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Agrarian background of war of independence in Kanpur

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British Kanpur District, a part of rivers Ganga Yamuna Doab lies between 25⁰ 56' and 26⁰58' North latitude and 70⁰31' and 80⁰34' East longitude. It covers the area of 2330.65 miles which varies with alterations in the courses of river Yamuna and Ganga. It slopes gently from North West to south east following the lines of the principal rivers. in shape, it is an irregular quadrilateral. In the north, Ganga separates it from the districts of Unnao and Hardoi and in the south of Yamuna from Bundelkhand districts of Hamirpur and Jalaun. The Ganga and the Yamuna forming the northern and Southern boundaries of the district. These rivers are flanked by high banks. The crests of these, in either case are well above the general level of the interior and consequently, receive but an insignificant proportion of the drainage, apart from that carried down by the few streams that affect a breach in these outer ramparts. It is, therefore difficult for the local farmers to use these rivers as sources of irrigation. When the district was ceded to the East India Company in 1801 AD, roads were few and neglected¹. On 4th July 1803, Fombelle Secretary to the Government of Ceded provinces called upon The Board of Revenue to establish a fund for the construction and repair of roads, bridges and sarayes by a voluntary contribution on the part of the malguzari, of 1% of the 'Jumma', safety proposed without implicating the good faith of the government². This 'road fund' was established at the suggestions of the collectors of Kanpur and Moradabad but the measure was ineffective as the

¹ District Gazetteer Cawnpore, p. 92

² Fort William, dated July 15, 1803, cons. no. 1

maintenance of the roads was in the hands of the landowners who failed to perform their part because the estates were changing hands rapidly. In 1832, the construction and repair of the GT Road was started and completed some years later. At the first regular settlement 1840 to 1842 a Road Cess was levied and a district committee was formed for the maintenance of the roads. This measure proved effective and resulted in the repair of 500 miles of serviceable roads including the construction of the new ones and of bridges at an annual cost of rupees 28000 in 1846.

The major portion of the district was in hands of Bangash Nawab of Farrukhabad from 1738 to 1754 AD³. For some years, then, it was in the possession of Marathas who give it back to the Nawab of Farrukhabad in 1762 but in 1771 again took it away from him. Soon afterwards Nawab Shuja Ud Daula of Awadh expelled them and for the remaining quarter of the century that district form part of the Kingdom of Awadh. The British made their appearance in the district in 1773 when the British Force stationed at Bilgram for the service of the Nawab of Awadh was transferred to Kanpur. The district came into the direct possession of the East India Company on November 10, 1801, under the treaty between the Nawab Saadat Ali Khan and Marquis Wellesly⁴, as a part of the district ceded to them in commutation of subsidy for the additional troops to be provided by the East India company for the security and in lieu of the Banaras and Farrukhabad pensions. The Treaty was an example of the imperialistic policy of East India Company.

Midway during the currency of fifth settlement of the district Kanpur occurred that great upheaval against British rule in India which is variously described as the 'sepoy mutiny' and the 'first world war of independence'. Apart from the fact that is brought to the fore the Grievances of The Princes and soldiers, it is an important landmark in the revenue history of India, including the district of Kanpur. During the uprising, there was a complete suspension of the administration and the roots of British authority were badly shaken. It was by no means a sudden outburst, its roots lay deep, interalia, the revenue system of those times and it produced important changes in the policy of the British towards landlords and tenants alike. British rule in the district has proved disastrous for the people. Soon after the Cession, the district was visited by a severe famine and even at the time of the draught, the British collector Richardson continued to realise the revenue demand. the remissions granted by the government

³ Mofussil Records 1821 to 1829 AD, Series I, report dated July 1, 1825

⁴ Aitcheson, C. U., A Collection of treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. II, p. 126

did not reach the proprietors. The Ryots or proprietors did not get any relief as the amount was misappropriated in the way by the tahsildars. Not only this, but forged balances were shown against the proprietors and the large scale transfers occurred in which Indian revenue officials were the main gainers. It has also been stated the British officials, even members Board of Revenue could be held responsible for these forged transfers because they had full knowledge of these nefarious activities of the local officials and did nothing to check them. The remedy for the evil regulation one of 1821 also prove to a large extent fruitless, naturally old proprietors were bitterly discontented. Blind enforcement of Western notions of property and the Western legal system had also damaged the agricultural classes. Prior to the introduction of British rule, land was not the salable property of individuals. The British made it so by putting on sale the estates of defaulting landlords. Proprietary titles, in these auctions, were conferred without any enquiry into the customs and traditions of the land. For example, *lambardars* that were not proprietors of the *mahals* for which they paid land revenue to the government but one of the several proprietors as a preservative of theirs to deal on their behalf with the Government of the day. But the British system conferred full preparatory titles of the whole of the estates on them without any consideration for the claims of the other co-owners. The result was that these representatives look advantage for the position, deceiving their co sharers, began to deal with a part or whole of their *Mahal* as private property. The British, even after knowing the state of affairs, did nothing to undo the wrong done to the *pattidars* and *Bhaiyachara* proprietors. *Pattidari* tenure, which was predominant in the district, was in this way practically destroyed. That state of affairs at created much dissatisfaction in the proprietary bodies of the district and occasionally caused even bloodshed. Jails were filled with the turbulent proprietors whose only fault was to defend their rights to their land even by force. moreover since the formation of the first triennial settlement, the district was a victim of systematic over assessment. High assessments had led to expensive transfers in which the moneyed class, especially *Brahmins* money lenders were the main gainers. This class advanced loans to *Jamidars* and tenants alike to pay off their revenue or rent. When the debtor was asked to repay the debt, the usually reply was. "I cannot now pay him his due, if there should be an excess, it may be carried to my credit, but if the plaintiff will not agree with this, he may take my cattle and goods and confine me for, I cannot now pay or even raise the money." Thus condition since the introduction of British rule, were heading towards tumultuous outburst. As early as 1804, John Strachey, judge and Magistrate of Kanpur, writing to the Secretary to the Government, Ceded Provinces,

warned on January 24, 1804, “another circumstances I beg leave to advance, which is the peace and quiet of the district entrusted to me and although I have satisfaction of conceiving that at this present Period there is no District under the British government in different *Soobah* more quiet and orderly than this..... but it rigid and severe requisition of the revenue is made, disturbances Though i trust they will not, many arise notwithstanding that no exertion on my part shall be wanted to prevent them,” but little in fact, was done to improve condition them as late as 1840, When the mutiny broke out, therefore the dissatisfied proprietors threw their lot with the Rebels⁵.

To come back to the point of transfers, it is necessary to point out that the result of large-scale transfers was a rapid increase in rent rates as the newcomers had hardly any sympathy for their Ryots. Naturally, the condition of cultivating classes Deteriorated with this paying capacity of proprietors was also reduced. As the ancient proprietary body was composed mostly of *Thakurs*, their condition had become especially precarious because this feudal class had a proud way of living which was not possible under the changed circumstances. The *Thakurs* were reduced to the state of abject poverty when they lost their proprietary positions because they were an accustomed to, or rather unfit for trade and Commerce and the proud traditions of their caste prohibited them from even handling the plough. In this way, this class suffered most and we see them shortly afterwards playing an active role against the British during the ‘*mutiny*’.

The old proprietors of the land have much influence with their *ryots* because in hard times they had shown consideration for them and made concessions to the tenants. This was realized by F. N. Wright and he expressed the feelings of regret on the point in his final settlement report 1878. Naturally, therefore, when due to circumstances old proprietary body rebelled against British, the tenantry also stood with their old Masters in the forefront. The new moneyed class which was replacing the old proprietary body had no sympathy for the cultivating body. H.H. Grethed, the collector of Kanpur forwarding the revenue administration report 1851 to 1852 of the district to the Commissioner on July 31st, 1852 observed that there was “increase in the number of that *Dustucks* and summary suits for rent and revenue which show there was not the same ease’. In the early years, due to the low level of prices and cunning of the grain traders, the *ryot* could not get a proper return of the labour under the precarious conditions. Writing to the Commissioner on July10, 1851, the collector of the district observed that ‘the prices of grain and other agricultural produce has been very

⁵ Letter no. 17, Foreign Secret Proceedings, National Achieves of India, New Delhi

low throughout the year, as was to be expected, after such very favourable Seasons. The common complaint of the cultivators was that the grain was so abundant that they were unable to procure remunerative prices and there is no doubt that the markets were so glutted just at harvest time when the cultivators were obliged to sell their corn to raise money but *baniyas*..... could command the market and fix the own price.

The settlement which was in currency at the time of outbreak was formed by Rose in 1841. Then revenue policy of the government was antifeudal, in its execution. The *Raja* of *Shivrajpur* and the *Jagirdar* of *Sikandra* were reduced to the powerless position. At *Shivrajpur*, the *muqaddams* were recognised on proprietors of their possessions. As has been noted previously, soon after the *Raja* began to harrass the *muqaddams* by executing his unsatisfied decrees against them. This did double damage. Firstly the *Raja* eventually stood out against the British. Secondly the execution of unsatisfied decrees against the *muqaddams* affected the position of the class adversely, which lead to mass dissatisfaction during the 'mutiny'. We find the certified *Raja* actively engaged in trying to wipe off British sovereignty in the district. In *Sikandara* also, the *Gosai talukdar* was reduced to the position of nonentity by the resumption of *Jagir*. Here also, the position of both the *Jagirdars* and the agricultural classes became precarious. As has been stated earlier, it was alleged at the time of presumption of the *Jagir* that due to the high handedness of *Jagirdar*. The agriculturists oppressively hard-pressed but even the settlement of The *Taluka* by William Muir could not bring any noticeable prosperity to them. And in the way, here also the result was the same dissatisfaction of the *Jagirdar* and the agricultural classes. They fall they felt that the new rule had brought no relief to them. We find *Raja Bhau* of *Sikandara* working activity against the British during the conflagration. With *Madho Singh*, the *kanungo* of *Bhognipur*, he crossed the Yamuna from *Bundelkhand* attacked the *thana* and the *Tehsil*, killing the *Thanedar* and 12 *barkandaazs* resulting into The fall of *Mangalpur tehsil*.

Further the old landlords had been promised, after the Cession, a permanent settlement of revenue after 10 years but after the expiry of the prescribed period no such measure was introduced. The idea of permanent settlement was still not given up all together but as has been stated earlier, the idea was the letter on abandoned and at last regulation 9 of 1833 was passed under which long-term settlements were to be made thenceforwards. This was a definite breach of promise by the early British administrators even though it may be justified to some extent.

Under such circumstances, the landlords of the district were highly discontented. Unlike the counterparts of other part of India, they were not content to be silent sufferers. The hostile *Rajput* ex proprietors was bound to raise their voice against the British, who had reduced their status from masters of the land to the ordinary cultivators. When they found no remedy for the frauds and oppression, the broken promises and the loss of their owner and prosperity, they did not hesitate in taking up arms against the administrators under whom such evils had fallen upon them.

As the district was still predominantly agricultural, everybody even the ordinary soldier was interested in the land and he had a complaint against the Rotten conditions as the Martin rightly remarked that tenures of the land were “irregular, oppressive and pauperizing.....” He further observed, “since every *sepoy* looks forward to the time when he shall retire on his pension to live in his own Cottage under his own fig tree, the question is one in which he has the clear and personal interest.” In this way the dispossessed old feudal landlords mostly *Rajputs* and farmers made a common causes with the *sepoys*. Had this not been the case, No outbreak would have possibly occurred in the district, but as shown above the situation in the district just preceding the outbreak was very Grave and explosive. It appears that the British authorities had taken no real notice of the deteriorating conditions of the people because they had no direct contact with the people and this was later on realized. The fifth settlement by Rose which was in currency at the time of the disturbances Pressed the agricultural classes from the very beginning. Not to speak of acquainting themselves of the state of affairs the authorities gave even misleading information. Lowther, the Commissioner of Allahabad division, while reporting on his division for the years 1848 & 1849 observed on December 31, 1849 that, “in this district (Kanpur) the result of operations is on the whole very favourable. The demand of the year with exceptions was realised without difficulty not with standing that one time, it was feared that the *kharif* harvest would fail owing to the unreasonable state of the weather up to the middle of July.” But in fact, things were going differently as can be inferred from the following statistics of the district for the year 1850.

sales by order of Court	54	revenue amounting to rupees 13393
sales by private transfer	109	revenue amount into Rupees 1346
number of mortgages	59	

But all this was later realized by the authorities.

British authority in the district was thrown out on 4th June 1857, and the order was not fully restored even up to the December 7, this work achieved only after May 25, 1858, the date of The Fall of *Kalpi* the stronghold of the Rebels though on July 17, 1857; British control over

the city and suburbs was fully established by the December 7, over a large portion of the district. The *Parganas* of *Sikandara* and *Bhognipur* even then under Rebel control. All this shows that the about a year the rebels continued the activities in the district specially in rural areas. This could not be done without support of agricultural population. During the disturbances, the following amount of cash was lost in the *Sadar* and *Mofussil* treasuries

<i>Sadar</i> treasuries	<i>Mofussil</i> treasuries
cash rupees 826 056-13-2	Rupees 509 15-0-4
Value of short net	rupees 4400- 13-6
besides the following items were lost by plunder	
value of opium	rupees 312 9-13-9
promissory notes	rupees to 68000-0-0

The disturbances became so serious due to the participation of the old dispossessed proprietors especially the *Thakurs*, writing about the district of Kanpur to G.F. Edmonstone Secretary to the Government of India, M.H. Count Collector of Allahabad observed on July21, 1857 that “all the old *Jamindars* who had been dispossessed of their estates by cell or otherwise, during the rule of government embraced this opportunity of turning out those who had been appointed in their room as most of the old landlords work *Thakurs* or *rajputs*, a warrior clan, they look a prominent part in the disturbances. The collector of the district J.W. Sherer, stated when the rebellion was fully suppressed that, “the *thakurs* who form a large portion of the community were almost to a man opposed to us and the other castes were at best inactive.” Writing on July20, 1857 about Kanpur to G.F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India, M.H. Count magistrate and collector Allahabad observed that, “the inhabitants of the village outside the city broke The Telegraph posts and cut up the wires and took the wood to their own houses. They destroyed everything in the *chowkies*.” Sherer the then collector of the Kanpur District soon after the suppression of disturbances remarked, “the conduct of the agricultural classes was by no means satisfactory.” The old *Jamindars* could very easily raise an army which shows that the agricultural class had lived with their Masters for generations and when separated from each other by the new proprietary body, they wanted to perish with them. Meer Waris, the *tahsildar* of *Dera Mangalpur* rightly observed that, “the mutiny threw every *mauzah* connected with the *Jilah* into the confusion, the *jamindars* rose up in arms and taking into the services numbers of Armed man began to fight with each other taking revenge for old animosities dispossessing those who had acquired estates, by auction, by sale by mortgage or buy gift and plundering and burning the corn stored up in the principal places.”The areas who suffered most under the British rule (the *parganas* of *Ghatampur* and *Bhognipur*)

were most disturbed during the struggle and to quote from Sherer's letter again, "on the banks of both the rivers especially the *Jamuna* the population generally was more actively hostile than in the interior of the district." The same was the case with the Pargana of Sikandara also which had suffered much under the Gosai jagirdar and during the currency of Muir's settlement made in 1840.

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State of Child Marriages in India

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Problems of major importance for women are linked with marriage. Issues like age at marriage, procedures for contacting and executing marriage, customs of dowry and wealth ...divorce and separation, widowhood and re-marriage are vitally relevant for assessing women's status. All these questions and many more are attached with the validity of marriage. Marriage, whether considered as sacrament or a contract, gives rise to status. It confers a status of husband and wife on parties to the marriage¹, and a status of legitimacy of the children of marriage.² In view of the importance of marriage as a social institution and the benefits accruing there from it is framed by public policy and the law. It has been said, "marriage is an institution which is the foundation of the family and of society, is basic to morality and civilization and therefore, is of vital interest to society and the States. On the secular side marriage as an important institution requires to be regulated by law."³ Lord Westbury emphasized this importance when he observed in *Shaw v. Gould*⁴ that : "marriage is the very foundation of civil society, and no part of the laws and institution of a country can be of more vital

¹ Report of the Committee on the 'Status of Women' in India, 1974, p.62

² Diwan Paras, Hindu Law (1981, p.75

³ Singh Ranvir, 'Women and Compulsory Registration of Hindu Marriage : Need for Uniform Legislation' in "Women, Law and Social Change" ed. By Shamsuddin Shams, A.P.H. New Delhi (1991) p.40

⁴ (1868) L.R.H.L. 55

importance to its subjects.” The regulation of marriage has assumed importance and the State must make efforts to control the social aspects of marriage.

