending the Congress session. Those who remained in the city organised

¹ See Appendix-III of History of Congress, B.D. Shukla

a hartal on the following day i.e. the. 24th.² Excited students moved out jeering while drummers marched through streets announcing hartals all over the city. A solemn procession of mourners in the afternoon at 3, paraded the city. But the Muslims - refused to participate & remained quite unconcerned by the events to the extent that they refused to close down their shops. This attitude brought the Hindus & Muslims in open confrontation which ended in murder, rape. This was just the commencement of communal riots which took place during the decade under study. The causes of communal outbreaks highlighted in the preceding paragraph could be well accounted for by a proper & thorough investigation.

During this period Kanpur was the most rapidly advancing city of U.P. So easily most overcrowded as the following quotation reveals— “The Municipality of Kanpur minus Cantonment, had nearly 220,000 people in 1931 (150,000 of them Hindus & a little over 65,000 Muslims) & a population density of 22,000 per square mile, compared with 1300 in Lucknow. Three quarters of the city was covered with slums and in parts its population density was several times greater than the average for the city as a whole.³ In 1918, the average population per acre for the city alone, i.e. minus the Civil Lines and Cantonment, was 57.8, but in areas like butcher Khana Khurd and Coolie Bazar it was high as 532 and 562.⁴

A large part of Kanpur’s vast population was made up of recent immigrants. In 1931, 414 of every 1000 persons counted in the city were born outside the municipality. The ‘unsettled’ nature of much of the population could be gauged from another fact: it had the lowest proportion of women to men among the cities of U.P. 696 to 1000 in 1931. In addition Kanpur attracted what Govt. described as ‘men with reasons to disappear.’⁵ Kanpur also had a considerable number of goondas and badmash in groups which probably abound in all large cities of India such groups have been an auxiliary to the wealthy population and in the time of need have willingly performed any services for money. These groups, in addition were engaged in cocaine smuggling and gambling & willingly rendered other criminal activities. There were about a dozen gangs of these goondas in the city half under Hindu and half under Muslim heads. Each gang roughly contained from 50 to 100 goondas. Thus their total strength some where between 500 to 1000. On occasions, when there was any special need for them, their number was doubled or even quadrupled by importation from Kanpur district or from adjoining districts. What is more interesting to note is that these gangs usually

² AICC file 68, Part II (1931) page 185

³ Report of the Royal Commission of Labour in India. (London. 1931) page 275

⁴ Royal Commission on Labour in India, Evidence, Vol.III, Part I (London, 1931) Page 281.

⁵ Home. Pol. F.No. 215/1931 Pol/Page 8

included both Hindus and Muslims. Although since the beginning of the Snuddhi and Sangatlian movements, there had been a tendency towards separation yet till 1931, there were mixed gangs both under Hindu and Muslim heads. On several occasions during the riots Hindu and Muslim goondds were seen looting the same shop together and protecting each other. It is doubtful, if a single goonda belonging to a regular gang was killed in the riot. Goondas, involved in smuggling and selling cocaine or keeping gambling dens mostly enjoyed immunity from law by sharing their profits with some of the keepers of law and order. The greatest amount of cocaine smuggling was done in the area directly under the city Kotwali and the biggest gambling dens were located within the same jurisdiction.⁶

Kanpur also possessed an unusually large number of prostitutes open and private. They were as at other places, fruitful sources of quarrels, which when the Hindu - Muslim feelings ran high, easily took a communal turn. Some goondds and women of ill .repute established d few bogus widow's homes with the ostensible object of doing social workout really for carrying on their nefarious trade under are expectable mask. Some of them by pretending to save Hinduwomen from the hands of Musalmans made money from unsuspecting Hindus and also intensified the ill-will between the two communities.⁷

REPERCUSSIONS OF WORLD WAR I & NEW ECONOMIC ORDER

Business and industry dominated the economic and political life of the city. First World War provided a considerable stimulus to these activities. The exceptional demand for leather goods during the war brought great prosperity to the Kanpur tanneries. The cotton and woollen industries also expanded rapidly. Hand weaving increased with the decline in imports and the glass industry grew with the officially promoted effort to capture local market from imported Austrian glass and Bangles.⁸ The post war depression in trade and industry and relatively less adverse impact here. In the course of the 1920s, 26 new factories in Kanpur were registered under the Indian Factories Act,⁹ and the high prices and stable conditions of the period helped the men of industry and commerce to further enrich themselves and consolidate their position.

To a large extent those who accumulated wealth were Hindus, though Muslims also had their share in two limited but fairly lucrative fields the leather trade and haberdashery.¹⁰ In the 1930s Hindu firms like Juggilal Kamlapat Singhania expanded rapidly adding to cotton gins, oil and flour mills which they had earlier

⁶ AICC File No. 68, Part II, 1931. page 160

⁷ Ibid. p. 161

⁸ United Provinces Administrative Report, 1921-22, Page 47.

⁹ Census of United Provinces of Agra 6 Oudh, 1931, Part I, Page 142.

¹⁰ Congress Kanpur Enquiry, 1931, Page 178, (AICC File 68 Part II) Robinson, Septaratism among Indian Muslims Page—15.

established by setting up cotton and sugar mills and extending their activities to several other fields.¹¹ But as it happened, even those Muslims who had some place in the commercial and industrial and industrial life of the city proved to have less luck than their Hindu fellow traders. Thus leather trade which had expanded substantially to meet the need of the Armed forces, inevitably slumped after the war. The closing down of several tanneries at the end of the war meant especially severe distress for Muslim (untouchables) workers. Besides this, one of the major factor which accelerated the decline of Muslim upper class was their poor response to the new challenges and opportunities offered by British rule, especially in the economic sphere. One of the fundamental characteristics of the new economy following consolidation of British rule was the tremendous growth of the tertiary sector, what expanded rapidly was not the sphere of production but the sphere of circulation. Handloom weavers was another group that was adversely hit by this new economic order. And this group consisted mainly of Muslims. Market was conquered by the expansion of textile industry. There was a sharp fall in prices due to post war world depression which considerably reduced the purchasing power of the common man particularly of the rural population by the end of 1920s. Now the fate of handloom weavers was in doldrums. Where as the surviving minority of weavers kept afloat by producing atleast 30% of cloth purchased in U.P. Their survival was subjected to very hard conditions as they were at the mercy of money lenders' who were mainly Hindus.

Thus the men and women of all communities were more amenable to political pressures. By and large Muslim groups felt especially deprived. Some of them went to the extent of thinking that a Muslim's loss was a Hindu's gain. These circumstances naturally led to a readier response from the Muslim communities when their leaders called for support of their unfortunate causes. This inevitably led to a more explosive communal out burst at the slightest pretext.

TIME LAG THEORY

The Muslim communalism is often said to be the result of the backwardness of this community and denial of legitimate share of pelf and power. Due to this Muslims could not secure an adequate representation in Government services. Mostly, this was due to lack of education. Wilfred Cantwell Smith defines Muslim communalism as "the nationalist ideology adopted by the emergent and precarious Muslim middle class in its struggle against domination within India by the much more developed Hindu middle class. Thus, the root cause of Muslim antagonism lay in their efforts to rectify their grievances against the Hindus and their backwardness, as well as a lack of participation in all the fresh arena of expanding

¹¹ Bagchi, Private Investment in India, Page 209.

branches of trade and industry. In the context of time lag theory that the percentage of educated Muslims was less in comparison requires a proper re-examination. The data drawn from educational reports and census reports declared that educational progress among the Muslim communities varied from province to province and even between districts within the same province. Amongst the Muslims the Syeds enjoyed the same honour and privilege as are bestowed upon the Brahmans. They were at the crest of Muslim hierarchy and were the custodian of power and wealth. With the Sheikhs, they formed a group of intellectual elites of the Muslim society of that period. Compared with the Ajlafis (lower castes) and arjals (degraded caste), the Sheikhs were definitely far advanced in educational accomplishment.