The child marriages are rampant particularly in Northern India, is a well recognized fact and as such, the curse continues to plight the lives of such girls. The child partners of marital bondage are victims of the blind customs and superstitions still persisting in large segments of rural countryside and in certain urban concentrations among the weaker socio-economic groups. When the baby girl is three or four years of age, her marriage is fixed and once marriage is done, the girl will not be allowed to go to school. Her home is the school for the girl. The study course is to respect the elders, know how to cook, look after her brothers, etc. Before girl is sent to her husband’s house her father has to collect a sizable dowry, which symbolically marks the transfer of the burden from one family to another. At the age of 14 or 15, girl child is sent to her husband’s house for child bearing. So the girl child, in real sense, does not become the wife or life partner of her husband, but she becomes a son-producing machine of her in-laws and husband. If she bears a girl, the husband is not satisfied and often she becomes the target of abuse and torture. In case of death of the husband, the girl child-wife becomes a widow and there is no change of her re-marriage. In the State of Rajasthan, the girl child will have to be burnt alive with her husband. The burning of Roop Kunwar is the example of this horrid system. The ‘sati’ she was forced to commit is being projected as a heroic deed to be observed and taken as an example. The gory sight of burning Roop Kunwar was witnessed by so many people with hardly a murmur, hardly a word of objection. This shows the height of fanaticism, conservativeness and male domination in Indian society.⁵

The question arises as to why such marriages take place at all and what could be done to wean the people away from the evil practice. The evil thrives because of illiteracy and many other causes the most important of which is the anxiety of the parents to marry off girls as soon as possible. On the day of ‘Akha Teez’ (Akshaya Tritiya) in Rajasthan, parents who have minor girls, want their own salvation and freedom from anxiety of girls growing up in their families with the attendant risks and problems they visualize. Sometimes social customs and wishes of the community as a whole also prevail upon parents who succumb to pressures for getting their daughters/sons married at a minor age.⁶ The child-wife when she moves to her new home, she

⁵ Benjamin Joseph, “Socio-Religious Status of Girl Child in India” in “Girl Child in India” ed. By

⁶ Joshi Uma, “Child Marriage : Causes and Prevention”, in ‘Social Welfare’, January 2000, Central Social Welfare Board, New Delhi.

may find backbreaking work harming her physically, but if she has already matured into a woman with an individual personality, she undergoes major adjustment problems. Parental anxiety about grown up (14 years and above) daughters going astray unless married off is yet another cause forcing the less educated or illiterate persons to lead their female children to the sacrificial fire well before they attain the ideal age for marriage. The result is that on Akshay Teez thousands of children are married in the most blatant violation of law, which bans this practice.⁷

According to sociologists, early marriage is part of wider practice of female seclusion through their subordination to men and deprivation of equal access to social and material resources which destroy their psyche to think, to question and to act independently. The people in Bihar have a feeling that there is no point in spending huge amount on education of girls. Instead the same may be spent on their marriage. They may not have to give so much dowry because the girl is illiterate. The centuries old tradition of child marriages still continues because of illiteracy, backwardness and poverty. Except for some social organizations, no political party or individual has been able to wage war against this social stigma which contributes in furthering imbalances in the social fabric in the society. Most politicians find shy of touching this sensitive subject as it could cost them very heavily during the elections.⁸

Provisions for Restraint of Child Marriages

To eradicate the evil of child marriage, the Child Marriage Restraint Act was passed in 1929. The object is to eliminate the special evil, which had the potentialities of dangers to the life and health of a female child, who could not withstand the stress and strains of married life and to avoid early deaths of such minor mothers. This Act was passed with a view to restrain the solemnization of child marriage.⁹

Child marriage means a marriage to which either the contracting parties is a child.¹⁰ The penal provisions do not invalidate the fact of marriage nor do the penal provisions apply to a child. Its Section 3 provides that, whoever, being a male above 18 years of age and below 21, contracts a child marriage shall be punished with simple imprisonment, which may extend to 15 days, or with fine or both. Whoever, being male above 21 years of age contracts a child marriage

⁷ Ibid supra note 6

⁸ Hindustan Times, New Delhi dated April 20, 1999.

⁹ Preamble of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929.

¹⁰ Section 2(b)

shall be punished with simple imprisonment, which may extend to three months and shall also be liable to fine.¹¹

In the Indian social set-up a male adult can be imputed greater sense of foreseeability of the consequences of this social evil of child marriage and in this context the punishment prescribed by the law to deter them is too mild in effect specially in this era of social justice when penology has become more reformatory than deterrent.

Whoever, performs, conducts or directs any child marriage shall be punished with simple imprisonment, which may extend to three months and shall also be liable to fine, unless he proves that he had reasons to believe that the marriage was not a child marriage.¹² The liability under this Act is that of the abettors and not as principal offenders and thus, the present law is lukewarm in this regard. Where a minor contracts a child marriage any person having charge of minor, whether as parent or guardian, lawful or unlawful, who does any act to promote the marriage or permits it to be solemnized, shall be punished with simple imprisonment which may extend to three months and shall also be liable to fine provided that no woman shall be punishable with imprisonment.¹³ Minors are incapable of entering into any valid contract and marriage under the Hindu law is not a contract. So the words 'where a minor contracts a child marriage' in section 6(1) ought not to be literally interpreted as per its dictionary meaning but ought to be understood as meaning 'where a child marriage' takes place or where a minor enters into a child marriage.

The child bride or the child bridegroom is a mere passive actor in such a marriage and the active participants are the parents, guardians or the custodian of such children. As the law is not mindful about the active culpability of these persons, this Act has not yielded the desired results. Further, this Act does not take into account the performance of preparatory ceremonies of such marriage like engagements etc. Some provision should be made in this Act to prevent and punish such actions also if they culminate in child marriage. It is noteworthy that a contravention of the provisions of the Act does not render the marriage invalid, as the validity of the marriage is a subject beyond the scope of the Act. A marriage under the Hindu Law by minor male is valid even though the marriage was not brought about on his behalf by the natural or lawful guardian. The marriage under the Hindu law is a sacrament and not a contract. The minority of an individual can operate as a bar to his or her incurring contractual obligations, but it cannot be an impediment in the matter of performing a necessary 'sanskara'. A

¹¹ Section 4

¹² Section 5

¹³ Section 7

minor's marriage without the consent of the guardian can be held to be valid on the application of the doctrine of factum valet.

Section 7 of the Act provides that offences under the Act shall be cognizable for the purpose of investigation and no court other than a Metropolitan or Judicial Magistrate I class can take cognizance of any offence. Section 9 provides that no court can take cognizance of any offence under this Act after the expiry of one year from the date on which the offence is alleged to have been committed. This further dilutes the efficacy of the law. Section 12 empowers the Magistrate to issue injunction prohibiting marriage in contravention of this Act provided the opportunity of hearing is afforded to the concerned person. Disobedience of injunction is punishable with imprisonment upto three months or with fine.

In *Rambabu v. Rajaram*¹⁴ case the property was alienated for defraying the marriage expenses of minor ward, who on attaining majority assailed the alienation as not binding on him as it was not done for legal necessity. The High Court upheld the contention laying down the proposition that since marriage had taken place in the contravention of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, such expenses or repayment of such a debt cannot constitute legal necessity under the Hindu Law. But Allahabad High Court has dissented from this view in *Parasram v. Naraini Devi*.¹⁵ The Court held that Child Marriage Restraint Act only restrains a marriage of minors but does not prohibit the marriage rendering it illegal or invalid.

Under Muslim Law every Muslim who has attained puberty i.e., the age of 15 years, and who possesses a sound mind may enter into a contract of marriage. Under Muslim Law marriage is a civil contract and not a sacrament. So even marriage contracted by a minor is valid and legal. But there is no provision in the Act where Muslims are exempted from the operation of this Act.

There is lone bold and remarkable decision from Andhra Pradesh High Court in the of *Gadela v. Gadera*¹⁶ which laid that a minor's marriage in violation of Hindu Marriage Act shall be void ab initio. In fact this High Court has deviated from all past precedents in this respect. Prof Tai rightly remarks : "For the first time in the history of social reforms in India a religious marriage in violation of the statutory requirement as to the age of the parties has been declared to be null and void".¹⁷ In a recent case of 2017 the Supreme Court has held that matrimonial sex with minor wife is virtual rape. The restrictions of age

¹⁴ AIR 1956 Bom. 250

¹⁵ AIR 1972 All.357.

¹⁶ AIR 1975 A.P. 193

¹⁷ Mahmood Tahir, "Marriage Age in Hindu Law", 2 Ku. L.J. (1976) p.164.

for marriage have legally been disregarded under the Child Marriage Restraint Act as well as under Personal Laws. It is true, legislation lays down the base for social change, but it may be submitted that by merely passing an Act and then allow and watch it being violated can cure nothing but perpetuate the existing situation. The continuance of child marriages specially in rural areas on mass scale with pomp and show, without any fear of being punished under the law, is nothing but a teasing illusion, a mockery of present legal system. One is sure to be critical of a law which lays down minimum age for marriage, but is least serious about its implementation.

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The Growth of Greco-Arabian Medicine in Mughal India

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The first Battle of Panipat mounted Babar on the throne of Delhi and he laid the foundation-stone of Mughal dynasty in India. During this period medical services were well organized and well extended. In the capital and large cities there were regular hospitals with salaried staff. It is noted that Babar was interested in medical art and had a number of expert physicians in his court. One of his nobles, Mir Khalifa, was a great thinker, a good scholar and also a competent physician. Amir-Abul-Baqa was also his physician.

Topmost and well-known physician, who flourished during the age of Babar and his successor Himayu, was Yusuf Bin Md. Bin Yusuf, whose versatile games led him to closely investigate various branches of Medicine. He then collected all the available materials from Indian System of Medicine regarding Hyena, general principles, diseases, diagnosis and treatment and composed memorable work in prose and poetry. Thus, he was the pioneer Persian research scholar who amalgamated the Greco-Arabian and Indian medical thought and produced a composite and integrated medical system. He wrote many

books, most of which have survived of his strictly medical works, the best known are

1. Jami-ul fawaid (collection of benefits) in which there is a discussion of chancre (Generally refers to the initial lesion of syphilis)
2. Fawaid-ul-Akhyar (benefits of the best) in A. D. 1507.
3. His poem on the preservation of health, which is called the Qasida fi Hifz-ul-sihhat, appeared in A. D. 1530 and
4. Riyaz-ul-Adwiya (gardens of remedies) in A. D. 1539, both being dedicated to his patron. Besides these, he composed Tibb-e-Yusufi (medicine of Joseph) and the 'Ilaj-ul-Amraj'¹

During the reign of Humayun no remarkable contribution was made in traditional medicine may be because the ruler had to flee to Persia and had no rest for some time, yet some physicians migrated to India during this period and left their marks in the medical history of India forever. It appears that the surgeons used to perform plastic operations during that period as it is evident from the historical event quoted below :

“In the narration of events of A. D. 1542, it is recorded that at Umarnagar Kaufer was ordered to cut the end of Husyn's ear as a punishment for his treachery (of hiding ingots of pure gold). Kaufer misunderstanding the order cut off the whole ear. On seeing this the king was very angry, sent for a surgeon and had the ear soon on again. The Emperor himself assisted in the operation of Husyan and apologized to the sufferer.”²

Sher Shah had appointed a physician in every guest-house which he established throughout his dominion. After Humayun's death, his illustrious son, Akbar the Great, ascended the throne. He was a great patron of scholars and placed a grand premium on intellectual merit and distinction. Abul Fazl gives a list of 29 physicians (Hindus and Muslims both) who were paid out of the royal treasury, some of them were bestowed *mansab*. During Akbar's period, besides the government hospitals, most of the physicians run clinics of their own, which were always open to the needy without distinction of caste and creed. Professor Shri Ram Sharma states that Kavi Chandra, Vidyaraja, Todarmal and Nila Kantha composed treatises on medicine.

1. Hakim Ali Husain Gilani was undoubtedly the most eminent physician of his time. He wrote a commentary on Avicenna's *Canon* and a treatise on his clinical experiments and tested cures known as *Mujarrabat-e-Aligilani*. Besides his medical works, he also constructed the wonderful reservoir which is often mentioned by Mughal historians.

2. Hakim Humam, one of the nine 'gems' of Akbar's court, was the brother of Abdul Fateh. He was the physician of the King's Harem. He was also a personal friend of Akbar and possessed a great influence. Akbar often said that he did not enjoy his meals during Humam's absence, which was due to his being sent as an ambassador to Teheran.³
3. Hakim Abul Fateh Gilani, who acquired a high and responsible position in Akbar's court within a short time wrote
 - a. *Fattahi (Commentary on Canon)*
 - b. *Qyasiya (Commentary on Akhlaq-e-Nasiri)*
 - c. *Char Bagh and*
 - d. *Sharh Qanooncha.*

A Portuguese youth presented a tobacco-pipe to Akbar and extolled its virtues greatly, Akbar smoked a while but was attacked with a fit of coughing. Hakim Gilani suggested that the smoke of tobacco be first passed through a small receptacle of water and the smoke thus purified, cooled and rendered harmless be then inhaled. The invention of the hubble-bubble was thus perfected by Hakim Gilani (Kausar).

4. Muzaffar bin Muhammad al-Husayni al-Shifai⁴ is probably the best known of the pharmacists of the time of the time of 'Shah Abbas Safari' who composed a pharmacopoeia, which he called after himself Tibb-e-Shifai⁵ (medicine of shifai), which was composed in 1556, besides his other works. Drugs are mentioned in alphabetical order and the arrangement of the subject-matter closely resembles the works of al-Ansari (I Khtiyaral-e-badie). This book is important because it informed the foundation of the Pharmacopoeia a Perciea⁶ ladd from script of Fr. Angelus, the first European to make a study of Persian medicine⁷. It is difficult to say in which period he left Isphahan for and what was his main object behind it, but Abdul-Fazl mentioned his name in the list of physicians of Akbar's court.

When Jahangir ascended the ancestral throne, he issued his famous twelve ordinances, one of which reads as follow :

Hospitals were to be built in large cities and physicians were to be appointed to attend the sick. The expenses were to be paid from the royal treasury.⁸

As we turn over the pages of his Tuzuk, we come across a few descriptions of medical science, such as rabies, rats being the carriers of plague and technique of preparation of rose-scent, etc. with regard to the anatomy of the gallbladder in animals, he states as follows :

“Mirza Rustam had killed a male wolf. He wished to see whether its gall-bladder was in its liver like that of a tiger or outside the liver that of a tiger or outside the liver as in other animals. After examination it was found that the gall-bladder of this animal also happens to be inside the liver.”⁹

The following experiment was made to test the pharmacological action of Momiya (Bitumen). However, he comments in the following manner :

I had much from physicians, but when I tried it, no result was apparent. I do not know whether physicians have exaggerated its effects, or whether its efficacy had been by its being stale. At any rate, I gave it to a fowl with a broken leg to drink in large quantity that they said and in the manner laid down by physicians and rubbed some on the place where it was broken and kept it there for three days, through it was sufficient to keep it from morning till evening. But after I had examined it, no effect was produced and the broken leg remained as it was.¹⁰

The above descriptions show that Jahangir was deeply interested in medicine and had keen sense of observation. The physicians of those days, Ruh-Ullah was the most distinguished Hakim. Even Jahangir wrote about him in Tuzuk as follow : Nurjahan was suffering from a certain disease since long, all the Muslim and Non-Muslim physicians, who were attached to the court, failed to cure her. Then Ruh-Ullah came and treated the queen. She recovered her health completely in a very short time.¹¹

During his period, Hakim Aman-Ullah (son of Mahabat Khan) took an active part in composing medical compilations. He compiled the following books :

1. Ganj Badaward is a copious treasury of simple and compound drugs. The book is an encyclopedia pharmacopoeia which presents the pharmacological techniques, practices and experiences of the Greco-Arabian physicians together with those of the Indian Vaidyas.
2. Ummul-Ilaj covers all the principles and laws governing ‘evacuation’ and ‘maturation’.
3. Dastur-ul-Hind is a Persian translation of the Sanskrit treatise known as Madan Nabad.

Shah Jahan was equally enthusiastic about Medical facilities for the common man. The country was equipped with hospital through the length and breadth of the country. According to the author of *Badshahnama*, Shah Jahan had set up a bit hospital on the northern and the southern corners of the famous Jami Masjid (of Delhi), in which distinguished physicians were posted. The medicine were distributed among the patients without any distinction. It was erected

probably in A. D. 1650 (A. H. 1060). We have found two eminent physicians, who raised the level of medicine during Shahjaha's reign. The Mughal court gave asylum to Persian scientists who fled to India to India during the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Among the famous of these refugees was Hakim Ain-ul-Mulk Shirazi who was the personal physician to Dara Shikoh (son of Shajahan). He was a famous oculist and was well versed in surgery. His best known work is *Alfaz-ul-Adwiya* (the Vocabulary of drugs) which he composed in 1628-29 for Shah Jahan. Elgood states that this is the only Persian work on general therapeutics that has been translated in to English.

His most important work is *Tibb-e-Dara Shikohi*. It deserves further study. A few years ago it was customary to attribute this work to Dara Shikoh's pen. But, apart from the improbability that a royal prince would have sufficient medical knowledge to write such a work, a study of its early Chapters shows that it is to Ain-ul Mulk that the authorship must be assigned. According to leclerc, 'Surgery is scarcely discussed in this work, even cataract, here is treated with drugs. A long chapter on syphilis is of great interest.'¹²

An important feature of the book is that after stating causes and symptom under each disease, the author adds his personal experiences and views.

According to the author of *Bad Shah Namah*, when the emperor (Shah Jahan) came to know the medical ability and popularity of Hakim Mir Muhammad Hashim, he appointed him as the supervisor of the hospital at Ahmadabad. He wrote marginal notes of Hashia of *Tafsir-e-Baizawiy* (which the author dedicated to the emperor) and *Asbab-e-Alamat* of Najib-ul-Din Samarqandi. Aurangzed conferred upon him the rank (Mansab) of 'three thousands' and bestowed upon him the title of *Masih-ul-Zaman Khan Bahadur*.