“In provinces where Muslims were in minority they were not educationally backward. The Muslims were behind advanced Hindu castes such as Brahmans, Prabhuis and Vanis, but were much ahead of intermediate and backward Hindu castes. While the educational development of U.P. was almost fifty years behind Bengal, the U.P. Muslims did not lag behind the Hindus of that province, but had a lead over them in education and held a disproportionate share of government and professional jobs from as early as 1886-7. This was largely the result of the fact that in the United Provinces, the Muslims were mainly an urbanized, non agricultural and professional community.”

In U.P., the Muslims maintained their position in the educational field through out the 1930s. Among the various literate categories, Muslims increased their proportion steadily, until by 1931, they comprised more than 15% of the literate population and more than 22% of that tiny but politically crucial population- the urban English educated class. Kanpur was no exception to it. In Kanpur city the number of Muslim males was 42647 out of total male population of the city i.e. 143,872 (29.64% of that male population of the city). The number of literate Muslim males was 9072 which comes to nearly 21.12% of the total Muslim male population.

Until 1931, it seemed that Muslims in U.P. were mobilizing as a dominant community more rapidly than the Hindus. They were not backward as compared with the Hindus, but they could not hope to overcome their minority status no matter how slowly the overwhelming larger Hindu Majority mobilized itself. Hence arose the demand for separate electorate, reservation of seats amid weightage. Without this Special treatment, Muslims feared they would not be able to maintain their dominant position in the administration, in educational and representative institutions, thus it appears that sociologically the communal movement was of the privileged rather than of the deprived section of Muslim population.

EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION

“The educational expansion was not matched by enlarged economic opportunities. The 1920s were marked by an over all decline in expenditure, on goods and services in the public sector. Drastic measures were adopted to economic expenditure. This meant - fewer construction projects of roads, buildings or drainage contracts for contractors fewer government jobs and teaching posts were now open for a large number of well qualified people.’ There’ was a growing’ rivalry among the educated class for the scores loaves and fishes, which was reflected in the increasing communal bitterness in the legislatures and at the local level, in municipal and district boards. The introduction of separate electorates had encouraged Hindus and Muslims to organise themselves on communal lines. This was reflected in the communal riots occurred in Kanpur in 1927. The hetered and violence in the streets might perhaps have been held in check; had the resentment of schools, colleges, offices and shops not been sharpened by the disappointment and frsutations of the educated classes. Kanpur was a prey, in the inter war years to the tensions generated among the middle class who found that a stagnant economy was thwarting their rising expectation.

IMPACT OF SOCIAL DENOMINATIONAL INSTITUTION

The presence of major social and educational institutions gave Kanpur a significant political status. Some major political and social movements like the Shuddi and Sanghthan movements among the Hindus and the Tabligh 6 the Tanzirn movement among the Muslim, the Mahavirdal and Alighols were constant reminders that Hindus were Hindu and Muslims were mulsim. The Arya Samaj was already active here prior to the foundation of the Congress. it calimed a membership of 977 in Kanpur district at the turn of the Centaury. During the first decade of this century, Arya Samaj established a free night school which was soon converted into a day school and a public library. Some activities of the Samaj came into conflict with groups of Muslims even at that time. Membership of Arya Samaj continued to increase in the decade that followed. In the process of Shudhimovement of 1920s, the Muslims naturally became more and more suspicious of their activities, and what gave it a more serious turn was that the educated Muslims of Kanpur started lending an active support to militant policies, communal and anti—nationalist activities. Among these were the Dayanand Anglo Vedic College, an off shoot of the Arya Samaj and Christ Church College-a Christan missionary institution. The first was particularly notorious of the 13 U.P. men among the 24 accused in the Lahore Conspiracy Case 1929 for instance, eight were ex – students of this institution.

The Government too, played a peculiar role by encouraging the notion then popular amongst the Muslims that they would be endangering their indentity by attending schools where education was secular and non-Islamic. The Hartog

Committee of 1929 was appointed as an auxiliary committee to the Indian statutory commission, emphasised that there should be greater provisions for religious instructions of the Muslims, reserve seats for them as well as facilities for teaching Urdu, for training and employment of Muslim teachers and an adequate representation in educational bodies. The Government aided in establishing and expanding separate and special institutions which largely satisfied Muslim aspirations. The same course was taught here as in other schools but with a little difference. There was provision for Urdu and religious education too was imparted. The curriculum in Madrasas was different—it included the study of Quran (with special features, the Hadis, Islamic history, Arabic language and Literature. It goes without saying that all instructions in the Madrasas were imparted in Urdu language. Through teaching of Urdu and as a medium of instruction it served an important purpose—i.e. of uniting the Muslims from non Urdu speaking areas, Urdu became a powerful instrument in bringing about a cultural unification of Indian Muslims. These Madrasas contributed directly to Urduization of Muslims and brought out a large number of Ulemas. These Ulemas served the cause of promoting Islam and Muslim community but the most important duty undertaken by these ulemas was by imparting religious instructions to Muslim youth.

The Maulvis attached to big mosques in cities not only conducted prayers but also taught the children Quran, life of Muhammad Saheb and the elementary Islamic history and useful sciences. The Maulvis, attached to Mosques were well qualified for the task and they had received special training at theological seminaries. These Makhtabs and madrasas assumed an important place in the Muslim communities, religious and intellectual life.

While it may be argued that the establishment and maintenance of institutions by a community where religious instructions are imparted, falls within the rights of that community alone, the madarsa system had important socio-economic and political implications for Indian Muslim society. A large number of students who could otherwise have been given modern education were drawn into these institutions for economic reasons. The poorer Muslims sent their children to Makhtabs. The Government was responsible for aiding and encouraging these institutions. Moreover by not providing free and compulsory education the Government almost compelled the less privileged class of Muslim children to join these schools. Unfortunately the graduates from these Makhtabs and madrasas were lacking in standard educational qualification. They were unfit to earn their livelihood. All they could do was to become preachers and teachers in these Makhtabs and mosques. Islam for them was the one and the only solution for their social, economic and political problems. In fact they were centres and breeding grounds of Muslim communalism, revivalism and enmity. The teachers and

students in Madrasas and Tibbia Colleges were easily swayed by religious passions and communal propaganda and provided voluntary recruits for political parties for example Jamaiti-Islam.

CONSEQUENCES OF SOCIO RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

“After the suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1922, a general reaction followed. As a result a number of Hindus and Muslims who had joined the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1921, left the Congress. and began to organise communal movement outside. Cawnpore, in this only acted like the rest of India. Shuddhi, Sangthan, Tabligh movements were openly arranged in Cawnpore about the year 1923. A part of the energy and influence developed during the Non Cooperation Movement thus went to ward feeding communal bitterness. Those Congress leaders who did not join the communalistic movements remained indifferent towards the same this gave rise to the impression in the mind of the public, that their silence meant inner sympathy”

Kanpur became the rostrum from where eloquent speeches of the opposing parties were delivered. The Hindus and Muslims inspired their fellow community members to boycott all religious festivals of their rivals. Both communities invited communal leaders from outside to fan the fire of communalism through their speeches in Kanpur. Bands of communal volunteers sprang up on either side. During the Holi celebration new and unheard of Chaukis- were brought out by a section of Hindus, for example depicting the persecution of Haquiat Rai by Muslims. Muslim Maulvis and volunteers on their side began to preach to their co-religionists to boycott the Hindu festivals. Thus all Muslim swangs and Chaukis that for the last 50 years at least been a special feature of the Holi celebration gradually began to disappear. Likewise Muslim boys were given special instructions not to buy Kheel batdshds during Diwali and Hindu boys were asked to asbtain from buying crackers on the occasion of Shabedarat. Thus most of the social links between the two were broken by 1926, when Swami Shradhanand was mercilessly assasiated. By then communal movement became rampant.

Shuddhi activities increased after the death of Swami Shradhanand and Akdil Bhartiya Katha Mandal was started in the beginning of 1927. This body came into existence in sheer disgust against the working of Arya Samaj and Sabha as observed by one of the prominent worker is of this association- the organisers had all got disgusted with the Arya Sa[naj and Hindu Sabha, thinking that these bodies did nothing for Hindu Sangathan” Hindus were organised for defence purposes and many non Hindus were brought into this fold through conversions. At this time Arya Samnaj was engaged in Shuddhi activities. This work was being conducted very rapidly. A solmen announcement of the names who went through shuddhi was made at their meetings of the Katha Mandal. Some of the principal members of this

organisation openly declared that a lot of money too was being spent in bribing the orthodox pandits for conducting the Shuddhi ceremony behalf of the Mandal. Stimulationaly in early 1927, Maula Sharifs, with an almost identical program were busy converting people in the mohallas and streets of Kanpur city. This was quite different from the activities of Mauluds of old days in which Hindus do took part. The Mauluds of recent times were announced by Muslim volunteers dressed in Khaki Uniform - all pointing to the one military oriented method adopted by them. Communal leaders and Maulanas were invited from Delhi and other places to deliver speeches at their meetings. The, main emphasis was on how the Hindus were depriving Muslims from economic benefits and doing harm through Shuddhi. They openly ridiculed Hindu religion and Draupadi's polyandry and Sita's character were decried and many offensive remarks and comments were made in such gatherings. In order to gain first hand knowledge of matter discussed and ridiculed, prominent Hindu members of the Katha Mandal attended these meetings. Thus they devised ways and, means to counter act the activities and aspirations of the Mauluds. This resulted in fiery and enthusiastic speeches by the Hindus also, while conversions of Hindus were dvoidedly carried on by Mauluds who happily announced the names of those who were - converted. Propdanda through insicive speeches, polemical pamphlets,, exciting poems and brodcasting was successfully indulged in by both sides— engendering fanatical feelings amongst the masses. Naturally the consequence of such activities resulted in open outbursts of riots in Kanpur in 1927. Riots, no doubt weres, upressed and some aggressive activities on either side receded leaving bitterness in the hearts of both- Hindus and Muslims. But these suppressed feelings were seeking an expression, which later assumed monstrous and disruptive forms.

After the riots boycott of articles sold by Hindus and Muslims followed. For example, the Hindus boycotted buying from Muslim vegetable vendors, churiwalas, Rangreges and others the Muslims boycotting Hindu cloth merchants, halwdis, tambolis, grocers and others each community arranging for such shop being opened by the members of their r own community. Such d kind of economic boycott prevailed for almost 2 year. They even avoided boarding vehicles belonging to the members of the opposing community. This attitude of general boycott infringed upon the learned professions also. For instance a Muslim lawyer had a Hindu client. This client needed some witness who happened a Hindu. Hence, on their way to the court when the witness learned about his Muslim lawyer, they at once came down from their ekka and went back home. Hence, the local members of the Congress organisation could not look upon such activities and remained aloof.

POLITICAL TURMOIL

The pervading atmosphere had naturally not left the local Congress organization unaffected. The outcome of this was a very strong Congress campaign in Kanpur in 1930. The availability of substantial funds gave the Kanpur Congress a start in the Civil disobedience movement. From the city's student population came recruiting agents, 'Shock troops' and on occasions wild 'enthusiasm. Finally, though the workers did not participate in the movement as a class proletarian elements contributed substantially to swelling the crowds at the public meetings and demonstrations.

By the latter half of 1930, communal sentiments and feelings assumed proportions in Kanpur. Reports speak of harassment by Congress volunteers of buyers and sellers of foreign goods and intoxicants of any kind. The police judged the movement to be more firmly established here than in any other city of U.P. and expressed the fear that Congress Raj might 'swamp the place. The dangerous situation tended to be explosive in Kanpur by open hostility of the leading local Muslims to the Congress. In order to gain control over the Hindu Sabha, respectable citizens of Kanpur like Dr. Murari Lal Rohatgi and other Congress leader had joined the Sabha in 1926. So in the eyes of Muslims Dr. Murari Lal and other Congress members were looked upon as anti-Muslims despite their confession that they had no interest in the objectives of the Hindu Sabha - mainly a communal body. As a matter of fact, the Hindu Congressmen had joined the Sabha to neutralise its disruptive tendencies. But the atmosphere of distrust and friction made the misunderstanding inevitable. The fact is that all those connected with any such organisation as Arya Samaj and Hindu Sabha were bound to be considered anti-Muslim, since these organisations were actively involved in anti-Muslim. Strife over the question of "Music before Mosque" and the right to sacrifice Cows for most of the decade.

There was also a growing feeling among the Muslim politicians of Kanpur in the latter half of the 1920s that municipal affairs were being conducted increasingly on communal lines in a manner unfavorable to minority community. So wide spread was this feeling in 1929, that Murari Lal Rohtagi then President of T.C.C., could not secure a single Muslim Lal in his contest for the Chairmanship of the municipality against Hafiz Halim, wealthy and respected Muslim of the city with no great political standing. The point was driven home further when Dr. Abdul Karim, joint secretary of T.C.C., resigned from his post on the occasion of this contest. In 1928 and 1929, Shaukat Ali and the Tanzeem Committee were active in Kanpur, preaching against the Congress. In 1929, they established a break way Tausih Jamiat-ul-ulema-i-hind, there to counter pro-Congress pronouncements from the Jamiat-ul-ulema-i-hind of Deoband and thus to strengthen their crusade.⁴⁶ The proportion of the Tanzeem movement can be judged from the fact that about 160 Anjumans sprang up in the city. They began to parade daily the city

in batches of twenty and more singing anti national and anti Hindu songs. These Anjumans had each their own volunteers partly in Khaki Uniform and partly with out Uniforms. Each Anjuman was usually connected with a mosque. The number of volunteers gradually ran up to thousands. Their daily demonstrations assumed a threatening aspect and became a menace for the peace of the city. The ostensible object of all these organisations was to persuade Muslims to say their Namaz five times a day. But actually, the unifying force of it was the fear which pervaded the Muslim community that the Hindu community wished to trample down all the sentiments and the interests of the Muslims. Provocative songs against Hindus were a common feature of these processions. The procession is also carried all sorts of arms such as Balla, Karaulies (daggers), Kantas (Axes) etc. Though after a big procession of December, 1930, an order was issued that swords etc. should not be taken out in procession in the city of Kanpur and there was practically no big procession after that. Yet, small mohalla parties continued to parade the city every now and then and some of them in spite of the official order still carried Kantas, Ballams etc., and the authorities took no action.

All this, following hard on the heels of communal propaganda and clashes of the preceding years, affected the Kanpur Muslims at large. "There is no general disposition on the part of Muslims to give up their attitude of aloofness from the (Civil Disobedience) Movement, said a report on the city in May 1930. Muslim shop keepers in Kanpur deeply resented and some times openly opposed Congress picketing of their foreign cloth and liquor shops. Muslim Congressmen trying to make public speeches in the city were 'howled down' while Muslim politicians of communal tinge (communalists) were listened to eagerly. In January, 1931, Muslim leaders refused to cooperate with Congress leaders in organizing a condolence meeting on Muhammad Ali's death and two separate meetings were held. The fairly well attended Muslim meeting presided over by Hasrat Mohani. To condole the death of Motilal Nehru in the following month can not be regarded as a significant gesture pointing in the other direction. For, barring this one instance, the Muslims on the whole abstained from the processions, meetings and above all the massive hartal sponsored by the Congress on this occasion which halted tramway traffic in the city for thirteen hours. When pressed to close their shops, some made references to the reluctance of Hindus to take part in condolence meetings for Mr. Muhammad Ali. Communal animosity had gone far enough already to effect even the politics of public mourning. News of the Gandhi Irwin agreement intensified feelings of fear and frustration amongst the Muslims of Kanpur. The harrowing execution of such national heroes as Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev, in Lahore, made the existing situation explosive. What followed could be well envisaged. A meeting was held on 7th March 1931 in Marwari school mainly attended by students demanded the release of Bhagat

Singh. The petition of mercy on behalf of Bhagat Singh was rejected. Then on 21st of March a procession was taken out with 500 people but later the number swelled up to 1500 according to a govt. report. A partial hartal allowed because the Muslims kept aloof. On many similar occasions Muslims abstained from lending co—operation to the Hindus as it is clear from the communal incidents that took place at Agra and Benaras. Thus the warning signal was sounded for within the past two decades. Kanpur had witnessed two communal riots. On the demolition of part of a mosque Macchi bazar in 1913, a communal riot broke out. Another riot succeeding the first one in Kanpur continued for some two or three days, in 1927. This kept the city in a state of fear and turned oil but the local administration was rather indifferent to those occurrences and took no special measures to keep the situation under control.