Hakim Muhammad Dawad Taqarrub Khan was also amongst the eminent physicians of those days. 'Once the king himself suffered from retention of urine. After its treatment he developed the complaint of in continence of Urine and Constipation. A number of physicians treated him. But there was no relief at all. When Hakim Taqarrub Khan began his treatment, he added Shir Khisht in the prescription. The king felt great relief and appointed him to a high rank and made him a commander of five thousands.'¹³

It appears from the historical facts of those days that the surgery was not confined to the class of barbers as it came to be in later times. It may not have been so developed as medicine but we find references to some difficult and interesting operations and cures that they performed. Manucci tells us about the surgeons of Bijapur who cut the skin of the forehead about the eye brows and provided artificial noses to those who had been disfigured by the Mughal soldiers. It can

be safely inferred that the knowledge of plastic surgery had fairly advanced in the field of medical science during the medieval period.

Shah Jahan's reign had an added luster in the person of an illustrious woman physician, Sati-un-Nisa Khanam. She was also a good nurse. If anybody fell ill in the royal place Sati was there to look after him or her. Many hospitals devoted to the service of the sick were established in the capital and the outlying cities during the reign of Aurangzeb. Many wealthy persons had also started hospitals and dispensaries at their own expense. For example, there was a good hospital at Etawah, founded by Nawab Khair-Andesh Khan, a well-experienced physician and a good writer. He composed a book on medical science which is known as *Khair-ul-Tajarib* (the best of the experiences). The author states in the preface of this book as follows :

This poor sinner named as Muhammad Khan and entitled as Khair-Andesh Khan for the sake of the divine recompense founded a hospital in the town of Etawah and appointed several physicians like Abdul Razzaq, Neshpuri, Abdul Majid Ispahani, Mirza Muhammad Ali Bukhari, Muhammad Adil and Muhammad Azam from among the practitioners of Greek system of Medicine and Kanwal Nayn, Sukanand and Nayn Sukh from among the Indian Vaidyas, who are my old friends, so that they might keep in it valuable and easily available medicines of all kinds together with necessary diet and food for the poor patients. They should also keep in it everything else that might be required for the proper treatment and attendance of the patients. The hospital by the irade of God, is working according to my desire.¹⁴

Mention must be made of another physician, Muhammad Akbar Arzani, who left Shiraz for the court of Aurangzeb. He began to write about A. D. 1700 and produced several Persian medical compilations :

1. *Tibb-e-Akbar*.
2. *Mizan-e-Tibb*.
3. *Tibb-e-Nabvi*.
4. *Mufrith-ul-Qulub*. (also known as *Mufarrih-ul-Qulub*)
5. *Qarabadin-e-Qadri*.
6. *Mujarrabat-e-Akbari*.
7. *Hudnd-ul-Amraz* and
8. *Tibb-e-Hindi*.

The last mentioned one specially deals with the drugs of Indian System of medicine. In his *Mufrith-ul-Qulub*, he records his own experiment about an unusual method of treatment adopted by him, to relieve the burning and throbbing sensation of the vesicles of the small pox. Thus he writes as follows :

Muhammad Shukrullah, son of this humble servant, became ill with malignant type of small pox. The eruption had been filled with

discharge, burning was very severe and was extremely restless. I had up to now never advised anyone to incise the vesicles, as it was not the custom in India. So I hesitated to undertake such a procedure. But being compelled by necessity, and in spite of the opposition of the old women, I at last pricked the vesicles of my son with gold needles. And the discharge was drained out of them, immediately relief was felt by the patient. Working slowly and patiently for three pahars (nearly nine hours), I pricked all the vesicles and complete relief was the result of this procedure, I have, since, repeated this technique in several such cases and found it to be entirely satisfactory.¹⁵

The reign of Alamgir is especially noteworthy in respect of composing and compiling of medical books. Most of the standard works on tibb were translated into Persian. This was a highly propitious time for the Unani Medicine. Among the other physicians of this age, Muhammad Mahdi was well versed and experienced. He had shown marvelous skill in the treatment of prince Muhammad Azam and was consequently rewarded with promotion and a title of Hakim-ul-Mulk.

According to R. Faruqi, the two medical books were composed during this period :

1. Tuhfat-ul-Atibba, in which the essence of Avicenna's Canon and its epitome have been versified in an inspiring manner, and,
2. Riyaz-e-Alamgiri, by Hakim Muhammad Raza Shirazi, were dedicated to Alamgir. There are two parts in the book and the second one entitled Riyaz-e-Manazir.

Although the degenerative stage of the Mughal empire had set in after the death of Aurangzeb, yet the Mughal emperors did not turn their face away from the health needs of this common people.

During the reign of Muhammad Shah, there was a big hospital in Delhi of which Hakim Qawam-ul-Din was the director and annual expenses of which was three lakhs of rupees.

Among the physicians of this age Mirza Muhammad Hashim Alawi Khan was an outstanding figure, who was bestowed upon the title of Mutamad-ul-Mulk by Muhammad Shah. Hakim Alawi Khan composed

1. Kitab-ul-Nabat.
2. Jami-ul-Jawami.
3. Khulast-ul-Tajarib.
4. Matab Alwai Khan.
5. Tuhfa-e-Muhammad Shahi.
6. Ahwal-e-Aza-ul-Nafs and
7. Khulasa-e-Qawanin-e-Ilaj.

He achieved a remarkable success by compiling his Jami-ul-Jawami, a masterpiece embodying all the branches of medicine. This

gigantic work, which he could not finish during his life time, was later completed by Muhammad Husain Khan, a member of his family.

During the rule of Ahmad Shah, Hakim Iskandar in Kurnool (South India) wrote a glossary of Syrian and Latin medical terms which had been in use in the west since the Middle Ages up to his time. This work is known as Qarabadin Hakim Iskandar.

In the time of Shah Alam II. Hakim Muhammad Sharif Khan occupied the high position of authority in tibbi circles. This veteran founder of the Sharifi family with his proficient knowledge, experience and clinical sagacity raised the level of Greek System of Medicine. He studied medicine under the guidance and supervision of Hakim 'Abid Sarhandi (who wrote a commentary on Samarqandi's 'Asbad-e-Alamat'), Hakim Achhe Sahib and his respected father Hakim Akmal Khan. The Emperor appointed him as his court physician, granted him a specific Jagir and conferred upon him the title of Ashraf-ul-Hakama. He composed the following medical books :

1. Ilaj-ul-Amra,
2. Talif-e-Sharifi
3. Ujala-e-Nafia
4. Hashia-e-Nafisi
5. Tuhfa-e-Alam Shahi and
6. Sharef Hummiyat-e-Qanoon.

His commentary on the Hummiyat-e-Qanoon and his Ilaj-ul-Amraz are glowing testimony to his acute reasoning. His work is almost the last effort in popularizing the Unani drugs in India and finding equivalent suitable Hindi terminology acceptable to the masses.¹⁶

The name of Hakim Shifai Khan Arshad, an eminent physician of Oudh who is considered to be a contemporary of Sharif Khan, needs to be mentioned here. The full details about his life and work are still obscure. The recent researches (of Hakim Kausar Chandpuri) have confirmed that he wrote a medical book known as Shifa-ul-Jamil, which has already been referred to by the author of I Ksir-e-Azam . In his early life he was appointed in the court of Abdul Sattar Khan, son of Sadar Khan bin Habib Khan Kamal Ziyae. After the latter's death, he was posted in the court of Asaf-ul-Daula of Lucknow, and he remained there till his death in A. D. 1814. (Hakim Sharif Khan expired in A. D. 1807)

In the field of medical researches in India, his greatest contribution in the prescription of Khamirs'I Abresham,¹⁷ (Hakim Arshad Wala)

The modern research made by Hamdard laboratories proved that the said Khamira is specifically a cordial tonic which acts on myocardium. It restores and controls the cordial functions by

regulating and balancing the systolic and diastolic movements of the heart. It regulates arrhythmia and as such is of special value in cordial palpitation and its weakness.

In short, the recent experiment support the therapeutic usefulness of this preparation in Greek System of medicine in the treatment of Cordial diseases of arteriosclerotic origin.

A few good books on medicine were also written in the time of Tipu Sultan of Mysore, such as,

1. Mufardat-e-Tibb
2. Bahr-ul-Munafi and
3. Tubfa-e-Muhammadiya.

Unfortunately, these compilations did not enjoy popularity in the field of medical science.

During Asaf Jah's period, there were many distinguished physicians, such as Hakim Abdul Husain Khan, Hakim Muhammad Amin-ul-Ishphahani, and others, who worked meticulously to raise the standard of Greco-Arabian medicine in India. An attempt will be made to throw light upon their works in due course.

➤ **The Relations of Hakims and Vaidyas :**

The above facts lead us to the conclusion that in the working of hospital established during Muslim rule in Medieval India, the Muslim Hakims and Hindu Vaidyas co-operated and work together and Unani and Ayurvedic System were followed simultaneously; no competition, enmity or rivalry were ever seen between these two groups and the people always had delight in deriving the benefits of good health from both system. It is sufficient to prove that in India there were, several kings and Nawabs among Hindus and Muslims but they were free from communal bids especially in the matter of health and ill health. The Muslim kings engaged distinguished and expert Hindu Vaidyas in their staff, such as Alaud-Din Husain Shah of Bengal (A. D. 1493-1519) employed as his personal physician a Hindu Vaidya, Mukunda Dass.¹⁸

➤ **Contribution of Tibb-e-Unani to Indian Medicine :**

But such interchange of ideas and knowledge had seldom been a one way traffic. The Hindus also learnt medicine from the Greeks and the Romans. The reciprocal contribution of Unani Medicine to Indian System of Medicine is stated here. Nearly 400 years ago Bharamisra described several drugs in his Bhava Drakasha. which were borrowed and assimilated from Unani System of medicine. Some of them are as follows :

1. Henbane (Ajuwain Khurasani)
2. China Root (Chob Chini)
3. Rhubarb (Riward Chini) and
4. Opium (Afyun).etc.¹⁹

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Historical Importance of civil Disobedience Movement

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It is the last and most drastic form of non-cooperation. It is an open and deliberate violation of illegitimate laws, regulations, and institutions in a non-violent manner. It comprises of two things, civility and disobedience i.e. it is the disobedience of unlawful things in a civil manner. Gandhi defines it as, “The breach of unmoral statutory enactments”. The term civil disobedience was coined by Henry David Thoreau and its theory was explained in his essay, ‘Duty of Civil Disobedience’. Under civil disobedience, Thoreau used the technique of no-payment of taxes against the slavery of his country. He believed that there will never be a free state until the state recognizes the individual as higher as independent power. He emphasized the need of maximum cooperation when it led towards goodness and non-cooperation when it promotes evil. Gandhi’s contribution lies in the development of civil disobedience as a means of social and political action. He believed that civil disobedience, “a complete, effective and bloodless substitute of armed revolt”, which signifies, “the resister’s out-Lawry in a civil, non-violent manner.

According to Gandhi in civil-disobedience a satyagrahi becomes an ‘outlaw’ and completely ignores the authority of the state but all this is done with without the use of violence. On the other hand, the satyagrahi in doing so is always ready to face suffering on himself and devoted by prepares himself to work and face consequences. In words of Gandhi civil-disobedience ‘is a powerful expression of a soul’s anguish and an eloquent protest against the continuance of the evil regime.

Civil disobedience, like non-cooperation, has been called to be the moral duty for every Indian. It was justified on the basis that obedience to immoral and unjustified laws is in itself illegal. Gandhi used the role of conscience to defend the disobedience of law. He said that civil-disobedience is the natural right of people. One is born innately with the habit to obey the laws but once in conscience the law becomes unbearable or it is against human welfare, the people not only possess the right to disobey the law but it becomes their duty to do so.

In 1946 Gandhi said: A non-violent resolution is not a programme of 'seizure of power'. It is a programme of transformation of relations ending in a peaceful transfer of power.

¹ In the civil disobedience movement a lot of prudence is needed in the selection of the laws to be disobeyed by the satyagrahis. The movement should not be against any moral law and therefore, the selection of the laws to be broken may not be made by individual satyagrahis but by their leader. Discipline holds a paramount importance in civil disobedience. It is necessary to make the movement effective and successful. The movement as advocated by Gandhi may be classified into four categories, defensive and offensive civil disobedience and individual and mass civil disobedience. AICC (All India Congress Committee) defined different aspects of civil disobedience as follow:

Individual Civil Disobedience is a disobedience of orders or laws by a single individual or an ascertained number or group of individuals. Therefore prohibited public meeting where admission is regulated by tickets and to which no unauthorized admission is allowed is an instance of individual civil disobedience, where as a prohibited public meeting to which the general public is admitted without any restriction is an instance of mass civil disobedience. Such civil disobedience is defensive when a prohibited public meeting is held for conducting a normal activity, although it may result in arrest. It would be aggressive if it is held not for any normal activity, but merely for the purpose of courting arrest and imprisonment.² One can find such examples of aggressive as well as mass civil disobedience are the raids on salt depots at Wadala and Dharsana in 1930 by satyagrahis. Thus, Gandhi's this effective method of civil disobedience has been used as a synonym to non-violence throughout the world history. There has been several example of this including the refusal of American colonial merchant to use tax stamps, the Defiance Campaign in South Africa in 1952 against the Apartheid and others to name a few. In India it has been practiced for various objectives. The aim of the movement in Bardoli was to

¹ Gandhi, M.K., Harijan, Feb. 17, 1946, page no.14

² Dhawan, Gopinath, op.cit., page no.272

redress the grievances of the peasants; civil disobedience of 1940-41 was for the freedom of speech in India particularly its important places like Rajkot, Travancore, Jaipur etc. and it was, in fact, for the objective of swaraj. Also the civil disobedience of 1930-34 in India was against the Salt laws.³ The civil disobedience as a method for Satyagraha is a quicker remedy for grievances and therefore needs to be handled with care as it involves a lot of danger. Gandhi said:

“its use must be guarded by all conceivable restrictions. Every possible provision should be made against an out break of violence or general lawlessness. Its area as well as its scope should also be limited to the barest necessity of the case.”

The doctrine of Satyagraha bears enormous power because of its essentially non-violent nature. It is not only morally justified but also finds its expression and proper place in almost all the religions of the world. As a method to fight, the evils of the society it holds a lot of relevance in the modern world. The world today is suffering from the disease of ‘violence’, ‘terrorism’ and racial discrimination and Satyagraha here stands as an eminent, effective, promising and a great political weapon to fight these evils. Based on love, truth and goodwill, it holds a lot of promise for a better future and may lead to a world free from evils where every one would live peace, in harmony and peace. Thus, Satyagraha holds greater significance in the present and the future world as compared to the past and the future world as compared to the past.⁴ It is a form of non-violent revolt against unfair laws of the state. The thought of civil-disobedience is based on the standard that human being is greater to all the social organizations he has created. The individual has a spirit and conscience, whereas the institutions are soulless machines. Therefore, the voice of conscience is a matter of duty for man. According to Gandhi “Civil disobedience is the inherent right of a citizen. He dare not give it up without ceasing to be a man. Civil disobedience is never followed by anarchy. Criminal disobedience can lead to it. Every state puts down criminal disobedience by force. It perishes if it does not.”⁵ It is further described as “the civil resister violates the unjust laws of the state in order to bend the government to the will of the people. It includes hartal (agitation), picketing, peaceful marches, no-tax campaigns, breach of laws and ordinances, courting arrests, boycott of legislative bodies, resignation of titles and non-cooperation with government and so on.”

³ Bondurant, Joan V., op.cit., page no.53

⁴ Ibid., page no.268

⁵ Gandhi, M. K., Young India, 05.01.1922, page no.5

Gandhi distinguishes between forced and will full disobedience of the laws.⁶

When Non-cooperation buckled under in 1922 the agitational links across regions, between local arenas of politics, and between them and an all-India campaign, snapped. Within the context of the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution, the relationship between India's different types of politics settled into a new pattern. Since the 1919 reforms offered substantial power and stature to Indians who would collaborate with the British in the new constitutional structures, the force of much local political awareness and ambition were soon channeled through the new structures in anticipation that they would be fulfilled by the fruits of legislation and influence in the administration. Salt being a very common issue became the point of confrontation. Perhaps it was Salt, which solved many dilemmas of Gandhi after Lahore session. Though it was not a major threat to the British Empire, still it proved very successful in reuniting Indian masses and helped in inculcating true spirit of mass struggle based on Satyagraha principle. This particular Satyagraha movement injected fresh blood and a new ray of hope in achieving India's independence.

The years 1922-28 were for Gandhi a time of stocktaking, during which he was forced by government and his countrymen to reorganize his role in public affairs. The first stage in this course was his two-year spell in jail. His daily routine was similar to that which he laid down for his ashram, though in Yeravda jail near Poona, uninterrupted by the demands of public life, he was able to give six hours a day to reading and four to spinning and carding. He read over 150 books; reading for the first time the whole of the Mahabharata and the six systems of Hindu philosophy in Gujarati, he steeped himself afresh in his Hindu heritage. Reading and the solitary reflection promoted by rhythmic handwork merely conformed his views on religion and politics, as he admitted on his release.⁷ He reemerged from Yeravda with clearer priorities and a stronger conviction that he must track his own path even if he could find no companion to share it. He had become a man with a much surer sense of himself and his potential public role than the fumbling pragmatist of his first years back in India. In February 1924 Gandhi emerged from his forced isolation in jail, convalescent after an emergency appendectomy; he faced a political world noticeably different from the one he had left in 1922 as architect of Non-cooperation. After his let go from jail Gandhi had increasingly

⁶ Satyanarayana, Y. V., Ethics: Theory and Practice, Dorling Kindersley, 2010, page no.38

⁷ CWMG, XXIII, p-196; Young India, 14 June 1928

devoted himself to constructing the social foundations of Swaraj, holding detached from the politics of councils and Congress because his priorities and expertise did not fit or forward the felt needs of Indians concerned with their constitutional relationships with each other and the British, or of the British in their search for Indian allies. Nevertheless in 1928 two episodes thrust Gandhi into the political limelight. The Bardoli Satyagraha and the 1928 Congress session heralded his come back to all-India leadership, though they came to him undesirably. Both were occasions when others in public life calculated that they needed the Mahatma: he responded because he felt he could satisfy those needs with his particular expertise, on terms which were acceptable to him, promising to promote his wider vision of Swaraj.