COMMUNAL HOLOCAUST OF 1931

On receiving the news of Bhagat Singh's execution on 24th March 1931, Congress messengers immediately announced a hartal. The students in their excitement broke down shop windows and caused damage in offices. The situation was taken under control by police intervention. But again there was friction when Muslims refused to participate in hartal and some Muslim shopkeepers refused to close their shops. This led to an open quarrel when a large crowd assembled there at 2 P.M. Brick-battling and lathi charge followed. Rioting in various parts of the city continued for a few days more. Veteran Congress leader, Gurnish Shanker Vidyarthi was killed in his attempt to pacify the enraged Muslim mob. Paying homage to Gurnish Shanker Vidyarthi, Gandhi ji said, that if I were to die, may God grant me the death in the same way as it was for Gurnish Shanker Vidyarthi. It would not be rewarding to trace the course of events yet it would be of some value to critically analyse the causes and elements contributing to these communal outbreaks. Young men in Kanpur and elsewhere played a leading role in all protest activities against the execution. The others who participated in the events of those days were mainly shopkeepers, vendors, their servants, and servants on various errands and some other groups associated with the markets of Indian cities. When the riots were at their zenith, the industrial labourers were at their work till 6 P.M. on the 24th March. This clearly indicates that they were not directly involved. We find no criminal elements aiding the parties concerned, but it is evident from many sources that they surely did contribute their utmost in feuding the situation as indicated by pamphlet H.P. Dwivedi's, *Kanpur ka katl-i-am-urf Nadirshahi loot* (Kanpur 1931). Rioting spread like wild fire enveloping all streets and mohallas and killing by both Hindus and Muslims was so furious and indiscriminate that it was difficult to distinguish a Muslim from Hindu amongst corpses and injured that were strewn all over. Residential quarters of the respectable dwellers somehow remained outside

the wrath of zealous fighters. These clashes and fighting after the first day's vengeance penetrated into the foul smelling narrow and dark lanes by lanes from Meston Road and its crossing of Halsey Road at Moolganj. And it was in these recesses where gwalas, weavers, bangle sellers, peons, mill workers and unemployed village immigrants dwelled. Such areas like Coolie Bazar, right in the heart of the town were scenes of savage fighting and disturbances. On the second and third day of the riot there was evidence of large number of volunteers arriving from other places to strength then one side or the other.⁵⁹ Thousands moved in the reverse direction fleeing from the city to country side. Others, unable or unwilling to move, remained praying for their own safety and often attacking S killing any one who might endanger it. Anticipating the trains to Pakistan, the ekka from Bengali Mohal was ransacked and its passengers massacred. Rioting engulfed the city proper after its concentration in Moolganj and Meston Road that night and continued for the next two days. It spread as far as Sadar Bazar, Patkapur, Collectorganj, Sisamau and on the borders of Civil Lines, Gwaltoli, Parmat too fell victims to the swords of rioters; By 28th of March, the situation in the town improved according to official reports. But incendiaries spread across the Ganges to neighboring villages from Gwaltoli. The situation however was brought under control and rule of law was firmly established.

INADEQUACY OF GOVT. POLICY

From all quarters of the city following the riots d unanimous complaint was raised against the indifference of police force. It included witness from every class - Europeans, businessman, Hindus, Muslims representatives from Indian Christians, Sikhs, officers of municipal board, British Secretary of U.I.C.C (who is also in administrative in charge of the fire bridge). Indian official and army officers. Some police authorities went to the extent of sarcastically dismissing those who sought assistance and protection with the lords - Go and ask Gandhi for help.” Kanpur businessman, who was a Congressman, also, openly said that the police denied them all aid and protection specially to emphasize the fact that no one safeguards his life and property without police protection. He said that the authorities did not take immediate steps to quell the riots ‘because they were displeased with the businessmen for helping the Congress activity and they wanted to show that without the help of the authorities they cannot protect their lives and properties. A meeting of Hindu, merchants as well as the Congress Committee enquiring into the occurrences did the entire responsibility for the riots at the doors of the local administration.

The Kanpur District Magistrate also was found guilty by the U.P. Govt.'s Commission of Enquiry. His hasty with drawl from Meston Road, not far from Machchli Bazar mosque and the Tele temple which stood facing each other-was

questioned because this area was within the availability of police force. This very place was the centre of rioting earlier in 1913 as the report of the commission discovered. It was the news of the burning of the temple and mosque that caused the sudden fury of passion which swept the riot out of control and carried it with unprecedented speed out into life farthest quarters of the city.' It was the opinion of the members of the Enquiry Commission that the magistrate could in all possibility have saved both from being burnt, had he acted some what differently. This was obviously the case of negligence by the man on duty. Owen and Darwin, the District officers of Banaras and Agra were applauded for their laudable services during riots. Both, Hindu and Muslim nationalist Organizations were of the opinion that during the riots of mid 1920s, Government displayed a peculiar reluctance to interfere in curbing the clashes between Hindus and Muslims.

And in view of the dimensions attained by the Kanpur riots of 1931 and its deleterious effects it is also important to note that, while the District Magistrate left the disturbed area in fear before 4 p.m. on 24th March, troops (stationed nearby) were not called in until .5 p.m. and did not reach the scene of rioting until after 6 p.m. Nor was there any evidence during the next two days of Govt. firmness in putting down miscreants or in enforcing orders prohibiting gatherings of more than 5 people. It was acknowledged by the District Magistrate and others that the crowd incited away at the first sight of the military or the police. Yet during the three days from 24th to 26th March, while the riot raged, there was not a single case of firing and the total number of district made was one five and two respectively, excepting the arrests made in one special raid by a Deputy Superintendent and of police in Coloneiganj on 25th March. By contrast in the smaller Kanpur riot of 1927 nearly 250 arrests were made with in first 24 hours to good effect.

OUTCOME OF THE OUT BURST OF 1931-

The direct losses from the riots were severe. The Govt. estimated the number of killed and injured 69- 70 as 290 and 965 respectively. The Congress put it higher at 400 and 1200. In addition the latter reported 500 buildings gutted, including 23 mosques and 37 temples for which alone the damage were worth no less than five lakhs of rupees, the loss of moveable property worth at ledst Rs.20 lakhs by loot and destruction, and a 'general exodus' and the utter dislocation of business and normal life. The mills that closed on 25th March did not begin to reopen until the 29th. It was only then, too, that there was only adamant in the constant shouting at night which had tended to keep up a state of Panic Allah-o-Akbar! Or Din! Din! Din! from the Muslim quarters, Jai Sia Ram! Or Har Har Mahadev' from the Hindus about the city and beyond. The press, -the post the railway's carried the news of Kanpur afield, swiftly and a usual, in exaggerated form. Muslims else where were perceptibly affected by the terror experienced by their Kanpur brethren

or as well as by their sense of isolation and insecurely.’ The arrival of fugitives, some wounded, from Kanpur caused alarm in several places and most local authorities had considerable difficulty in restoring confidence and maintaining the peace. There were reports of further atrocities committed against Muslims in rural area around Kanpur and of a chain reaction of fear and suspicion. Significantly, while on 6th April, 1931, the city of Kanpur was reported quiet (though Hindu bazars had not reopened) panic still prevailed in other parts of the district.