The campaign against enhancement of the land revenue demand was led by Vallabhbhai Patel in Bardoli, a Gujarat taluka where the locally leading Patidar community was well organized and knowledgeable in disciplined protest under the Congress banner. Had it not been for the Chauri Chaura violence in 1922, Bardoli would have been one of Gandhi's preferred areas for Civil disobedience. The campaign of civil resistance to the tax demand lasted from February to August 1928 and succeeded in its effort to extract from the Bombay government an enquiry into the level of-enhancement.⁸ This success depended on the efficient organization of the district for resistance by Vallabhbhai and a group of prominent Bardoli Patidar, and on the publicity which produced a wave of popular support in Bombay and throughout India for the Bardoli defaulters. This caught the Bombay government at a time when it was vulnerable to local unrest: it also exposed it to pressure from the Government of India with its continental viewpoint. The local government was hindered by the early inaction of the Surat Collector, and the circumstances of the assessment itself. Settlement Commissioner, whose proposal of 29% had in turn been reduced by the Bombay government to 20%, had rejected the initial reassessment of 30% by an inexperienced Indian revenue officer. The Government of India for its part was convinced that the whole settlement issue had been grossly mismanaged. Bardoli was indeed one of Gandhi's Satyagrahas although Vallabhbhai did the main organizational and directive work in the district. Vallabhbhai sent the Bardoli spokesman to secure Gandhi's consent before he himself would lead the campaign, and thereafter Gandhi was constantly behind Vallabhbhai. He stated in Navajivan:" Let it be known to the readers that I have associated myself with the Bardoli Satyagraha from its very beginning. Its leader is Shri Vallabhbhai and he can take me to Bardoli whenever he needs

⁸ Desai Mahadev, *The Story of Bardoli*, (1929), Ahmedabad, 1957

me. He does all the work whether small or big on his own responsibility. I do not go to attend the meetings etc., but this is an understanding reached between him and me before the struggle began. My health does not permit me to carry on all kinds of activities". Gandhi's surviving letters to Vallabhbhai confirm the importance of Gandhi's advisory role; so does the shuttle service between Bardoli and Sabarmati maintained by Mahadev Desai as Gandhi's private secretary. Finally at the beginning of August he went to Bardoli at Vallabhbhai's request in preparation for the latter's expected arrest. Apart from these personal interventions Gandhi's main assistance in the Bardoli campaign took the shape of continuous publicity, encouragement and instructions in the columns of *Young India* and *Navajivan*; while some of his hand-picked workers from Sabarmati such as Desai went to help Vallabhbhai on the spot. Gandhi's press articles on Bardoli indicate why he was prepared to accept the burden of leadership on this particular issue. For him it was not just a local Satyagraha for the redress of a particular grievance, such as he had conducted in Champaran in 1917. It was a decisive demonstration of the road to Swaraj, just as the Lucknow meeting of the All-Parties Conference had, he believed, opened the way to purely constitutional Swaraj. Right at the start of the struggle he had asserted that although the object of the Satyagraha was specific and local, not the attainment of Swaraj, yet it had 'an indirect bearing on Swaraj. Whatever awakens people to a sense of their wrongs and whatever gives them strength for disciplined and peaceful resistance and habituates them for corporate suffering brings us nearer Swaraj'.⁹ The repercussions of Bardoli on Gandhi's career were far-reaching. It publicized Gandhi and his methods throughout India: the Satyagraha's success in gaining an enquiry helped to offset the memory of Non-cooperation's sputtering end. More important still, Bardoli lifted Gandhi out of the sadness into which he had sunk in 1927 because of ongoing communal tension and the slow progress of khadi. Once more he began to see a role for himself as the leader of a movement, which was non-violent yet rooted in popular support, even if he had failed to switch the majority to non-violence as a creed.

By September 1928 Motilal, as president-elect, was pressing Gandhi to take a fuller part in Congress affairs. Gandhi replied that he did not want to attend the AICC and was even contemplating absence from the Calcutta session. He still felt that what he termed constructive work, not constitution building, was his particular forte, and that India must generate her own strength of mind and power of confrontation. Moreover, he said, recent outbreaks of Hindu-Muslim violence unfitted

⁹ *Navajivan*, 9 September 1928; *Young India* 8 March 1928

him for planning constitutions. Yet a further reason for his unwillingness to go to Calcutta was the type of Swadeshi exhibition that Calcutta was laying on: he regretted the admission into it of mill-made cloth, and the AISA (All India Spinners Association) had decided not to exhibit there. Consequently, he did not want to place himself or his hosts in an embarrassing position by his presence in Calcutta in such circumstances. In mid-October he agreed to 'obey' Motilal's wish that he should go to Calcutta; and subsequent correspondence with B.C.Roy led to the Bengalis modifying the type of exhibition so that Gandhi was able to advise Khadi organizations to exhibit.¹⁰ When Gandhi arrived in Calcutta it was abundantly clear why Motilal had wanted him there. In the months after his election as President, the report, which bore his name and recommended a constitution envisaging Dominion status for India, had been published and discussed at length. Divisions on the subject now gaped within Congress, while pressure from outside the Congress establishment against the report was increasing. Before Congress began, over 50,000 mill labourers occupied the pandal for nearly two hours and passed a resolution in favour of complete independence for India. When Motilal realized the danger that Congress would reject his report, he made it known that he would resign as President if this was the case; and he looked to Gandhi to devise some formula of reconciliation. The Mahatma was peculiarly fitted to perform this function. His immense public repute outside the ranks of the politicians marked him out as a national figure whose conciliation might be acceptable to all parties. Since he had devoted his main efforts to constructive work in the earlier years he was not aligned with either Congress group. However he had reaffirmed his support for the Nehru Report in Young India early in December. The basis of that support was his belief that the report could provide a focus for unanimity, and that unanimity behind the call for Dominion Status, rather than independence, therefore made Dominion status a practical possibility. The assassination of an official in Lahore on 17th December by Bhagat Singh highlighted the depth of feeling among some younger political activists: Gandhi deplored this action and in his press articles there appeared a sense of impending crisis for the creed of non-violence. He must have wondered whether the time was imminent for renewed Satyagraha in order to 'sterilize' the violence visible in public life. At Congress Gandhi's first essay was in the Subjects Committee on 26th December. He moved the resolution adopting the Nehru Report while abiding by the Madras declaration on complete independence, with the provision that if the British did not accept it by 31st December 1930 Congress would restart non-violent

¹⁰ The Hindustan Times, 3 November 1928.

Non-cooperation by advising the country to refuse taxation and every aid to the Government. Two days later in the Subjects Committee Gandhi moved a new resolution of his own drafting which cut the time limit to 31st December 1929. This step was the result of intense private negotiations. Gandhi explained that he favoured the first resolution he had moved, but this one was essential to the national interest because it would hold all parties in Congress together in an acceptable compromise. His resolution was passed by 118 votes to 45. In answer to those who asked whether he would return to leadership of a national movement as in 1920 if they voted for his resolution, Gandhi had said that he would only return if they subjected themselves to his discipline. The session's opportunity for Gandhi and response he made set the seal on his recreation as an all-India political leader which had been in process since the crumple of Non-cooperation. Gandhi's ability and willingness to act as a compromiser provided him with a crucial functional role. His programme, moreover, offered a new way of relating to the government and of extending their conditions with other sections of society. The constructive programme was to be the preparation for a confrontation with the British in which unity and mass contact were essential. Fifteen months elapsed after Calcutta Session before it was clear what Gandhi's compromise resolution in Congress would mean in practice for India's relationship with the British Government. In both Congress and in the country Gandhi's main problems were consistency and control. Only a united and disciplined movement stood a chance of success, whether in the political sense of putting pressure on the Government or in Gandhian terms of achieving true Swaraj. Throughout the period of waiting and preparation for possible civil disobedience Gandhi made it plain that he hoped for a peaceful settlement which would enable India to remain in the Empire. At the end of February when Gandhi and Irwin met at a tea party given by Vithalbhai they talked of missions, diet and communal tension. On the Calcutta Congress Gandhi had, according to Irwin, 'nothing very exciting' to say. Soon after fraternizing with Irwin, Gandhi was in court in Calcutta for burning foreign cloth in a public park. But even at the illegal bonfire he warned his audience that the time for Civil Disobedience had not come. Gandhi constantly reminded those who flocked to hear him or read his papers that Swaraj would not come to them as a gift; it could only be created by working out the triple constructive programme of foreign-cloth boycott through Khadi, temperance (self-control) and the abolition of Untouchability.¹¹ During the months of waiting for the Government Gandhi spent considerable time and energy on trying to reinforce the delicate unity of Congress

¹¹ Young India, 7 March 1929

and to redecorate it as an organization capable of embarking on effective resistance. Although countrywide contact and sympathy were essential to him, he realized that his plans were impracticable unless Congress itself was united and organized. Three Committees had been set up after Calcutta Session, the Foreign Cloth Boycott under himself and Jairamdas, one for prohibition under Rajagopalachariar and one for anti-untouchability work under Jammalal Bajaj; but their work was impossible without an effective countrywide Congress organization, as Gandhi had pointed out in his cloth boycott scheme. He set himself to publicize the inadequacies of the Congress organization and to nudge it into reform. The Congress organization was not the living reality he wanted, and politics still seemed to him light hearted and uncontrollable compared with the hard labour for Swaraj he recommended. There were increasing signs of violence and the resurgence of terrorism, particularly among students; the bombs thrown by Punjabi students in the Assembly in April was but one example. Faction in several regions split Congress and Gandhi was ineffective to intervene in local disputes.

Meanwhile Irwin bent his mind to the problem of conciliation. His aim was not merely to prevent a possibly violent confrontation with Congress, but to attract the active co-operation of educated India's main political association in plans for constitutional reform set in train by the appointment of the Simon Commission. Even before the Calcutta Congress Irwin had been considering a conference between representatives of Parliament, British India and the Princely states, as a means of attracting wide support for whatever reforms emerged, and of neutralizing Indian resentment to the Simon commission. By April 1929, after listening to reports of the similar trend of opinion among liberals and moderate Congressmen, he had connected the conference plan with the idea of a declaration that the aim of British India was Dominion Status. Irwin and his governors had seen prominent Indians in the week before the announcement was due, to pave the way for a cooperative response. From Jinnah and Sapru he gathered that Gandhi and Motilal would respond favourably and agree to go to London. On 26th October he wrote personally to a selection of leaders including Sapru, M.M.Malaviya, Motilal, Vithalbai Patel, Shaft, Jayakar and Purshottamdas Thakurdas-but not Gandhi- announcing the claim of the declaration. M.A.Ansari considered Irwin's statement 'a god sent', and went with Vallabhbai to Meerut to discuss it with Gandhi, whom they found 'less enthusiastic, more cautious, but on the whole, taking a very favourable view of the announcement'.¹² Congress response to the

¹² Ansari M.A to Gandhi, 13 February 1930, Nehru Memorial Museum and library.

imperial proposal was decided in two type of gathering-the inner group of the Working Committee meeting with prominent Liberals, and then the annual session. Here was a new test of Gandhi's all-India leadership. He had to 'lead' in intensive discussion and negotiation once a actual proposal was on the table; and sell the decision of the inner group to the open Congress. The first round of discussion, between the working Committee and interested Liberals, occurred in November, jn this setting the interaction of Gandhi, the two Nehrus and Sapru was of prime importance. However, each of them had to look beyond their immediate circle of negotiators to those whom their decision would influence and on whose reaction depended the practicability of any course they chose. Shades of the Liberals, Mahasabha Hindus, Muslims and of the Independence-wallahs who would flock to Lahore, hovered over the main decision makers, reminding them of the parameters within which they could act. Their informal meeting in Delhi on 1st & 2nd November produced a joint statement appreciating Irwin's declaration and the government's ' desire...to placate Indian opinion'; and hoping that they would be able to cooperate in their effort to evolve a scheme of 'Dominion Constitution suitable for India's needs'. The signatories noted that they interpreted the declaration as meaning 'that the Conference is to meet not to discuss when Dominion status is to be established but to frame a scheme of Dominion Constitution'; and that they felt that before such a conference could succeed it was essential that certain steps should be taken to inspire trust and ensure the cooperation of Indian political organizations. The points they listed were:

- 1) A policy of genera! conciliation,
- 2) A general amnesty for political prisoners, and
- 3) The effective representation of progressive political organizations at the conference, the largest contingent being that of Congress.

They also hoped that India would be administered in a more liberal spirit before the new constitution came into being. It looked as though unanimity had been reached: but behind the joint statement there was serious discord. Gandhi had told V. S. Srinivas Sastri that he knew that the new constitution could not embody full Dominion Status but he wanted limitations on such topics as the army and the Princely states to be removable automatically on a specified date, and to be laid down with Indian's full consent. Liberal leaders with the support of Ansari and most of the prominent Congress Muslims pressed for an unconditional acceptance of Irwin's offer. Bose opposed acceptance, in company with Jawaharlal who believed that it gave no assurance of Dominion Status in the near future. Gandhi had to put extreme pressure on Jawaharlal to sign, arguing that he could not go against the wishes of the Working Committee when he was a member, and that it was

wisest to accept whatever was given and fight on from there. However, the unity of the Delhi statement was short-lived. On the same day Bose resigned from the working Committee to free himself for public criticism of the statement; and Jawaharlal followed suit on 4th November, resigning from the Working Committee and as General Secretary of the AICC.¹³ He wrote in anguish to Gandhi defending his resignation in view of his opposition to the statement. Gandhi realized that if Jawaharlal broke with him openly and refused to preside at Lahore his own refusal of the Congress Presidency in favour of Jawaharlal would be rendered useless and his plan to incorporate younger men into the Congress establishment and draw the fire of their opposition shattered. He wrote and wired at once to calm Jawaharlal, urging him not to resign because it would affect the national cause and there was in any case no principle at stake. Motilal, too, weighed in. He urged him not to rush into resignation, and when he heard news of the House of Lords debate on Irwin's Declaration he wrote, 'Congrats... There is no question of resignation now. The dustbin is the only safe place for the Delhi statement. The matter for immediate consideration is the mobilization of our own forces'. An open crack between Jawahar and Gandhi was averted. Two days before the Working Committee met Gandhi stated that he still wished to co-operate.' I can wait for the Dominion Status constitution, if I can get the real Dominion status in action, if, that is to say, there is a real change of heart, a real desire on the part of the British people to see India a free and self-respecting nation and on the part of the officials in India a true spirit of service.' He included in his conception of Dominion status the ability to end the British connection and noted that it was 'highly likely that the Labour Government had never meant all the implications mentioned by me'. He also told the M.P., Fanner Brockway, that the Parliamentary debates did not reassure him that the conference might not prove a dangerous trap, and he proposed to do what he had done with Smuts in South Africa, require an assurance before cooperating. The Working Committee on 16th & 19th November was attended by the two Nehrus, Gandhi, Malaviya, A.K. Azad, M.A. Ansari, J.Bajaj, J.M.Sen Gupta, P.Sitaramayya and Subhas Bose- despite his resignation. They were joined on 18* November by a group of signatories to the Delhi Statement. Among these was Sapru who gathered from meetings with Gandhi, Motilal, and Malaviya on the previous two days that they did not want to spoil the proposed conference. He had influenced Gandhi that they should give the government a chance to show itself in earnest over Irwin's Declaration. However, Gandhi had indicated to him that his leadership position was delicate: he needed something from the

¹³ Bose S.C, The Indian Struggle 1920-1942, page no.172

government to enable him to put the younger men into ' a reasonable and hopeful frame of mind'. This meant, for example, the release of political prisoners not charged with violence. Gandhi appeared quite and gentle, but he was not looking for a compromise and reiterated the four points of the Delhi Statement as his last word. He thought that although Irwin and the Labour Prime Minister and Secretary of State were eager to grant dominion status in a reasonable time the Labour Cabinet was divided and backed power in parliament to carry through a programme, which would satisfy India. He would advocate independence as India's goal and would be ready to see Irwin with Motilal if there was discussion on the four points, though he had little hope of agreement.¹⁴ Gandhi's unwillingness to slam the door to negotiation even at this late stage, combined with a tough stance on the Delhi 'conditions' reflected his wish to keep Congress united. Outright rejection of Irwin's offer or outright acceptance would split the Congress, and the Mahatma maintained a fine middle course. Irwin knew that he could do nothing to assure Congress on the major points raised at Delhi. The proposed conference could not frame a Dominion Constitution; Indian representatives would have to come from all groups and shades of opinion, and therefore Congress could not expect the lion's share; and there could be no amnesty. However he tried to handle the situation delicately. On 23rd November, Gandhi approached the meeting with Irwin without any hopes of a compromise. He opened the discussion politely by expressing horror at the bomb attack on the Viceroy's train that morning but then plunged straight into the controversy by saying that it was pointless to have discussions until it was clear that the function of the proposed conference was to frame a Dominion Constitution. Irwin stood by his declaration: the conference was free to discuss any proposals put before it but they could not lie down beforehand that it was to draft a particular constitution. Gandhi maintained that he could not participate in it unless Irwin assured him that the Cabinet would back his demand for immediate Dominion status at the conference arid in Parliament. As the discussion appeared to get bogged down, Irwin said that the real test was whether Gandhi and his colleagues believed in the British purpose. Gandhi replied that he recognized the sincerity of individuals but doubted broadly the sincerity of British intentions. After two and a half hours the discussion closed, without touching on the other points of the Delhi statement such as the amnesty and the personnel of the conference. During this encounter Gandhi was the main Congress spokesman. For him and Motilal the heart of the matter was the degree to which power would be transferred from Britain to India as a result of the conference. For