Hafiz Hidayat. B.A., Bar-at-law, CIE, a distinguished lawyer of Kanpur, member and leader of a so called ‘Centre party’ in the provincial legislature, a strong supporter of the Simon Commission and a delegate to the Round Table Conference in London, expressed the typical reactions of the educated Muslims of U.P. at this time. He wrote to a Muslim leader of the Punjab, ‘the butchery committed on the Cawnpore Muslims is unthinkable in the present age. 32 mosques have been destroyed at least 300 Muslims, most of these descriptive old men, women and children have been either massacred or burnt to ashes...; not one Moslem has been left in Mohallas which are predominantly Hindu. The police was most callous. Khan Bahadur Gulam Hussain is the Deputy Superintendent in charge of the city. He refused to give any aid to the Muslims who were marooned. There was no Government settled or unsettled in Cawnpore for 3 or 4 days. The prosecution is being managed by Sirdar Bahadur Kishan Singh (a Sikh) and no Moslem is free from anxiety, he may be arrested at anytime. Hindus are brought off by the Hindu Judge on bails of 10000/- in murder Cases, while bail of 40,000/— is asked from the Moslems so that we dress undergoing the greatest imaginable privations. I do not think the Nawab of Chhattari help you or us much, for in the council, the finance member (a British Official) deals with communal questions. Here was an educated man who had worked closely with the British expressing Toss of fifth in the British ability to protect Muslims and their interest. Only a Muslim, the Nawab of Chhattari, could provide the necessary protection, but he was unfortunately powerless. The note of despair is only too clear. The masses of Muslims in Kanpur and else where, there could be but one lesson in all this: unite and organize to resist Hindu and Congress domination. In Kanpur city itself the effects were to last long. Hindus and Muslims showed greater reluctance than even before to live as neighbors in the same localities.

The repercussions of riots in Kanpur were visible in the reluctance shown by Muslims and Hindus of the same locality to live in mutual trust amicably before. Long after the riot years Hindu clerks and businessmen avoided going through Muslim mohallas on their way to office and vice versa. In a spirit of vengeance both the parties emphasized their sectarian identity date to common sufferings. Muslims celebrated festivals with great enthusiasm than they

displayed in years former to the riots. Teams of Muslim youths in thousands went about shouting the slogans of Allah-no-Akbar.

Kanpur was the only town that recorded serious disturbances during Muharram of May 1931, while in other parts of the province untoward incident were reported. Some reports reveal how Hindu businessmen were threatened and beef and bones were cast into Hindu house and temples. four days prior to the end of Muharram trouble arose over a sign board string across the road outside the office of the Gandhi Seva Samiti in Kanpur. This was treated as an obstruction by the participants of the Muharram procession and developed into serious troubles. There was police firing on this occasion causing the demise of three or four and in injuries to several. According to Sarfaraz a Muslim daily. "All this obduracy over the sign-board dispute in Kanpur was nothing but the displaying of the spirit of Jihad on the part of those whose religious sentiments had always been guided by selfishness and political expediency for otherwise tazias had been taken out for centuries below sign— boards and in front of temples. The reason behind this was simply to strengthen the hands of the ruling class by giving a fillip to Hindu—Muslim antipathy to enable White hall to make a fun of communal discord & to create justification for separate electorate.

Till Chehllum turn the sign —board controversy did not subside. heated arguments and agitations arose amongst the Muslims on the question—whether tazias were to be burned. At this time, 'Young Men's Association' came into existence in Kanpur. This association decided that the Tazia's would not be burned or moved from where they stood. The associates and the Association made arrangements to guard them. The curfew order in Kanpur at the time of the Muharram disturbances remained in force until the chehllum. Restrictive orders under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code were reimposed before the Chehllum. In adopting this policy the British succeeded in killing two birds with one stone communal hostility and strengthening their own hands.

SEQUENCE OF COMMUNAL FLARE UPS

The activities of 1920s were the outcome of communal propaganda and the attitude of non - interference and active aid lent by the Government kept the antagonistic groups well divided as he occurrences of 1920s and 1931 revealed. Communalism seeped to the very grassroots of Muslim politics. The Muslims were over vigilant to take offence when Rathyatra and Ramleela processions were taken out. Music before the mosque was treated as a very grave fault. On such pretexts communal outbreaks became inevitable. For instance, there is a recorded incident when a marriage procession of Raja Babu, was passing through Moulganj on the 10th Feb. 1934, it was attacked by some Muslims. The Muslims asked the processions to stop playing music in front of mosque that was situated there. They refused to stop.

Incidentally, at that time a police inspector named Imtiaz Hussain happened to reach- the spot- and ordered the singers and musicians to stop playing. Without any reserve he supported his co—religionists. The situation took a serious turn for there and then many Muslims spectators gathered and started shouting "Chahe jan be" A Muslim, standing by a betel— seller shop started fighting with a member of the marriage procession. It was only the police band that ceased while others paid no heed to such objections. The flag bearers intervened and made every attempt to prevent further trouble. The mischief makers found sufficient cause to be offended and started pelting stones on the procession. This ended in causing injury to Lala Kotwaleswar, son of the late Lala Ram Charan and Babu Rain Narain son of Lala Har Prasad of Sirki Mohal. While Ldita Prasad Ahir, Bhagwan Din, Puttan and Chottu received minor injuries. Immediately following this incident, shops on both sides of Moulganj were closed and news spread rapidly all over the town- "Chal gai, Chal gai". People became panic stricken and stampede followed. The procession after this moved on without any disturbance on the last two days of Muharram. The agitators and their agitations gained ground and gathered force. On the other hand, Hindi Vartman brought to light threats given by Muslims in this connection. The paper said Cinema halls are being threatened with picketing and letters conveying these threats have been sent to managers and proprietors of these houses. The cinema houses cater not only to the amusement of the Mohammedan population of the city but to a large number of other people who far out number the former. The demand is not only unprecedented in its ludicrousness but it is also uncomplimentary to the Mohammedans who are believed to be a set of amiable persons. No one is compelled to visit these houses and those who do not feel inclined can very well stay away. But why should the grief of some become the grief of all? As however, such demands may lead to a break of the peace and as large processions of Muslim volunteers have become a feature of Moslem festival observance it would be greatly desirable that the district authorities should closely watch the situation in spite of provocation. In the mean while police too arrived. No arrests were made and order restored.

The above incident is a clear evidence of hatred between the two Muslims and the Hindus of that period. Even the police officers could not take a dispassionate view of the situation. They were found guilty of siding their own fellow religionists whether right or wrong. Encouraged by their success, the Muslim agitators took bolder steps. Muslim papers laid pressure on the cinema authorities to suspend all their shows.

COMMUNAL RIOTS DURING CONGRESS MINISTRIES

After the elections of 1937, the situation was clear. In all Hindu constituencies of U.P. Congress gained overwhelming victory - much beyond expectations, while in Muslim constituencies they did not secure any success. These conditions gave rise to special efforts on the part of Muslims to organize mass contact campaign conducted by Muslims alone. For no other was considered capable enough to successfully direct such a campaign. One such was launched by the direction of Mohammad Ashraf - a socialist.⁸⁶ Such activities created lack of trust and doubt in both the parties against the other. A big gulf was created between the Hindus and the Muslims who were moving apart from each other. It seemed nothing could bridge this gap. The natural consequence was that henceforth mass contact program under Muslim leadership were organized. But the social and economic contents of these campaigns were not at all indicative of any positive results. The reward of such attempts could be classed as belated and of no positive value. Another very visible consequence was spurts of riots that broke out in U.P.

The critical remarks made at the political meetings by the leaders of both the communities helped to widen the gulf between Hindus and Muslims. On the occasion of Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant's visit to Kanpur, a meeting of about 50,000 Muslims was held under the president ship of Dr. Abdul Samad, MLA, President of the District Muslim League in the Muslim High School grounds at which a resolution was passed expressing "no confidence in the Congress Ministry of the Province and, affirming the boycott of the functions, connected with the premier's visit. Almost all Muslim shops remained closed." The following resolution was passed at the meeting- "In view of the fact that the present Govt. has totally ignored the claims of genuine Muslim representation on the cabinet and refused to entertain the amendment of the Muslim members ' of the Assemble on ' the constitutional resolution, embodying the safeguards of Muslim rights, the Muslims of Cawnpore do not have any confidence in the present government and consequently they express their inability to participate in any functions relating to reception during the official visit of the Premier to Cawnpore." Several speeches were made criticizing the Congress Ministry and setting forth the Muslim demands. The mover of the resolution said that Muslim did not want to be puppets in the hands of Mahatma Gandhi. Another speaker said the Congress Ministry in United Provinces had created four new posts but not one had gone to a Muslim. Most of the speakers affirmed confidence in Mr. Jinnah who said was the true representative on the Muslims. Pandit Bal Krishna Sharma, President City Congress Committee, issued the following statement to the press: I had so far refrained from saying any thing regarding the communal situation in the city, especially because I do not believe in raising alarms, which disturb the normal life of the city. But recent developments have made it incumbent upon me to utter a word of warning to all those 'whom it may concern."

“Those Muslims who fail to see eye to eye with their nationalist co-religionists have begun to resort to strange methods of political opposition. A regular campaign of hatred, violence and social ostracisms against imitations list Muslims and against Congressmen has been going on for some time, open threats of stabbing, shoe-beating and nose cutting have been uttered at public meetings. These gundas in the community and but encouraged to threaten and harass those stalwart Muslims who think from the communalists

If the situation is allowed to develop unchecked, rioting may break out any moment in the A riot broke out in Kanpur on 6th Feb., 1938, when Minister for communication Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim visited the city. Muslim League decided to boycott the celebrations and called upon the Muslims to observe hartal. When the procession reached Moulganj, the Muslim demonstrators who were shouting slogans “Muslim League Zindabad, Ibrahim Saheb chale jao, Fahim Uddin ka nash ho,” attacked the processionists. The police remained inactive. It was only after twenty minutes of rioting that the situation was put under control.

Besides the callous attitudes of the local police authority, the embittered feelings of both the communities were also one of the reasons for these outrages. Mr. Mohammad Jamey, President City Muslim League, expressed the similar view before the enquiry Commission set up to investigate the affair. He said, In support of my statement that the Congress bore grudge against the Muslim League I would point out to the writings of their President Pt. Bal Krishna Sharma in the papers about strained feelings between the two parties and injuries to cow etc. Another factor, which the above instances throw light upon, is that the mass contact movement started by the Congress made a certain section of Muslims believe that the Congress is trying to destroy Muslim solidarity through this movement. A number of Muslims had been employed to fight their coreligionists by a political party which was predominately Hindu.

Communal feelings had been hardened and the mass of Muslims in Kanpur no longer trusted any Hindu leader or indeed any Muslim leader associated with the Hindu’ Congress. This was reflected in the clashes occurred on 6th Sept. 1938 between the Momin and the Muslim Leaguers resulting in one person being seriously injured and four receiving minor injuries.

The clash was the outcome of the speeches delivered by Momin leaders which were pro-Congress in tone. On the other hand Hindus thought that the preponderance of Muslims in the police force in Kanpur should not continue for a single day more specially in view of the behavior of the Muslim police during the recent communal riots in Kanpur. The Committee of the H.P. Chamber of Commerce, in a letter to the Secretary to the Government suggested that in a preponderating Hindu City like Kanpur, it is most unreasonable that the Muslims should form a majority of the police force. Incorporation of Hindus in the city

police force should be immediately increased in proportion to the Hindu population and also an adequate increase be effected in the police force according to the needs of the city. Raghubar Dayal Bhatt in a letter to Mr. Chindman, dated 18th May 1936, said, the number of Hindus in the police department is so insignificant that it may well be said that minority community having usurped the majority has become all in all. In a word, instead of British rule. Muslim rule is at Cawnpore in the police The Hindus have no voice in this department and their proper rights are trampled down in the broad day light....

The communal acrimony continued to prevail in the city till the end of the decade. Fresh riots broke out in the city on 11th, Feb., 1939 and lasted for four days., Forty two persons were killed and about 200 persons were injured. Though the situation was soon put under control and normal conditions were restored yet no amicable settlement could be brought about. Within four months of this mishap the city once again witnessed the sorry spectacle of communal frenzy and bloodshed. According to a magisterial community issued on 19th June at 1 p.m. the trouble started by brickbat throwing at 7 p.m. on Meston Road on the procession of Shri Jagannath. The police and the magistrate had to fire on three occasions. The procession was escorted from the scenes of disturbance. Houses were searched and arrests were made. The trouble was mainly confined to the area. But there were a few other cases of assault in areas not far away from the main scene of trouble.

Apparently it appears that the cause of this outbreak was traditional the question of music before mosque. But a through investigation reveals that besides this religious cause, gunda; element was also responsible for creating disturbances. The locality (Meston Road and Moulganj) through which the procession was passing a notorious one : It was the very locality in which a fantastic objection had been raised to playing of gramophone in the Kailash Hotel. It was there that the bricks showered. Dr. Jawaharl, speaking in the Legislative Assembly, on July 14, 1939, on the motion for adjournment to discuss the firing by police at Kanpur on 19th July, 1939, expressed the views that the stones were thrown from the house of a prostitute residing in that locality, which took a communal turn. This gave currency to provocative and alarmist reports and further complicated the situation. Muslims went to the extent of saying that the Congress Government wanted to turn Kanpur into Palestine. In of the spreading of the trouble exodus from danger zones by both the communities commenced and many persons left the city by train.

These outbreaks adversely affected the economy of the city. Mr. T.J.C. Acton, Commissioner Allahabad Division, in the course of his review of the administration of the Kanpur Municipality based on the annual report of the Kanpur Municipal Board, for the year ending March 1939, observed; It is evident that the deterioration in revenue has been largely due to the labour strikes in May, June and July 1938 and communal riots in February and March 1939.” 1-lu noticed

that with the exception of collection of terminal tax by the railway from which the receipts increased during the year in question (being unaffected by strikes of communal riots in Cawnpore City) there was a decrease in almost all other sources of income mainly due to communal riots and labour strikes. The labour strike which caused stoppage of mills and the communal riots adversely affected figures of demand as well as collection.

Within nine months, third communal riot occurred in the city over the question of music before mosque. On October 24th, the Ramleela procession started according to the understanding given by the District Magistrate to the Hindu deputation that morning, that the old route and timings would be observed. As settled, the procession started at the usual time and nothing happened till it reached Subzimandi. At about 5.20 p.m. contrary to the usual practice it was stopped by the district authorities near the mosque. The procession protested against this high handed arbitrary action of district magistrate but no head was paid to it. The processionist then squalled on the ground and refused to move. But when as mutually agreed, the procession started at 7.30 p.m. brickbats were thrown at it by the Muslims who had gathered in a lane from where the police suddenly withdrew with the result that general disturbances and disorder ensued. Both the parties tried to give it a communal colour. The working committee of the Hindu Sangh passed a number of resolutions condemning the action of the district magistrate in stopping the Bharatmilap procession near Subzimandi mosque. The working committee considered that the action of the district magistrate was the root cause of the trouble that followed, for if he had acted with a little more patience and tact, he would have avoided the unfortunate consequences. The Sangh alleged that police arrangements at the lane near the mosque leading to Butcherkhana, which is a recurrent source of trouble and from where trouble should have been anticipated as it did occur, were quite inadequate and that even a few constables posted there withdrew immediately before the throwing of brickbats. The Sangh further alleged that had the Muslim gundas not commenced throwing brickbats without any provocation whatever and had not a Muslim in youth fired, as it is reported at the Hindu crowd, no disturbance or disorder would have occurred.

The Muslim Ledge's statement states that the Muslims showed a market spirit of tolerance throughout the whole Ram leela processions despite excitement created by the shouting of slogans. The statement placed the whole blame on the Hindus for the riot and accused the procession of purposely delaying the Bharat Milaap procession in spite of the authorities' efforts to the contrary. It said that the procession reached the Subzimandi mosque at the time of prayer and that the Muslims in spite of shouting of slogans and music remained peaceful which

continued till the time of the Isha prayers. It alleged that when -the Muslims were proceeding to the mosque for prayers brickbat throwing commenced.