¹⁴ Navajivan 8 December 1929; CWMG, XLII, page no.208-9

Gandhi this was tied to the question of Indian weakness, which stemmed largely from Indian disunity. Throughout the 1920's he had preached self-strengthening and unity as the only road to Swaraj. Now when offered a conference he knew that his negotiating hand would be weak as Indians had not responded to his exhortations. In the two months between Irwin's Declaration and the Lahore Congress Gandhi was the central figure in Congress deliberations. Contemporaries among Liberals and in government thought that the way Gandhi threw his weight would be crucial: they angled for his support and attempted to strengthen his hand. Gandhi gained a unique position of control in the face-to-face negotiations of November and December because the different groups involved needed him to ease their relations with each other. Communal division also restricted the Mahatma's management space. As the meeting with Irwin indicated, the logic and opportunities of confrontation made more sense than negotiation from a divided base. Within Gandhi himself there was a further force making for conflict rather than compromise. In the worrying political scene of communal demands, provincial differences and erupting violence, Satyagraha was the only weapon he could consider of as purifying public life and neutralizing violence. In the darkest hour Satyagraha and its devotees must prove themselves. As V.S.S Sastri had realized, this was Gandhi's mighty weapon and as a Satyagrahi he resorted to it when the conditions for conference did not appear to ensure success.¹⁵ Late in December the center of the political scene shifted to Lahore, where Gandhi's leadership was tried in a different kind of gathering. Before delegates met in Lahore the problems of consistency and control promised to be grave. Evidence from the provinces suggested that there was little unanimity among Congressmen or willingness to submit to continental discipline. Gandhi therefore came to Lahore with several urgent priorities. He had to soothe those who pressed for peace and prevent a revolt on their part, which would smash the unity he considered so vital. On 27th December 1929 in the Subjects Committee Gandhi supported the resolution, which endorsed the Working Committee's action on the Delhi statement, but now rejected the conference proposal and declared that Swaraj in the Congress creed should mean complete independence. Purna Swaraj. The resolution appealed for communal co-operation now that the communal solution proposed in the Nehru Report was no longer at issue since the report had lapsed; and Gandhi underlined this in his speech. He also urged boycott of the legislatures as envisaged in the resolution, as a preparation for Civil Disobedience which the AICC would be authorized to start when it deemed fit. While Gandhi did battle in

¹⁵ Navajivan, 8 December 1929, CWMG, XLII, page no.251

Committee, the Congress opened on 29 December 1929. The welcome speech from S. Kitchlew as Chairman of the Reception Committee indicated that in this arena Gandhi could face pressure from those who still felt him to be too moderate. Kitchlew demanded a good fighting programme against alien domination, which would mobilize peasants and workers and take the form of well-organized mass and Individual Civil Disobedience in selected areas. He hoped that Congress would make independence its goal, and appealed to Gandhi to lead and the young to follow him and bear the impact of the battle. 'My appeal is... to mahatmaji. He is the one leader in whom the masses have faith. He is the one leader who commands nation-wide respect and affection. I appeal to Mahatmaji to lead us in our struggle for National Independence'. Significantly he added that there should be no suspension of Civil disobedience like that which Gandhi imposed after Chauri Chaura violence in 1922 'which severely disappointed the workers and the country and played havoc with morale'. Jawaharlal followed with this up with a presidential call for the goal of Complete Independence and a struggle through economic and political boycotts.¹⁶

Before the launch of Salt Satyagraha at an all-India level, Gandhi made it a point to open a dialogue with the Viceroy. Gandhi stated that he and many of his countrymen hope that the proposed Round Table Conference might furnish a political solution agreeable to the long-awaited demand of the Congress leadership. But when the Viceroy said plainly that he could not give any assurance that he or the British Cabinet would promise to support a scheme of full Dominion Status. Elaborating his point categorically, Gandhi stated that India was to live as a Nation. If the slow death of her people by starvation was to stop, some remedy must be found for immediate relief. The proposed conference was certainly not the remedy. He also stated that "... I shall proceed with such co-workers of the Ashram as I can take, to disregard the provisions of the salt laws. I regard this tax to be the most iniquitous of all from the poor man's stand point. As the Independence movement is essentially for the poorest in the land, the beginning will be made with this evil." Lord Irwin's reply was brief and was simply an expression of regret that Gandhi would be 'contemplating a course of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace.'¹⁷ Left with no other alternative after the Viceroy's brief, blunt and unsupportive reply, Gandhi made up his mind to make preparations for the historic march with a band of

¹⁶ Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, 4, page no.184-98, 44th INC Report: Jawaharlal Nehru's Presidential Address.

¹⁷ Young India, 12 Mach 1930

devoted workers. In a prayer meeting at the Sabarmati Ashram on 5th March, he fixed up 12th March for the Campaign and asked the ashram inmates to get ready in five days. They were asked not to worry about the place to which they were to march, Gandhi said, "We shall march in the direction of Pethapur." When it was suggested that four or five women might be allowed to go along, Gandhi who did not wish to take women in the march, explained, "Only men will accompany us. Women and others will stay in the Ashram. Women and others will have enough opportunity to offer Satyagraha. Just as Hindus do not harm a cow, the British do not attack women as far as possible. For Hindus it would be cowardice to take a cow to the battlefield. In the same way it would be cowardice for us to have women accompany us. Five days before the historic march, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was arrested at Ras and he was convicted. The next day, in a speech at Ahmedabad Gandhi explained to his audience that the time had come when they and he would be finally tested. The choice for the route of the historic march was made with due considerations to various options. Some constructive workers from the Surat district told Gandhi that there were many facilities in this area for easy manufacture of salt. Due to these considerations, the choice fell on Jalalpur taluka for the marching column. Gandhi issued some instructions to be strictly carried out by the marchers during their long journey on foot. The Satyagrahi party was expected to reach each place by 8'o clock in the morning and to sit down for lunch between 10.00 and 10.30 A.M. No rooms would be needed for rest at noon or night, but a clean, shaded place with bamboo-and grass covering would be enough. As a principle, sweets if presented, would be declined. Vegetables were to be merely boiled, on no oil, spices and chilies, whether, green or dry, whole or crushed, would be added or used in the cooking. To him he said 'for me goat's milk, if available, in the morning, at noon and at night, and raisins or dates and three lemons will do.'¹⁸ Mahatma Gandhi advised the marchers to lug their own bedding, so that the villagers would have to provide nothing except a clean place for resting in. The villagers were not to incur any expense on account of betel-leaves, betel nuts or tea for the party. Gopal Krishna Gokhale is reported to have said that Gandhi was capable of turning heroes out of clay. Indeed; Gandhi was very particular about the dates, directions, locale, objectives, participants, leadership, strength of opponents and above all, the results.¹⁹

¹⁸ The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, XLIII, March -June 1920, Ahmedabad,1971,page no.33

¹⁹ Nirmal Kumar Bose, A Study of Satyagraha, University of Poona, 1968,page no.4

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Religion and expansion of Indian Nationalism

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‘Religion’ and ‘Nationalism’ have long been contested terms. Both terms on almost any understanding designate large and multi dimensional fields of phenomena. Given the lack of agreement on what we are talking about when we talk about religion, or nationalism, it is no surprise that the one encounters seemingly antithetical assertions about the relation between the two. Nationalism is intrinsically religious, that nationalism emerged from the decline of religion, and that it emerged in a period of intensified religious feeling, since both ‘nationalism’ and ‘religion’ can designate a whole world of different things, few statements about nationalism per se or religion per se, or the relation between the two, are likely to be tenable, interesting, or even meaningful : a more differentiated analytical strategy is required. Rather than ask what the relation between religion and nationalism is a question too blunt to yield interesting answers.

The first is to treat religion and nationalism along with ethnicity and race, as analogous phenomena. The second is to specify ways in which religion helps explain things about nationalism¹ its origin, its power, or its distinctive character in particular cases. The third is to treat religion as part of nationalism, and to specify modes of interpenetration and intertwining. The fourth is to posit a distinctively religious form of nationalism.²

¹ Hutchison William R and Hartmut Lehmann .1994, Many are chosen : Divine Election and Western Nationalisms Mainneapolis : Fortress Press

² Hayes, Carton J.H. 1926. Essays on Nationalism, New York : The Macmillan company

Indian nationalism passed through various phases of development. As it advanced from one phase to another its social basis broadened, its objective became more clearly defined and bold, and its forms of expression more varied. As a result of the impact of forces of Indian and world development, increasing strata of the Indian people evolved a national consciousness and outlook and were drawn into the orbit of the nationalist movement. This national awakening found expression in various spheres of national life, social, political and cultural. In its very first phase, Indian nationalism had a very narrow social basis. The intelligentsia who were the products of the modern education imparted in the new educational institutions³, established by the British in India in the first decades of the 19th century, and who had studied western culture and greatly assimilated its democratic and nationalist ideas, formed the first stratum of the Indian society to develop a national consciousness and aspirations. Raja Ram Mohan Roy and his group of enlightened Indians were pioneers of Indian nationalism.⁴ They were the exponents of the Indian nation which they propagated among the people. They initiated socio-reform and religio-reform movements which represented endeavours to remould the Indian society and religion in the spirit of the new principle of democracy, rationalism and nationalism. In fact, these movements were the expression of the rising national democratic consciousness among a section of the Indian people. These founders and first fighters of Indian nationalism stood up for democratic rights, such as the freedom of the press, and put forth demands like the right of the nation to have a voice in the administration of the country. After 1870, when famines and agrarian unrest, trouble between landlords and tenants, between indebted peasants and money lenders, the agitation for jobs in the civil service, the criticism of British revenue policy in India, the charges of exploitation and of wasteful expenditure on railways and frontier was provided ample scope for nationalist criticism.⁵ The economic changes which had been brought about by several decades of stable British rule now showed their cumulative effect. The pressure on the land had increased and landlords who had to treat their tenants leniently in earlier times when cultivators were scarce, could now enhance the price for the land. Monetization and better communications encourage the export of food grains and the depletion of stores would cause famines in bad years.⁶ The first phase extended till 1885 and culminated in the rise of the Indian National Congress in that year the

³ A.R. Desai, pp. 409

⁴ Graham G.F.I., The life and works of Sir Sayed Ahmed, 1909

⁵ Deitmak Rothermund, p-17 and A.R. Desai, p-49, 10

⁶ A.R. Desai, p.409

second phase roughly covered the period from 1885 to 1905. The liberal intelligentsia who were at the helm of the congress was the leaders of the Indian nationalist movement during the second phase. Their ideology and methods determined the program and forms of the movements which reflected the interests of the development of the new bourgeoisie society in India. The social basis of this movement was extended during this period to the educated middle class which, by the end of the 19th century had appreciably grown as a result of the expansion of modern education, and to go a section of the merchant class which had developed during this period as a result of the growth of Indian and international trade. Modern industries also grew steadily during this period as a result of which the class of industrialists emerged and began to gain strength. They started orienting towards the congress which adopted the program of industrialization of the country and in 1905 organized actively the Swadeshi Campaign. The Indian National Congress under the leadership of the Liberals, mainly voiced the demands of the educated classes and the trading bourgeoisie such as the Indianisation of services, the association of the Indians with the administrative machinery of the state, the stoppage of economic drain and others formulated in the resolutions of the Indian National Congress. It also set forth such democratic demands as those of representative institutions and civil liberties. Its method of struggle dominated by liberal congress was principally constitutional agitation, effective argument, and traditions of the British people. Increasing unemployment among the educated middle class youths due to the inability of the social and state apparatus to incorporate them and further, economic misery among the people due to devastating epidemic and famines at the close of the 19th century, created favourable conditions for the growth of the influence of the new group, the extremists. Various unpopular measures during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, such as the Indian Universities act and the partition of Bengal. Further estranged the people from the government and made the politically conscious middle class rally round the extremists who possessed such capable and self-sacrificed leaders as Tilak, Aurobindo Ghosh, B.C. Pal and Lala Lajpat Rai.⁷ By 1905 even some of the Liberals began to lose faith in the British government. However, they did not renounce their political philosophy and methodology of struggle. Political discontent during the second phase, also expresses itself in the growth of the terrorist movement. A small section of nationalist youths organized themselves in terrorist banks and relied upon such methods as assassination of individual officials and

⁷ Tilak quoted by Buch (7) p -28, B.C. Pal quoted by Buch (2) p-103, A.R. Desai, p-308

sometimes fomenting of mutinies in the army for achieving political freedom. The militant nationalists drew inspiration from India's past, invoked the great episodes in the history of the Indian people, and tried to infuse national pride and self-respect among them. They criticized the idealizing of western and specially British culture by the Liberals as cultural capitulation to the British rulers.⁸ The militant nationalists asserted that this would only engender an inferiority complex among the Indians and suppress their national pride and self-confidence so vital to the struggle for freedom. The militant nationalist revived the memories of the vedic past of the Hindus, the great phase of the reigns of Ashoka and Chandragupta, the heroic deeds of Rana Pratap and Shivaji, the epic patriotism of Laxmibai, the Queen of Jhansi and leader of the national revolt of 1857.

During the third phase, the Indian National Movement became militant and challenging and acquired a wider social basis by the inclusion of sections of the lower-middle class.⁹ The agitation for Home Rule during wartime further strengthened the political consciousness of the people. It was during this phase that sections of upper class Muslims developed political consciousness and founded their all India political organization in 1906, the Muslim League. Due to a number of reasons, the rising political consciousness of the Muslim upper and educated middle class addressed more the issues pertaining to Muslims of the country. The fourth phase in the evolution of the Indian nationalist movement commenced from 1918 and extended roughly up to the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-4, One striking development during this phase was that the nationalist movement gained a broad mass basis and added to its arsenal the weapon of direct mass action. The nationalist movement, which was hitherto restricted mainly to upper and middle class, further extended, during this phase, to section of the Indian masses. There were a number of factors which brought about national awakening among the Indian masses during the years immediately succeeding the war. The post-war economic crisis, the disillusionment about the government promises, and the increased repression by the state, had seriously affected the people including the peasantry and the working class and they were in a state of great ferment. The great events in the international world such as, a number of democratic revolutions in European countries and the socialist revolution in Russia had deeply stirred the consciousness of the Indian people the home rule agitation during wartime also had the effect of

⁸ the treaty of serves (10 August, 1920) was the peace treaty between the otoman empire and Allies at the end of the World War – I, A.R. Desia pp.-308

⁹ A.R. Desai, pp-411, 412

intensifying and extending political consciousness among the Indian people. The treaty of 1919 had offended the Indian Muslims also creating thereby the pre-condition for a united nationalist mass movement. The Indian capitalist who had become economically stronger during the war as a result of industrial expansion, also, more actively than before supported the Indian National Congress and the N.C.O. movement started by the.

Under Dyarchy, the department of education was transferred to the control of Indian Ministers in 1921. Now the Provincial governments had greatest freedom to adopt and implement programs of educational expansion. There was, as a result of this, an appreciable growth in the spread of education after 1921.¹⁰ Limitations of financial resources, however, soon restricted this growth. This discontinuance of specific grants to education sanctioned by the Government of India from 1901-21 reinforced by the economic difficulties born of the world economic depression made it difficult to carry through big schemes of educational extension difficult. There was however, a steady expansion of education between 1921 and 1937. In addition to the Indian control of the Department of Education, there were other factors which explain the expansion of education. The tremendous social and political awakening among the people during this period was one among these factors.

The post non-co-operation period witnessed another development of increasingly great significance in the history of Indian nationalist movement.¹¹ It was the growth of socialist and communist groups and the rise of independent economic and political class organizations of the working class in the country. The civil disobedience campaign of 1930-32 which was inaugurated by Gandhi's famous salt March recruited the younger generation of many groups who had not so far participated in nationalist politics¹², as for instance, the non-Brahmans of Madras and Maharashtra. It also highlighted the problem of untouchability, and Gandhi's epic fast in 1932 demonstrated that nationalism and untouchability were incompatible. The principal gains to the Indian nationalist movement during this phase were the acquisition of a mass basis, the definition¹³ of its goal as independence the entry of a section of the working class into the movement growth of various youth and Independence Leagues, and the wider participations of peasants in the movement.

¹⁰ Report of the Hartog committee, p-31 and Questionnaire Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1927-32, Vol.-I, p-3 and A.R. Desai, p-139

¹¹ Quoted Joan Beauchamp, p.185 and A.R. Desai p.334

¹² Dietmar Rothermud, p. 23

¹³ A.R. Desai, p-413

The factors which had retarding influence on the movement were mainly, the combining of religion with politics by Gandhi with the result that the national consciousness was befogged and national movement confused : the increased grip of the capitalists over the congress organization and the resultant modulation of its program and policies to serve their sectional interest at the expense of national advance; and the accentuation of communal feelings.