Thus the public acts of strike, which contributed so greatly to the growth of feeling of 'separatism and antagonism' between the communities. Were demonstrated till the end of the decade and in 1941. The government of U.P. Felt justified in describing Kanpur as 'the most communal place in the providence . Visiting the city, was met at the station by some 50000 Muslim shouting not only 'Allah-o-Akbar' but also 'Pakistan zindabad' .

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Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India

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Book : Nationalism and Colonialism in Modern India

Author : Bipan Chandra

Published: Orient Longman Limited, New Delhi

The author discusses in detail the twin phenomena of colonialism and nationalism that has loomed large over the historical canvas of modern India. The essays are explorative in manner. Great has been taken effort by the author to discuss the two broad and significant themes namely nationalism and colonialism in modern India. By raising questions the author has critically analyzed and gives a better understanding to the reader about the twin phenomena. The close connection between politics, economics, and ideology between the state structure, government policy and economic goals and its objectives are discussed with clarity. A unique feature of the book is the description of the 'Pressure-Compromise-Pressure Strategy' employed by the British to consolidate power. Probable reasons for the failure of the nationalist movement to counter disruptive colonial forces have been suggested. In effect, Colonialism has been studied as a distinct structure through its different stages.

The author has given a new dimension, as these themes have been dominated by the colonial school of historiography. The social character movement, its origins and stages of development, the nature of social support and popular participation, the tactics and strategies evolved are highlighted. The nature of British colonialism, colonial policies and strategies of economic growth has been examined within the parameters of the colonial structure. The second essay on Reinterpretation of Nineteenth Century Indian Economic History examines the views of the writer Morris D.Morris. Reinterpreting this period that spanned 150 years, the book provides an alternative framework for the study of modern Indian history.

The third essay, British and Indian Ideas on Indian Economic Development 1858-1905, brings out the fact in the second half of the nineteenth century which was the heyday of British economic expansion and exploitation in India. The effort to make Indian economy complementary to British economy is also focused. India was made into a colonial economy and it was in this period British imperialism matured too. The nationalists believed that India was extremely poor, and was growing poorer and lagging behind in economic development and expected radically different economic remedies. The Indians saw it as transition from traditional or feudal pattern of backwardness to colonial backwardness especially in the fields of trade and transport, using India merely as a raw material producing and processing country catering to the needs of the British. The British recognized India's rapid economic change and they saw the current economic transformation as modernization. We also come across the concept 'development of resources' in a nutshell. The nationalist writers have dealt with the contemporary colonial theories of development and took the first step towards an overall view of colonialism.

The text is largely based on the author's research on nationalism and colonialism in India and also draws from the works of eminent historians of the period. Challenging and revising colonial and nationalist interpretations of history, this book moves away from a largely political narrative to a social, economic and religious **history of modern India**. It explains how conditions in India during the eighteenth century helped the British East India Company to establish its rule in India. It also gives us important insights into the primary aim of colonial rule which was the economic exploitation of India through trade and investment. The topics are arranged thematically in order to reveal the various forces that went into the making of independent India. However, in the entire arrangement of themes, the chronology of the period is enmeshed innovatively with the various forces that evolved both as a cause and effect of British imperialist rule of the subcontinent.

The fourth chapter deals with the Elements of Continuity and change in the Early Nationalist Activity. It has been generally assumed that the Indian

national movement underwent a basic mutation in 1905 and possibly a second one in 1919 and the author has perfectly divided it into three distinct stages or periods. The extent and character of the continuity and change in the Indian national movement has been traced effectively. Challenging and revising colonial and nationalist interpretations of history, this book moves away from a largely political narrative to a social, economic and religious **history of modern India**.

The fifth chapter, throws light on "The Indian Capitalist class and Imperialism before 1947". The relations between the Indian capitalist class and imperialism evolved during the period of the development of a powerful struggle against imperialism in India. The book gives a clear picture that this struggle was basically a reflection of the contradiction between imperialism and the Indian people, of whom the bourgeoisie was the important segment of the society. The book highlights that the Indian capitalist class for its economic existence did not depend on foreign capital. Not being so "tied up", thus it did not become an ally of British rule in India. The author emphasizes that in the modern era self-sustained economic growth and the democracy require not a national liberation struggle against imperialism but a struggle against capital itself.

The book also gives clear insight into Modern India and Imperialism. It explains how conditions in India during the eighteenth century helped the British East India Company and establish its rule in India. It also gives us important insights into the primary aim of colonial rule. During the nineteenth century, India served as a major market for British manufactures, especially in cotton textiles, iron and steel products and other railway stores. India's status was merely an important supplier of food stuffs and raw materials to Britain. According to the author India was "the brightest jewel in the British Empire" It also enabled the British ruling classes to keep their political power intact. The pride and glory of the slogan "Sun never sets British Empire" was challenged by the Indian nationalist and the national movements. The book never fails to convey its reader that the revolutionary terrorists succeeded in arriving at basic elements of a socialist understanding of society, the state, nationalism, imperialism and revolution. Further, deeper understanding can be acquired from a knowledge of the development of revolutionary theory in practice. All the time, the revolutionary terrorists have maintained their revolutionary consciousness.

The chapter Indian National Movement and the Communal Problem deals with the strength of the nation 'Unity' from the top to the weaknesses like the 'communal issue'. The author draws the reader's attention that in India, the colonial economy and policy had created a situation in 1930's where its social, economic, and political problems cried out for a simultaneous and radical change-a veritable revolution. Nehru had glimpses of the reality of the situation but failed to take control over it. Unfortunately, he and the left failed to control the total

situation. The situation is still with us in the form of communalism, regional, linguistic and caste riots, Which, in fact led to the partition of the land into two in 1947. The book conveys that the partition of 1947 was due to the failure of the Indians people in having failed to develop peasants 'and workers' organizations and a powerful socialist movement. The author's significant expression, "Let history not repeat itself!" is to be noted.

The author in the chapter "Lord Dufferin and the character of the Indian Nationalist Leadership" "never fails to mention the statement of Lord Dufferin from his private correspondence which repeatedly characterized the emerging Indian national leadership as representing "only an infinitesimal section of the people and being a "a microscopic minority". He discovered that the Indian society was horizontally divided between the educated 'Babus' and uneducated masses. The nationalist leaders were usually referred to as the Babus class or Babu Agitators, and the uneducated as masses. Lord Dufferin also declares that the British regime was a friend of the Zamindars and the aristocracy and vice versa. Whereas the Babus were driving out the Zamindars and the aristocracy were opposed to the National Congress. But the author describes that the accusation of Dufferin have been formed more out of prejudice and exigencies of an imperialistic administration.

The book has also touched the Marxist -Leninist emphasis on the role of the bourgeoisie and the masses. It says that in assessing the degree of revolutionary or reactionary role of the bourgeoisie the communists tended to neglect their own revolutionary role of awakening and organizing the workers and peasants in the context of the bourgeois democratic national liberation. The book has highlighted the Agrarian class structure in the post-colonial period. And it has also touched the Peasantry and National Integration before and after 1947.

The text is largely based on the author's research on nationalism and colonialism in India and also draws from the works of eminent historians of the period. The topics are arranged thematically in order to bring to light the various forces that went into the making of independent India. However, in the entire arrangement of themes, the chronology of the period is enmeshed innovatively with the various forces that evolved both as a cause and effect of British imperialist rule of the subcontinent. The book covers many issues which might not have been covered in other historical books of the time.

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History, Legacy and diplomacy: india & Portugal in the Age of global Politics

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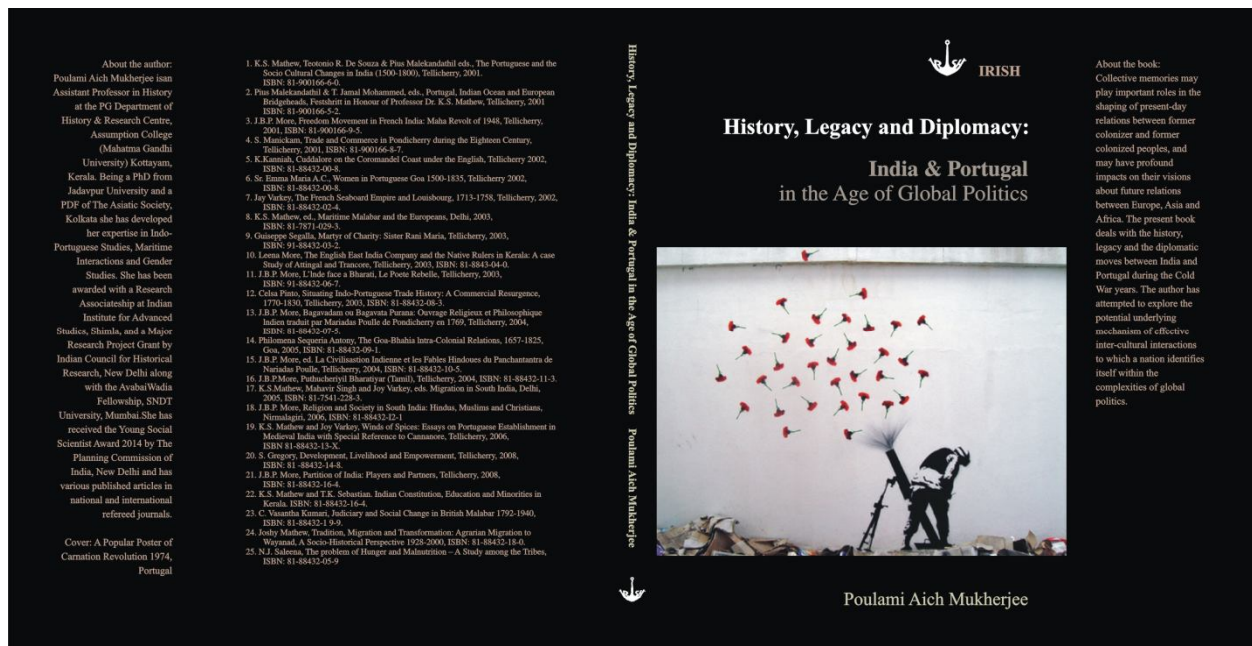
Title of Book : *History, Legacy and Diplomacy:
India & Portugal in the Age of Global Politics*
Author : Poulami Aich Mukherjee
Publisher : IRISH, Tellicherry, 2015,
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Portugal was the first nation to give the knowledge of the legendary countries of the Orient to Europe. It is really interesting to know about the various branches of Portuguese literature concerning India, its peoples, customs, ethnology and its religion. The Discovery of Vasco de Gama was not merely the result of a fortunate adventure. It was preceded by daring attempts and bold discoveries of the African coasts and by the wresting of its secrets from the Sea of Torments. Present work is an attempt to understand the roots of relationships between India and Portugal and to study how the roots determine the future of the relationship between these two countries for more than five hundred long years. The tiny country of Europe crossed the seas and came to India as the representative of a totally different culture and worked as the catalyst of a distinct phase of Indian history.

The remaking of national history is always a comparative process, since the history of every nation includes relationships with others. Each nation's

interpretation of the past determines its positioning in the present and its strategies for the future that define relationships among and within nations in a dynamic process that may balance between stability and change, the definition of new borders or their abolishment. As Halbwachs points out, memory is not an individual phenomenon but a social one. People can only remember things that are mediated by communication in their respective social groups and that they can accommodate in their existing social frames of reference. There is a constant interplay between social identity and the social representations of history. The author here attempted to bridge the gap of ‘chronology’ and to create a timeline of Indo-Portuguese interaction through historical legacy, diplomacy and building up a heritage of international ties in the age globalization.

The author argues that collective memories may play important roles in the shaping of present-day relations between former colonizer and former colonized peoples, and may have profound impacts on their visions about future relations between Europe, Asia and Africa. She also points out that the policy of world-interaction of a country is determined by the times in which it is conducted. It is also influenced by its history and its geographical position. The recent past, colours a country’s collective sub-consciousness. Where you are on the map makes a great deal of difference in interacting with the world just as your own view of your position in the world does. In other words geopolitics plays an important role in the evolution of the policy of world-interaction of a country.



The present book deals with the history, legacy and the diplomatic moves between India and Portugal during the Cold War years. To be very precise the author has successfully attempted to explore the potential underlying mechanism of effective inter-cultural interactions to which a nation identifies itself within the complexities of global politics with a credibility.

Portugal was long a country of emigration but in recent decades it became a country of immigration. Emigration decreased during the 1970s, and the independence of the former African colonies resulted in the arrival of returnees, asylum seekers and migrants . The construction boom and the opening the labor market attracted new and varied migration flows that set off a new and complex population context. In the last three decades migration legislation changed. The 1970s marked the turning point, and it was after the revolution of April 1974 that the country's democratization and decolonization led to an increase of the foreign population in Portugal, thickened by the return of expat Portuguese citizens in the former Portuguese African colonies. Hindu communities residing in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) have been studied from various angles. Susana Bastos was the first author to draw attention to Hindus in the Portuguese context and her work is indispensable for those who wish to understand Hindu families in Portugal. One of the greatest contributions by Bastos is the acknowledgment of the ambivalence involved in identity and sense of belonging amongst Hindu-Gujaratis concerning their host society. This aspect opened a post-colonial debate, since relations with Portuguese society has some links with what happened during Portuguese colonial rule. Malheiros, was the first scholar who drew attention to migration flows from South Asia to Lisbon: where they live, where they came from and what motives led to migration are some of the aspects analysed . The author begins with a numerical account. In 1991 Indians from Mozambique represented three percent of all migration groups in Portugal, as against 0.5 percent of Indians and 0.3 percent of Pakistanis. The author also flagged up the main difficulties that researchers who plan to study South Asian communities in Portugal would encounter. Many South Asians in Portugal have Portuguese identity ,therefore making it difficult to know for certain the number of individuals that compose these populations. But in the Portuguese census, Hinduism is not classified appearing under the category of "other religions." Therefore, statistically, it is difficult to distinguish Hindus from other Mozambican migrants. There is also a third difficulty in finding a global number regarding Hindu-Gujaratis in Portugal, due to a high level of mobility: an unaccounted number of Hindu-Gujaratis in the diaspora live in more than one country in a single calendar year.

The book deals with tradition of Indian migration to Portugal is linked to this country's colonial past. Relations with the provinces of India (Goa, Daman

and Diu) colonized by Portugal and Africa – with particular focus on Mozambique and Angola, where these communities were established – favoured the establishment of Indian communities of from the late 1970s.

Indian immigrants and their descendants are divided into five major groups that include four religions: Hinduism, Ismaili Islam, Catholicism and Sikhism. Mostly dedicated to trade, the Indian population has been able to find creative strategies that contribute to its commercial success. However, the economic crisis that Portugal is presently living, has led to the departure of many Indians to the UK, but also a return to Mozambique, carried out particularly by specialized professionals. Despite the conservation of their traditional cultural heritages, different groups develop positive integration strategies, especially among the young. Progressive Portuguese immigration policies allow them to take advantage of various social supports, particularly in health, education and housing. The Panjabi group recently established in Portugal is the one that presents major integration difficulties due to the lack of fluency in Portuguese. Thus, Portuguese language training can act as a facilitator for integration into Portuguese society. Indians have a positive image in Portuguese society, despite their social invisibility during the last decades. The increase in religious and cultural associations, as well as the activities performed by them (dance, food, music) help to attract the surrounding society and involve it in their cultural activities. There has been interreligious dialogue both between the different Indian communities, and between these communities and the Portuguese Catholic Church. This has resulted in peaceful coexistence among communities of Indian origin and wider Portuguese society.

Surely the book is the result of hard work of Dr. Poulami A. Mukherjee. I think that the scholars of maritime History shall examine the importance of the book. Price of book is fine as scholars can purchase the reference book. Major concern of the book is reviewing Indo-Portuguese History & Legacy through the mechanisms of Diplomacy.