The next phase covers the period from 1934 to 1939, the year of the outbreak of World War II. There were a number of new developments during this period. A section of congressmen lost their confidence in the ideology, programs and methods of Gandhi and formed the congress Socialist Party¹⁴, which stood for the organization of the workers and peasant on class lines, and making them the motive force of the nationalist movement. The party however, remained heterogenous, being composed of groups who broke from Gandhism in varying degrees and having a petti-bourgeois social basis. These also grew up other dissident tendencies from Gandhism like the Forward block by Subhash Bose. Another development was the steady growth of the movements of the depressed classes. The Muslim League also, organizationally and politically, grew stronger in the final years of this period. Further, a number of other Muslim organizations, both of nationalist and communal political hues, also sprang up. The rapid growth of the communist party increasingly spreading its influence among students, workers and kisans also was another significant development. The All India Kisan Sabha, the organization of the conscious section of the Indian peasantry, formulated for its objective the Socialist State of India. It organized independent struggles of the Kisans and joined the nationalist movement as an independent unit. Another remarkable development during this phase was the growth of the democratic struggle of the people of the Indian states with a program of demands such as the abolition of state monopoly, representative institutions, civil liberties and others. A struggle, increasingly sharpening went on among the nationalist movement classes within the nationalist movement for the hegemony of the movement. The political groups representing workers, Kisans and left sections of the middle classes were striving more and more as they gathered more political consciousness and independent organizational strength, to influence the program which had hitherto been appreciable controlled by the capitalist class. The awakened nationalities were also pressing more and more vigorously their demands for the removal of the obstacles which thwarted their free and full development.

¹⁴ A.R. desai, p-414

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Emergence of Buddhism in the Context of Contesting Philosophies and Social Conditions in Ancient India

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The 2500 years of existence, Buddhism has survived both as glory and downfall among the fierce encounters it met with other faiths and philosophies, not only in India, but also in other parts of the world. The first encounter, when Buddhism itself came into existence on Indian horizon in 6th century B.C., came up with Vedism, the cult of Vedas, which is said to constitute the driving force of ancient Aryan culture and civilisation. The rituals and sacrifices of Vedic religion gradually developed into a bloody cult that created a community of priests who preached worship of gods for individual gains. The art of imprecation was considerably in practice. The Vedas also refer to a particular social system based on the four-fold classification of human beings—the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas, and the Shudras—known as Varna vyavastha. That social stratification later turned into a tyranny of casteism and untouchability. The classification was not natural, it was arbitrarily developed for the supremacy of certain classes. Subsequently, the so-called higher classes, particularly the Brahmins, were the beneficiaries from the Vedic rituals and the lower castes driven by them into a mass of serfs; they were condemned to live as sub-human beings. It was the Buddha who, for the first time, opposed the social system, dogmatism and priesthood of Vedic cult. The Buddha created a new social order based on the equality of men, fraternity and universal brotherhood. It was he, who first denounced the worthless sacrifice of animals to Gods, and taught men the value of social service. It was he who emancipated men from the thralldom of

Vedic religion. It was he, again, who released men from the iron heel of confederacy of priests. And it was he who first told men to exercise reason and not meekly to follow the dogma of Vedic religion. It is said that the Buddha liberated man from the domination of priests, from the idea of institutionalized mediation between man and God, and from the spiritual and liturgical dogmatism of priesthood. By rejecting the caste system, the Buddha became the greatest social reformer of his age. His teachings were directed to all men, and not to a given caste or group. He opposed the blood sacrifice of animals which was characteristic of Brahmanism.¹⁵ It was Buddhism's successful revolt against Vedism and Brahmanism. The subsequent course of history favoured the Buddhist transformation of socio-religious life. It was the liberalism and humanism of Buddhism, whose influence went far beyond the spheres of religion and philosophy, that contributed to the disruption of Vedic religious social pattern and ushered in a classless society.¹⁶ It happened after Buddhism had been officially propagated during the Mauryan period. It was indeed Ashoka, with his humanitarian Mission, who preached the universal Dhamma.

The indestructible foundation of the whole of human life is its philosophy. It is an effective weapon against religious fanaticism and superstition. It provides a life throughout, like showing the correct way of solving human problems that agitates men's minds. Philosophy is imbued with utmost faith in the human intellect, in the power of knowledge, in man's ability to fathom all the secrets of the world around him, and to create an order of justice based on reason and love. Social environment is a sort of an order; it consists of varied customs, traditions, beliefs, and types of organisation, which exist within the social group in which men are socialised. It is the order of social institutions. The sociological imperatives of social environment are such that they can be understood and be manipulated by men; they are not given by some unseen power. Though they are not of the individual's making, yet they exert an influence upon them which is compelling. The social environment is an infinitely ideological universe of meanings unified into rich systems of language, science, religion, philosophy, laws, ethics etc, and includes the totality of the best actions of mankind. A philosophy, which does not present a global outlook, is decidedly lacking in comprehensive understanding. It is incomplete, unworthy to practice. A correct comprehensive understanding then becomes the essential basis of all philosophies of human interest. In the absence of a correct world understanding natural

¹⁵ Wijewardhena, D. O, *The Revolt in the Temple*, Colombo, 1963, p. 76

¹⁶ Mukherjee, Radha Kamal, *The Culture and Art of India*, London, 1959, p.

events would dominate human life thereby creating several interruptions in the course of progress and prosperity. Man's philosophical insight is both a "process of self expression and of penetration into the environment about him".

¹ A better understanding of the world is necessary in everyday living and this is given by philosophical insight. It is a philosophy only when it presents a better understanding of world. Buddhism got the opportunity to perform all these functions.

In other words, Brahmanic Hindu theistic thoughts: Vedic, and Upanishadic. Dalit Materialistic thoughts: Sankhya and Lokayata philosophies lack systemic coherence in relation to Buddhist philosophy. Although Buddhism was a continuity of the broader Dalit tradition, it opposed to pure materialistic thoughts. The Purusa Sukta, hymn in the Rig Veda, refers to the origin of different classes (varnas) by the Supreme God. For the prosperity of the world, the creator, from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet, created the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas and the Shudras, respectively. These four classes are called as 'chaturvarna' as an ideal organization of society. It was elaborated in rigid rules in the Brahmanic period, and later, by Manusmriti. There was division of occupations among these classes. The occupation of the Brahmins was learning, teaching and the performance of religious rites. The occupation of Kshatriyas was fighting. Trade was assigned to the Vaishyas. The occupation of the Shudras was service of the three superior classes. As a rule one class could not transgress the occupation of the other. The Shudra, because he was on the lowest step of the social ladder, was denied the rights to education and arms. These two rights were also denied to the women of all classes as the Hindu Shastras (religious books) state. In the Hindu society, a man's life was divided into four stages: The first was called Brahmacharya; its object was study and education. The second was the stage of Grahasth, which meant a married life. The third was Vanaprastha the object of which was to familiarize a man with the life of a hermit, i.e., serving the family ties. And the fourth was the stage of Sanyasa. Its chief object was to enable the man to go in search of God and seek union with him. The first and the last stages were not open to the shudras and women. And no mention was made in the Hindu scriptures about the Untouchables, since they were not under varna or caste system. They were outcastes- ativihin. The subsequent course of history witnessed them as the untouchable castes, because of their Buddhist background and for their commitment to create alternative religious-cultural system that threatened Hindu Brahminic religious

¹ Alston, W.P, and Brandt, R.B., ed., Problems of Philosophy, Boston, 1975, p. 6.

set-up. The core idea of Hindu philosophy is the theory of Karma. The birth of a man is the result of his past Karmas done in previous life. It is one of the main subject of the theory of transmigration of soul, which means that what a man is in this life is wholly due to his previous Karmas (deeds) done in the former life. There was an emphasis on sacrifice in the Hindu rituals. The increasing dominance of the idea of sacrifice helped to raise the position of the priests. These priests declared that only the due performance of Vedic sacrifices and observance of religious rites and ceremonies and the offering of gifts to Brahmins could have salvation of the soul or deliverance from harm, ruin or loss. The result was that priesthood became a profession and a hereditary one. The priest who possessed the Vedic lore became the accredited intermediary between gods and men and the dispensers of the divine grace. In brief, the ancient Hindu period was marked by the observance of caste and the ashramas, emphasis on sacrifice, the eternity of the Vedas, the supremacy of the priest and a belief in past karma and transmigration of an individual's soul. On the question of authorship of Upanishads, divergent views are projected. It is popularly believed that the authors of Upanishads belonged to different cultural backgrounds and belief. Hence some of the Upanishads (i.e., Dalit Upanishads) opposed to the Vedic thought, questioned divine origin of the Vedas. They denied the efficacy attributed to sacrifices, to funeral oblations, and gifts to the priests, which were the fundamentals of brahmanic philosophy. Some other Upanishads, which were probably written by organized groups, adopted essence of Vedic teaching. The Brahmanic Upanishads are said to form concluding portions of Vedas, and are called as Vedanta (the end of the Vedas). The central thesis of these Hindu Upanishads is that Brahma is the ultimate reality, which is spiritual and that Atman is the same as Brahma. The Brahma is eternal and unchanging principle. Historical authentication about the origin of the Brahma could be identified with Brahmin as a priest, and as (self-claimed) supreme human being on earth attached with the supreme god Brahma. The Hindu Upanishad philosophy regards 'Brahma' as the 'ultimate reality'. In some of the advanced speculations of the Upanishads, it came to mean the pure knower or the pure consciousness. Thus, according to the idealistic outlook that finally emerged in the Upanishads, the ultimate reality is pure consciousness. The corollary, is that the material world normally experienced has no intrinsic reality of its own². This was the starting point of all idealistic philosophies which came in sharp conflict with the materialistic ideas of ancient Dalit thought. In the Hindu Upanishads, there is also the conception of the Lord of Karman, who

² Chattopadhyay, D. Indian Philosophy, Delhi, 1964, p. 75.

administers the law and gives reward according to one's past deeds. He is Isvara, the *Apara Brahman* and the dispenser of justice³. The core idea of Vendanta ie, Karma theory, is justified by Hindu Upanishadic thought. The Karmic belief propagated that by doing service to Brahmans the Shudras could improve their status in the next birth. And the Lord of Karman of Hindu Upanishadic thought in fact justifies the exploitative nature of belief system under the grab of providing higher status to lower rungs in the next life. This is only to make suppressed people not to revolt against the brahmanical social order that is the basis of the whole Hindu culture. Hence, for the deprived communities the Lord of Karman-the *Apara Brahman*, could only dispense injustice. Apart from Vedic and Upanishadic philosophies, there were also materialistic ideas in Ancient Indian thought. The first school of thought that professed 'materialism' was and gifts to the priests, which were the fundamentals of brahmanic philosophy. Some other Upanishads, which were probably written by organized groups, adopted essence of Vedic teaching. The Brahmanic Upanishads are said to form concluding portions of Vedas, and are called as Vedanta (the end of the Vedas). The central thesis of these Hindu Upanishads is that Brahma is the ultimate reality, which is spiritual and that Atman is the same as Brahma. The Brahma is eternal and unchanging principle. Historical authentication about the origin of the Brahma could be identified with Brahmin as a priest, and as supreme human being on earth attached with the supreme god Brahma. The Hindu Upanishad philosophy regards 'Brahma' as the 'ultimate reality'. In some of the advanced speculations of the Upanishads, it came to mean the pure knower or the pure consciousness. Thus, according to the idealistic outlook that finally emerged in the Upanishads, the ultimate reality is pure consciousness. The corollary, is that the material world normally experienced has no intrinsic reality of its own.S This was the starting point of all idealistic philosophies which came in sharp conflict with the materialistic ideas of ancient Dalit thought. In the Hindu Upanishads, there is also the conception of the Lord of Karman, who administers the law and gives reward according to one's past deeds. He is Isvara, t of justice. The core idea of Vendanta ie, Karma theory, is justified by Hindu Upanishadic thought. The Karmic belief propagated that by doing service to Brahmans the Shudras could improve their status in the next birth. And the Lord of Karman of Hindu Upanishadic thought in fact justifies the exploitative nature of belief system under the grab of providing higher status to lower rungs in the next life. This is only to make suppressed people not to revolt against the brahmanical social order that is the basis of the whole Hindu culture. Hence, for the

³ Dutt, N., *Early Monastic Buddhism*, Delhi, 1960, p. 19.

deprived communities the Lord of Karman-the Apara Brahman, could only dispense injustice the Apara Bralman, and the dispenser Materialistic Ideas Apart from Vedic and Upanishadic philosophies, there were also materialistic ideas in Ancient Indian thought. The first school of thought that professed 'materialism' was *Charavaka* philosophy. also known as the Lokayata-darsana, belonged to the earliest Dalit materialistic tradition. The fundamental feature of the Lokayata materialism is its theory of 'deha-vada': the view that self is nothing but the body Consciousness is a function of the body. Consciousness does not inherit in the particles of matter. When these particles come or evolve themselves to be arranged, they show signs of life. Life and consciousness are identical. Man's thinking power ceases to function when the dissolution of physical body takes place Consequently, there remains no consciousness after the body has perished. Hence there is nothing to transmigrate. In other words, the Lokayata materialism holds that mind is only a form or product of body. The ultimate reality is matter.⁴ A thing unperceivable by sense organs is not acceptable to Charavakas. They recognise four elements of existence: earth water, air and fire. The ether does not exist, because it is perceivable In the same way, there is no immortality of soul and no existence of God. Hence the Lokayata knows nothing apart from nature, the material world. Sankhya philosophy of Kapil was another Ancient Dalit materialistic thought. His philosophy is based on three principles: First, every true statement must be supported by proof. The second principle of his philosophy relates to causality; creation and its cause. Kapil denied the theory that there was a being that created the Universe. Prakriti is the material cause of the world, not God, because there is no God. The total material Universe is the effect of Prakriti. There is no God to create the universe. It is a self-evolved world. Only a definite product can be produced from a definite material; and only a specific material can yield a specific result. The third principle relates to the existence of three constituents and their interaction. The process of development of the unevolved (Prakriti) is through the activities of three constituents (gunas) of which it is made up: Sattva', which corresponds to what we call as light in nature, which reveals and causes pleasure to man; 'Raja' is that which impels and moves, what produces activity; and Tamas is heavy and puts under restraint, it produces the state of indifference or inactivity These three constituents act essentially in close relation; but they overpower and support one another and intermingle with one another. They are like the constituents of a lamp, the flame, the oil and the wick. When these

⁴ Shastri D. R., A Short History of Indian Materialism Sensationalism and Hedonism, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 17-20.

three constituents (gunas) are in perfect balance, none overpowering the other, the Universe appears static (achetan) and ceases to evolve. When they are not in balance, one overpowers the other, the universe becomes dynamic (Sachetan) and evolution begins. Kapil said the constituents become unbalanced, due to disturbance in the balance of the three gunas and the disturbance was due to the presence of Dukkha (suffering) i.e., disequilibrium in the original nature of the gunas. The Prakriti, as conceived in Sankhya philosophy, is not only complex and all pervasive; it also evolves or undergoes change perpetually. Naturally the things that develop out of it are also conceived as sharing in its fluid character.⁵ The whole of the physical Universe emanates from it; and, since it is conceived as ultimate and independent; the explanation so far may be characterized as naturalistic.⁶

The above brief description of Vedantic, Upanishadic, Charvaka and Sankhya philosophies enable us to have a comparative understanding about the Buddhist thought. The Buddhist philosophy is a discovery, in a sense that it was a result of inquiry and investigation into the conditions of human habitation on earth and understanding of the working of human instincts, with which, man was born. And moulding of his instincts and dispositions man has formed as a result of history and tradition which, works to his detriment.⁷ The non-Buddhist philosophies in ancient India had their own limitations. They could not give correct world-view and so could not offer a solution to social conflicts of the human society. They were all engaged in speculation and imagination about the origin of the universe. They did not apply their thoughts to the problems of society, whereas Buddha did it. In the Vedic hymns, the Buddha saw nothing that was morally elevating. Similarly, he did not find anything in the philosophical ideas of the Vedic philosophies. Their theories were mere speculations, which were neither logical nor factual. Their contributions to philosophy created no world outlook, no social values necessary for human happiness. However, Buddhism did not arise somewhere in isolated environment of Indian philosophical thought. Certainly it laid its foundations on already existed thoughts of Dalit traditions and Gautama Buddha modified and rationalised them. Buddha's thought inherited all the best elements of the earliest Dalit materialist philosophies which preceded it, which although the Buddha did not accept as a whole. Buddhism was not a simple continuation of previous Dalit philosophical ideas. It was fundamentally a new discovery, a new

⁵ Hariyana, M., *The Essentials of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1951, p. 109.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 113.

⁷ . Ambedkar B.R., *The Buddha and His Dhamma*, Bombay, 1957, pp. 217-218

philosophy that enriched Dalit tradition of philosophical thought. The Buddha rejected the Hindu philosophy as a whole. He repudiated its thesis that the Vedas were infallible and their authority could never be questioned. In his opinion, everything must be open to re-examination and re-consideration in order to know the truth. Infallibility of the Vedas meant complete denial of freedom of thought. He was equally opposed to the Brahmanic priesthood and the way in which sacrifices were performed. For him, there was no virtue in false sacrifice. The most repugnant theory, the Buddha thought, was the theory of Chaturvarna. It did not appear him, 'natural organization'. Its class composition was compulsory and arbitrary. It was a society made to order. It intensified class-conflict, because it was based on, in Ambedkar's words 'graded inequality'. Inequality exists in every society in some or other form; but the Inequality preached by Hinduism was its official doctrine. The Hindu philosophy did not believe in equality. Far from producing harmony, graded inequality produced in Hindu society an ascending scale of hatred and a descending scale of contempt, which has been a perpetual source of social conflict. This social order did not serve the interests of all, much less did it advance the welfare of all. Indeed, it was deliberately kept to serve the interests of a few. In it man was made to serve a class of self-styled supermen. It was calculated to suppress and exploit the weak and to keep them in a state of complete subjugation.⁸ For these reasons, the Buddha condemned the theory of varna vyavastha. It is the root of the Indian caste system and still it is keeping the people divided into rigid social groups like enemies. The Buddha vehemently opposed the Hindu law of Karma, because this law was aimed to cut down the very spirit of revolt. It misdirected the people by saying that no one was responsible for the suffering of man except he himself. Revolt could not alter the state of suffering; for suffering was fixed by his past Karma as his lot in this life. Hinduism preached a retributive theory of Karma that was opposed to the human way of life. By preaching the ideal of Chaturvarna, Hinduism divided the people into four rigid classes on the one hand, and on the other, it isolated the individual from social effects by giving a false theory of Karma. That is why the Buddha rejected the whole philosophy of Hinduism. It is said that the Buddha was influenced by the teachings of Upanishads. It is not true. There is a fundamental difference between Buddhism and Upanishadic philosophy. The Buddha did not believe that 'Brahma was a reality'. There was no proof for its existence. It was sheer speculation. And also Brahma does not serve the interests of all sections of society. How can anything be reality about which no one knows anything?', asked the

⁸ Ibid.

Buddha. Therefore, he had no second opinion in rejecting the Upanishads and their ideas as being based on pure imagination. The philosophy of Upanishads was purely idealistic - 'world denying speculative superstructure', in which the Buddha had no interest. This was a philosophy basically opposed to idealism of Upanishads. He propounded a theory of 'dynamic realism' which believed in the changing character of reality itself, whereas the Brahman, as the ultimate reality, was regarded as an unchanging principle'. The Upanishadic stand being basically wrong, its idealistic outlook became an obstacle in the way of people's dynamic thinking. Perhaps, it can be said that the Buddha was influenced by Dalit Upanishadic thought that opposes the existence of Brahman, the Supreme being The Lokayata philosophy too could not attract the Buddha. In fact, the Buddha recognised the materiality and knowability of the world; he did not believe in rituals, Soul and Godship; yet he opposed to the pleasure-seeking activities preached by the ancient materialists. Moreover, there was not a mature and comprehensive global outlook in the philosophy of Lokayata Of all the philosophers, the Buddha was greatly impressed by the doctrines of Kapil. He realized that some of his ideas were reasonable; but the integral view of ultimate reality has been muddled in it, as a result of dualistic thinking. The notion of perpetual change' and the idea of natural law (Svabhava-vada) are also vitiated by this separation. Buddha accepted only three things from the philosophy of Kapil:) that reality must be based on proof,) that there was no logical (factual) basis for the presumption that God exists and He created the world; and (iii) that there is Dukkha in the world The non-Buddhist philosophy believed in the understanding and explanation of the origins of the world, the existence of God, the immortality of Soul, the number of elements, etc. It was philosophy of contemplative, inactive and passive nature, which inevitably led to a denial of reforming the social practice, the material conditions, of life. The philosophers spent most of their time either in defence of idealism or materialism each of whom, therefore, was involved in an extremist attitude. The Buddha could not accept a view like one based on any extremism, either idealism or materialism. He thought sensible participation and intervention in human life so as to change it, to reform it in order to make this world worth living The Buddhist philosophy believed in the transformation of the material world and the reformation of human mind. It did not cling to worthless traditional sterile and speculative ideas, unrelated to human interests. It avoided philosophical extremism, speculative idealism and enervating materialism It always stood for a change, if it was necessary. The Buddha rejected the ideas, which did not satisfy his reason. Thus arose a new philosophy, which moulded the subsequent course of world-history The Buddha was a

practical reformer. He was primarily an ethical teacher, not a metaphysician. He avoided discussing fruitless controversies regarding the atman (Soul) and the Brahma, which were dominant in the arguments of intellectuals in his time. He avoided the metaphysical questions like whether the soul was different from the body, whether it survived death, whether the world was finite or infinite, eternal or non-eternal, etc. Discussion of problems for the solution of which there is not sufficient evidence leads only to different partial views like the conflicting one-sided accounts of an elephant given by different blind persons who touch its different parts .⁹ Instead of discussing metaphysical questions, which are ethically useless and intellectually uncertain, the Buddha always tried to enlighten persons on the most important questions of sorrow, its origin, its cessation and the path leading to its cessation. He addressed himself to the worldly problems. In Buddha's own words, "this does profit, has to do with fundamentals of religion, and tends to aversion, absence of passion, cessation, quiescence, knowledge, supreme wisdom and nirvana".¹⁰ The Buddha said that the world is full of sorrows and people suffer on account of desires. If desires are conquered, nirvana will be attained. The Vedic and Brahmanical Upanishadic philosophies did not do justice to those people who were appraised and exploited. More and more they ran counter to both the developments of science and progressive social movements. They aroused the protest of conscientious, honest-minded social scientists and philosophers, as indeed of all those who put the interests of the people foremost and a radiant future for mankind above themselves. In ancient India, it was the Buddhist philosophy which guided the people in this direction and showed a real way for social emancipation. Today the people of Asia are realizing the value of Buddhism and the increasing attention is being paid also in the west for Buddhist thought.

⁹ Rhys Davids, T. W., tr. *Dialogues of Buddha*, I. London, 1950, pp. 187-88.

¹⁰ *Majjhima-nikaya-sutta*, 63, H.C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Harvard First Print, 1922, p. 122.

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A case study of Colonial economy and tools of education in India

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The ideology of “western supremacy” is often referred to as “the white man’s burden”: a self-proclaimed responsibility of the west to subjugate and civilize any other person, who does not fall under the category of the “west”. Accordingly, the Europeans, who “discovered” India had both intentions in mind. But, it was the British, who were the most successful among them. They not only succeeded in controlling most of the Indian Territory, but also successfully colonized various aspects of the Indian society like culture, politics, economy and education. They have since become an inseparable part of our history. Hence, in their conquest of India, two important objectives of the British emerge: Profit and spreading civilization among Indians. This article briefly examines how the hostile and atrocious policies of the British, intended to achieve the above mentioned objectives, systematically impoverished the Indians, both physically and mentally. Before proceeding to look at how the British rule shattered the Indian economy, it will be useful to consider the respective macro-economic situations that prevailed in Britain and India before the Indian subjugation. It should be noted that the British, during the 16th and 17th centuries, were in a bad shape. In the sixteenth century, “England

was a backward country”, says Robertson. In the early 17th century, says Mill, Britain was, “oppressed by misgovernment or scourged by civil war, (with) affordable little capital to extend trade, or protect it”. Specifically, from the available data, the GDP of Britain was only \$2,815 million in 1500 AD and \$10,709 million during 1700. On the other hand, India was the richest country on earth until early periods of the 2nd millennia. Accordingly, India’s GDP in the year 1000 was approx. \$33,750 million. Later, in 1500, it was \$60,500 million. During 1700, it was \$90,750 million. India was also one of the major trading nations in the 18th century. In fact, India had a monopoly in the supply of high quality finished textiles and spices. In 1750, her trade amounted to about 24.5% of the total world trade. India and China together contributed to more than half to the total world trade. Later, India’s GDP in 1870 was \$134,882 million and it was \$222,222 million in 1950 CE. However, the GDP of Britain rose to \$100,179 million in 1870 AD and then sharply rose to \$347,850 million in 1950. The growth rates of both the countries show the vast gap between their economic growths. Through the 250 years from 1700-1950, the average growth rate of India was only 0.6%, whereas Britain grew at an average rate of 12.6%. In other words, the UK economy was only 4.6% of the Indian economy in 1500 AD; it was around 12% in 1700. It then rose to be around 74% of the Indian economy in 1870 AD. It should be noted that the British economy was already on an up during the early 19th century to be around 32.5% of the Indian economy in 1820. This period from mid-18th century to mid-19th century was when the East India Company had directly controlled many Indian territories and ports). Then, finally in 1950, the process had reversed and the Indian economy had become around 64% of the British economy. This clearly shows the rise of the Britain and a simultaneous fall of the Indian economy during the period of the British engagement in India. In the early second half of the 18th century, England witnessed a tremendous change in its economy and society. The phenomenon was called the Industrial revolution, which brought in dramatic improvements in working culture, people’s Income and their health and lifestyles. This in fact spread all over continental Europe within the next few decades. While, it is true that the industrial revolution gave a big push to Britain’s economy, a major portion of the huge capital investments that was required for the success of the revolution was itself supplied by India. Moreover, the hostile financial policies of the British like ruthless taxation, discouraging Indian industries like textile and ship building, trade restrictions, etc. significantly contributed to the downfall of the Indian economy. The British (both under the East India Company and the

British crown) simply shipped away huge amounts of wealth with practically no returns to India. In the words of Macaulay

“Treasure flowed to England in oceans; and what was lacking in England to make the fullest possible use of the mechanical inventions made by Watt and others was supplied by India. The influx of Indian treasure added considered to England’s cash capital”

In fact, trade with India opened the doors of fortune to the East India Company. According to Macaulay, the company’s shares, which was priced 245 in 1677 almost reached 500 in the later years. Though, an in depth analysis of specific policies is not in the purview of the present article, a brief analysis of one such policy i.e. taxation would assist us in understanding the general scenario at that time. Such an analysis was conducted by Hyndman, a British author, who as a responsible English man was the biggest critic of the British conduct in India. Accordingly, the total tax levied on the Indian people during 1857 CE was 24,110,000 pounds, that is, around 2 shillings, 6 pence per head. However, in 1876, it had drastically risen (in 20 years) to become 36,000,000 pounds (round figured), which gives us the per capita tax to be 3 shillings, 9.5 pence. Further, the per capita produce (can be considered as an income) was 31 shillings, 6 pence. To see how much of this was needed to provide for the actual necessities of life, Hyndman looked at the per prisoner maintenance charge in the then Indian prisons. There, it costed around 46 shillings or 2.3 pounds to maintain a prisoner per year. This, however, does not include enough clothing, house allowances, repairs, costs of household equipment, etc. Now, we have a situation where a person needed more than 46 shillings for subsistence plus 3 shillings 9.5 pence to pay off his/her taxes but earned an Income of only 31 shillings and 6 pence. That is, all his expenses, including the taxes may have required more than 50 shillings (at least around 55 to 60 shillings), but his income was only around 31 shillings. This huge deficit in a person’s balance sheet was not an aberration, but continued year after year for decades together, which made the financial situation of the people deteriorate. This, in turn, forced the people to borrow money from moneylenders, which inevitably may have placed them insurmountable debts.

“Even as we look on, India is becoming feebler and feebler. The very life blood of the great multitude under our rule is slowly, yet ever faster, ebbing away” But, this deterioration in people’s welfare did not curtail the loot carried on by the British. This loot: the outflows of huge amounts of cash and kinds of monetary value from India to Britain during the colonial periods are often referred to as a “drain”. Though, the exact amount of “drain” may never be known, many economists have given varying, but reliable estimates of this loot after examining the issue in depth. In all, the total outflow of wealth from

India to Britain was estimated to be approx. £6,080 million by Mr. Digby. However, Hyndman, writing in 1906, puts the figure at £40 million per annum, while Mr. A.J. Wilson fixed it at £35 million per annum. On the other hand, Shashi Tharoor in a recent debate at the Oxford University, vehemently argued that the British loot of the Indian treasure escapes the imagination and amounts to a total of approx. 3.4 trillion pounds sterling. As enormous as it may seem, the above figures captures only one side of the story. The public debt of India was around \$35,000,000 in 1792. Gradually, it rose to be \$215,000,000 in 1845, \$1,535,000,000 in 1913 and \$3,500,000,000 in 1929. However, the total contribution from India, in cash and kinds, to British wars alone, amounts to approx. 9.25 billion pounds (in today's value) according to Mr Tharoor. Adding to this loot was the immense pain inflicted upon India, by the British, directly or indirectly, by caring little for the lives of millions of Indians. While violent crushing of hundreds of freedom fighters was almost a routine, an estimated number of deaths due to famine in India, since 1770 till independence, stood at over 25 million people. However, these deaths were not due to the lack of production of food. The available food was either shipped away or was sold at outrageous prices, which almost always forced the already poverty stricken population to starve and die.

It should also be noted that the Indian economy, which contributed 23% of the world economy during the 17th-18th centuries was down to around 4% in 1947. Such was the loot conducted by the British for most of their period in India. This, however, does not capture the exact picture of the sufferings of the then people. We can only imagine the poor conditions of the people for generations after generations. Moreover, this was not the only tool used by the British to break the Indian people. The financial atrocities caused physical damage, but the British wanted to influence the minds of the Indians too. The British found out that the best possible way to enslave the minds of the Indians was through the introduction of the English education. The indigenous education system, which was referred to as "A beautiful tree" by Mahatma Gandhi was dismantled and destroyed. A strong emphasis was given to teaching the Indians about European literature, western art and languages, so as to make the English speaking Indians alien to their own culture and traditions. Thomas Babington Macaulay famously (or infamously rather) argued in his "Minute on Indian Education" delivered in the British parliament that the British had to do their best to create a class of individuals in India, who would be Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, opinions, morals and intellect. He, after discounting Indian culture, arts, languages, etc. as primitive and useless, declared that an entire library of eastern literature is equivalent to just one shelf of English literature. It was

vastly argued by many like Carey and Wilberforce that the barbarity in which the Indians lived was bitter and the only cure for this was to cut them off from their Indian-ness. The British also believed that the presence of westernized Indians would facilitate in the smooth function of the Raj. In a paper presented to the parliamentary committee on education in India in 1853, Sir Charles E. Trevelyan, an officer of the Bengal civil service observes, thus:

“..... The natives will not rise against us because we shall stoop to raise them; there will be no reaction because there will be no pressure; the national activity will be fully and harmlessly employed in acquiring and diffusing European knowledge, and naturalizing European institutions.” Various seminaries were started to educate the Indian youth in English and western literature. No doubt, these institutions provided the much needed knowledge of modern sciences to young Indians, but at the same time, they not only alienated these young Indians from their culture, but also from indigenous knowledge systems (both science and arts). Thus, in a highly systematic manner, English and everything associated with it was promoted and made to replace India’s indigenous education system. It was decided in 1835 by the then Governor General of India that no new support or assistance would be provided to teachers and students pursuing native subjects and languages. It was also decided that all the funds of education would be spent on promoting English education alone. In 1838, the seminaries established under these objectives were 40 in number. Following this, Trevelyan provides the statistics for the sale of books by the School Books Society for the years 1834 and 1835; out of a total of 51,823 books sold; 31,649 were English books; 4,525 books were partly in English; only 16 books were of Sanskrit and all the remaining books were either in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Bengali or Hindi. The result of these efforts was visible on the ground as early as 1838. While noting the success of the new education policy, Trevelyan says that there has been a wide taste for English among the youth trained in the Hindu college at Calcutta and notes that the moral effect of the English education was so deep that some of the Hindu youth born in noble families had developed an impatience for the restrictions of Hinduism and also a disregard for its ceremonies and rituals. He then notoriously predicts that another generation of such people would alter the very fundamental notions and feelings of the Hindu community. This perhaps was the first sign of self-alienation; our own people developing a sense of animosity towards their own identities. Swami Vivekananda rightly observes on the issue of English education that, “The child is taken to school and the first thing he learns is that his father is a fool, the second thing that his grandfather was a lunatic, the third thing that all his teachers are hypocrites, the fourth that all his

sacred books are a mass of lies. By the time he reaches sixteen, he is a mass of negation, lifeless and boneless.”

Another method used by the British to civilize Indians was to Christianize them. They believed that the religion of the Indians, i.e. Hinduism was the root cause of all the evils that was prevalent in India. Alexander Duff, a Scottish missionary and leading educator had opined that the Indian philosophy, in essence, conveyed vain, wicked and foolish conceptions only. For him, Hinduism was utter darkness and the Christian task was to somehow do everything possible to demolish this gigantic fabric of idolatry and superstitions.

When the East India Company was at the helm of affairs in India, many thinkers such as Edmund and Burke had started to argue that the company has to consider and take care of its moral responsibilities. In his personal capacity, Charles Grant, a junior officer in East India Company even drafted a proposal for the mission in 1786-87 and conducted a vast campaign for years for its implementation with no real gains however. In 1793, William Wilberforce, influenced by the work of Charles Grant moved his famous resolution known as the “Resolution on Missions”.

East India Company did not consider any of the above as it was wary of openly supporting the Christian missions fearing that any religious interference would lead to the awakening of the Indian, especially the Hindu consciousness. This stance of religious neutrality of the company was substantially challenged in 1813, when its charter was considered for renewal. It was argued that the Christianization of the Indian people would bring them at par with other subjects and also increase their loyalty to the masters in England. Later, in the charter act of 1833, a regulation was laid out for the permanent presence of missionaries in India. Provisions for the Anglican hierarchy in Calcutta and for the establishment of the Dioceses in Madras and Bombay were also introduced. After, the changes made in 1813, the missionaries started coming to India in large numbers declaring that the solution for the Darkness of the Indians was the introduction of “light”. In 1853, the Queen proclaimed that the equality, which the Indians would receive with their other counterpart subjects of the crown, would breathe a sense of religiousness, generosity and benevolence. These developments made the missionaries an important hand of the British administration in India. It also led to an unholy nexus wherein the missionaries and the colonial masters implicitly (sometimes explicitly) supported each other. The missionary writers through their over-exaggerated, one-sided atrocity literatures propagated around the world that, if not for the British, India was on the brink of falling into the grasp of barbarity and backwardness. They were, as Mahatma Gandhi called Catherine Mayo, professional drain inspectors. The poverty,

diseases, etc., many of which were the direct results of British policies were projected to be the effects of “Hindu Superstition”. Moreover, the missionaries were allowed to open mission schools where thousands of young Indian minds were educated. Trevelyan makes it clear to us that the Christian priests coming to India took full advantage of these schools to influence the young minds. In the census of 1911, it was very clear that 9/10th of all converts in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Sikkim regions belonged to the 4 major tribal communities viz. Oraons, Mundas, Kharis, and Santhals. Moreover, Monier Williams advises the missionaries and also the people of England that it should not be a surprise, if the missionaries in India have to become all things to all people, following, St. Paul, in order to win over Indians to Christ. Furthermore, it is a well-established fact that the missionaries took great advantage in situations like famines and disease to lure innocent people to convert. Though, the British were not the first foreigners to rule over us, they had an important distinction over their Islamic predecessors. While the Islamic invaders caused much violence and immense physical damage and reduced Hindus to second class citizens at many places, the distinction of enslaving the Indian mind goes to the British. The British, in many ways, are solely responsible for the mental self-alienation and physical deprivation of the Indian population, whose deep effects are visible even today. India is free today, but the Indian mind is still colonized.

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Proletarian internationalism and Communist Party

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The Communist Party inherited the progressive, anti-imperialist and revolutionary traditions of the Indian people. Since its formation in 1920, by a small group of determined anti-imperialist fighters inspired by the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, the Party had set before itself the goal of fighting for complete independence and basic social transformation. The Party pledged to work for the establishment of a socialist society in India, free from class exploitation and social oppression. True to the cause of proletarian internationalism, the Party consistently supported the national liberation movements against the imperialist order and the struggles for democracy and socialism the world over, which were major features of the twentieth century. The Party adopted the principles of Marxism-Leninism as the guide to action for winning national independence, to attain the objective of socialism and to advance towards the ultimate goal of communism. The Communists were the first in the country to raise the demand for complete independence and put forward a resolution for this in the Ahmedabad session of the Indian National Congress in 1921.

The Communists, while demanding complete independence, also stressed the need for giving a radical content to the slogan of swaraj through a definite programme for social and economic change by including such vital questions as abolition of landlordism, end to feudal domination and elimination of caste oppression.

The Communists while participating in the freedom struggle, from the outset, devoted their energies to the task of organising workers in trade unions, peasants in the Kisan Sabha, students in their unions and other sections in their respective mass organisations. It was due to these efforts that national organisations like the All India Kisan Sabha and the All India Students Federation were founded and the All India Trade Union Congress strengthened. The Communists took the initiative in founding progressive, cultural and literary organizations like the Progressive Writers' Association and the Indian People's Theatre Association.

The British rulers were determined to stamp out communism in India. They unleashed brutal repression on the fledgling Communist groups and banned communist literature to prevent the spread of revolutionary ideas. They conducted a series of conspiracy cases against the young leadership of the communist movement – Peshawar (1922); Kanpur (1924) and Meerut (1929). The Party was declared illegal soon after its formation in the 1920s and had to work in conditions of illegality for over two decades. In spite of severe repression, the Party made steady progress in mobilising people for complete independence and for fundamental social change.

The militant and consistent anti-imperialist stand of the Communist Party attracted the various revolutionary currents and fighters to join the Party. Among them were the Ghadar heroes of Punjab, the colleagues of Bhagat Singh, the revolutionaries of Bengal, the militant working class fighters of Bombay and Madras presidencies, and the radical anti-imperialist Congressmen from Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and other parts of the country. Thus the Party was enriched by the entry of the best fighters from all over the country. The Communist Party while working in close cooperation with the independence movement led by the Indian National Congress and later the Congress Socialist Party, consistently worked for building and strengthening itself as an independent party of the proletariat.

The post Second World War period saw the powerful anti-imperialist and anti-feudal upsurge of the Indian people. The Communist Party was in the forefront leading this upsurge in various parts of the country. Such significant struggles were those of Tebhaga, Punnappra Vayalar, North Malabar, the Warli adivasis, Tripura tribal people and above all the historic Telangana peasants' armed struggle. The Communist Party also played a leading role in the people's

movements for responsible government in many princely states. The Party played an active role in organising and supporting the liberation struggles in the French and Portuguese enclaves of Pondicherry and Goa. The wave of struggles by workers, peasants and students and the demand for release of INA prisoners saw a new peak in the Naval Mutiny of 1946. In the international background of the defeat of fascism and the mounting tide of national liberation movements, faced with this popular upheaval, British imperialism and the leaders of the major bourgeois parties -- the Congress and the Muslim League struck a compromise. As a result, the country was partitioned and India and Pakistan as independent states under the leadership of the bourgeois-landlord classes came into existence. The fact that the national movement was under the leadership of the bourgeoisie helped this compromise. Thus, the stage of general national united front chiefly directed against foreign imperialist rule came to an end.

The Communist Party continued to face repression even after the country achieved independence. The fierce attacks by the Congress rulers between 1948 and 1952, particularly in Telangana, and the repeated bouts of repression, especially the period of semi-fascist terror in West Bengal, and later in Tripura, and the murderous attacks against the Party cadres in Kerala and in different parts of the country could not deter the Party from carrying forward the revolutionary movement. The Party was in the forefront of the struggle to defend the unity of the people when threats arose to national unity in the form of disruptive separatist movements. Hundreds of courageous Party activists sacrificed their lives in the struggle against the separatist and divisive forces in Punjab, Tripura, Assam, West Bengal and Kashmir.

The Communist movement has thus played a progressive role in Indian politics since its inception. With its mass base, popular appeal and its alternative policies to the bourgeois-landlord regime, the Communist movement is a significant force in the country's political and social life. The first Communist ministry in Kerala formed in 1957 and later the succession of CPI(M) and Left-led governments in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura showed the way by striving to implement pro-people policies. These governments implemented land reforms within the existing framework, decentralised powers and revitalized the panchayat system, ensured democratic rights for the working people and strengthened the democratic forces in the country struggling for alternative policies. In the course of arduous struggles, the Party registered substantial achievements. As a Party committed to self-critical analysis of its successes and failures, the Party consistently strives to learn from its mistakes and improve its capacity to apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our society.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) was formed after a prolonged struggle against revisionism. It adopted the Party program in 1964 and subsequently defended the strategy and tactics based on this understanding from both revisionism and dogmatism. The last decade of the twentieth century witnessed major reverses for the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the world communist movement. This has necessitated a reappraisal of the international developments and the experiences of the movement. Major changes and developments have taken place in our country during the half-century after independence. The CPI(M) has reviewed these developments and experiences since 1964 to update its program. The CPI(M) presents before the Indian people the strategic objective to be achieved by the revolutionary forces in the present stage of the revolutionary movement. The Party sets out a programme which will guide the workers, peasants, all sections of the working people and the progressive, democratic forces in their fight against the ruling classes to achieve People's Democracy as a step towards the goal of a socialist society.

The twentieth century was marked by momentous changes in the world. It has been a century of struggle against imperialism. The century was witness to great revolutionary events, beginning with the October Socialist Revolution of 1917. The victory over fascism in the Second World War in which the Soviet Union played a decisive role, was a major event. The historic Chinese revolution, the success of the revolutionary forces in Vietnam, Korea and Cuba and the formation of the socialist states in Eastern Europe were a product of the titanic clash between imperialism and socialism. This was also a century of national liberation movements leading to the political independence of the colonies. These victories marked a new epoch in world history as was projected by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The revolutionary events of the century and the major developments in science and technology opened up grand prospects for the advance of humanity on a scale never envisioned before.

The countries which adopted the socialist system blazed a new path. With the creation of the Soviet Union, for the first time in human history, the working people could live in a society free from class exploitation. Rapid industrialisation, elimination of feudal vestiges and all round progress in the fields of economy, culture and science led to a new life for the vast mass of the people and the empowerment of the working people. The eradication of poverty and illiteracy, the elimination of unemployment, the vast network of social security in the fields of health, education, housing and big strides in science and technology -- these were the path-breaking achievements of the socialist countries. Such remarkable progress was registered in societies where capitalism had not yet developed significantly and

were relatively backward. Socialism had to be built in the difficult circumstances of overcoming socio-economic backwardness and countering the aggression, subversion and threats of imperialism. The achievements registered in the Soviet Union had their effect on the capitalist countries as well. The ruling classes were forced to introduce and extend social security for their own citizens under the concept of a welfare State.

However, in the course of building socialism on an uncharted path, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Eastern Europe committed serious mistakes. Such mistakes flowed from the improper understanding of the protracted nature of building socialism; the wrong notion of the role of the party and the State; the failure to effect timely changes in the economy and its management; the failure to deepen socialist democracy in the party, State and society; the growth of bureaucratism; and the erosion of ideological consciousness.

These facilitated the sustained efforts of imperialism at subverting socialism. These distortions do not negate the validity of Marxism-Leninism, rather they represent the deviations from revolutionary theory and practice. The dismantling of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the setbacks suffered in Eastern Europe resulted in a new situation. At the end of the 20th century the forces of socialism had to once again face the challenge posed by an emboldened imperialism. The CPI(M) is confident that notwithstanding the setbacks, the communist movement and the revolutionary forces will learn from the mistakes, regroup and meet the challenge of countering the offensive of imperialism and the reactionary forces.

Despite the twists and turns, successes and reverses, the developments of the twentieth century, particularly since 1917 reflect the profound impact of socialism and the people's struggles in the evolution of human progress. The revolutionary transformations have brought about qualitative leaps in history and left an indelible imprint on modern civilisation. The process of social emancipation and socialist

transformation will be a protracted and complex one. History has shown that the transformation from capitalism to socialism is not a one-stroke transformation but a prolonged period of intense struggle of classes even after acquiring State power. World capitalism is incapable of solving the basic problems affecting humanity. The tremendous growth of productive forces utilising the scientific and technological advances has resulted in growth taking place in the advanced capitalist countries without increasing employment and sharply accentuating income and wealth disparities. It has led to intensified exploitation of the workers by expropriating increased rate

of surplus value. The advances in science and technology are utilised to perpetuate concentration of wealth and assets in the hands of a few individuals and multinational corporations.

Imperialism has proved to be a predatory and destructive system. In the twentieth century it plunged humanity into two barbaric world wars claiming millions of lives. The armaments industry has become an integral part of the advanced capitalist economies, which serves to keep the aggregate demand afloat. The neo-liberal prescriptions advocating the withdrawal of the State have led to savage cuts in social security and welfare benefits for the working class and the ordinary citizens. Jobless growth, casualisation of labour, and growing disparities in incomes and wealth are a marked feature. The volatility of the financial system, the stagnant and low rates of growth in the advanced capitalist countries and the growing irrationality and wastage in the use of resources are all symptoms of the in-built crisis in the capitalist system. The rapacious drive for profits by the multinational corporations and the extravagant consumption of the rich countries have devastated the environment and is seriously threatening the world's ecology in general and that of the third world in particular. The fundamental contradiction inherent in capitalism between the evergrowing socialisation of production and the increasingly private appropriation of the surplus has become more acute. The concentration and internationalisation of finance capital has reached unprecedented heights in the current phase of capitalism.

Globally mobile finance capital is assaulting the sovereignty of nations, seeking unimpeded access to their economies in pursuit of super profits. The imperialist order in the service of this speculative finance capital breaks down all barriers for its free flow and imposes the terms favourable to such capital in every part of the globe. The International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation are the instruments to perpetuate this unjust post-colonial global order.

The new hegemony of speculative finance capital results in sluggish growth in the advanced capitalist countries. For the third world it spells a vicious cycle of intensified exploitation and growing debt. The terms of trade, industrial and agricultural production, technology flows, and the services sector in the lesser-developed capitalist countries are all forced to dovetail the interests of imperialist capital. The imperialist system has divided the world into two: the rich advanced capitalist countries and the developing countries where live the vast mass of humanity. The gap between the rich and poor countries began to sharply widen in the last two decades of the twentieth century. With the onset of the imperialist driven globalisation it has grown further.

With the dismantling of the Soviet Union, imperialism which was pursuing a neo-colonial strategy since the end of the old style colonialism, has stepped up its efforts for global domination. US imperialism is using its economic, political and military power aggressively to establish its hegemony. The imperialist driven globalisation is sought to be buttressed by the expansion of NATO and military intervention around the world to impose the imperialist order. The socialist countries China, Vietnam, Cuba, Korea and Laos, faced with adverse conditions created by the change in the correlation of forces are steadfastly committed to the cause of socialism. Imperialism actively seeks to subvert the existing socialist countries and wages a relentless war in the ideological, economic and political spheres against them. Utilising the global communications revolution, imperialism with its control over the international media, aggressively seeks to discredit and suppress anti-capitalist ideas and socialism. Despite the fact that the international correlation of forces favour imperialism at the end of the twentieth century and capitalism continues to develop productive forces with the application of new scientific and technological advances, it remains a crisis-ridden system apart from being a system of oppression, exploitation and injustice. The only system, which is an alternative to capitalism, is socialism. The central social contradiction therefore remains that between imperialism and socialism for the epoch. The contradiction between the imperialist countries and the third world countries rapidly intensifies under the neo-liberal global offensive and it is coming to the forefront. Given the uneven development under capitalism, the contradictions between imperialist countries continue to exist. The contradiction between labour and capital aggravates with the current features of capitalism as noted above. All these contradictions continue to intensify and exert their influence on world events. The working class and its parties have to equip themselves ideologically, politically and organisationally to wage a relentless struggle against imperialism and its exploitative order. The unity of the Left, democratic and progressive forces around the world must be forged to fight against imperialism and defeat the ruling classes who seek to sustain and perpetuate the present unjust global order. As a Party based on proletarian internationalism, the CPI(M) is committed to fight against imperialist hegemony and expresses solidarity with all the forces in the world who are fighting against the imperialist-drive economic order of globalisation and for peace, democracy and The broad masses of the Indian people had enthusiastically participated in the freedom struggle and made it a success. They were fired by patriotism and they looked forward to a free India and a new life for the people. They expected an end to the miserable conditions of poverty and exploitation.

Independence for them meant land, food, fair wages, housing, education, health care and employment. Freedom meant emancipation from social evils like casteism and communal hatred and the fulfillment of the cultural needs of the people in a democratic setting.

The national movement for independence succeeded because of the mass participation of the working class, the peasantry, the middle classes, the intelligentsia, women, students and youth. But the leadership remained in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The big bourgeoisie which headed the new State, refused to complete the basic tasks of the democratic revolution. The path to the regeneration of Indian society lay in breaking the shackles on the productive forces. Parasitic landlordism had to be abolished and land distributed to the agricultural workers and poor peasants. The development of industry freed from the stifling domination of foreign capital, would have laid the base for an advanced industrial nation with a self-reliant economy. Afraid of the possible outcome that might follow a thorough going implementation of the tasks of the democratic revolution, the big bourgeoisie forged an alliance with the landlords and compromised with imperialism. The Congress rulers' policies reflected this bourgeois landlord alliance. The nature of the capitalist path in the following decades was determined by this character of the ruling classes. India is endowed with enormous natural resources necessary for the all-round development of the country, with abundance of cultivable land, irrigation potential, favourable conditions in various regions for a vast variety of crops, immense mineral wealth, as also vast potential for power generation. India's huge manpower strength and the scientific, technical, managerial and intellectual skills of the Indian people constitute a reservoir of great potentialities. Instead of developing these potentialities, the big bourgeoisie which acquired State power embarked upon a type of capitalist development suited to serve its own narrow interests. After independence the dual character of the bourgeoisie manifested itself through conflicts and collusion with imperialism. The big bourgeoisie which acquired the leadership of the State adopted a particular type of capitalist development. It compromised with imperialism and maintained its alliance with landlordism. It utilised its hold over the State to strengthen its position by attacking the people on the one hand and seeking to resolve the conflicts and contradictions with imperialism and landlordism by pressure, bargain and compromise on the other. In this process, it has forged strong links with foreign monopolists and is sharing power with the landlords. With liberalisation, the big bourgeoisie is the strongest advocate of opening up the economy to foreign capital and forging strong links with international finance capital; it is the prime mover

behind the demand to privatise the public sector and the economy as a whole.

In the early years after independence, failing to get a fair deal from the Western countries, the Indian bourgeoisie turned to the Soviet Union for assistance. They adopted a path of building capitalism which was State sponsored capitalism. They began using the existence of the two blocs -- imperialist and socialist -- as a useful bargaining counter to strengthen their position. Economic planning was resorted to as a part of the capitalist path. The budgetary and general economic policies were determined primarily from the point of view of favouring a narrow stratum of the exploiting classes. The public sector was developed in heavy industries and infrastructure as the private sector was not in a position to provide the required resources for such huge projects. The building of these public undertakings helped therefore to a certain extent to industrialise the economy and to overcome the abject dependence on the imperialist monopolies.

Economic planning in an under-developed country like India backed by the State power in the hands of the bourgeoisie, certainly gave capitalist economic development a definite tempo and direction by facilitating more expedient utilisation of the resources available under the limitations of the policies of the government. The most outstanding feature of these plans is to be seen in the industrial expansion, particularly in the setting up of certain heavy and machine building industries in the State/public sector. These gains were possible because of the steady support from the socialist countries, mainly the Soviet Union. The State sector was expanded by the nationalisation of the financial sector like banks and insurance and the oil and coal industries.

Certain other policy measures, though in a half-hearted manner, were also adopted for industrialisation. There was emphasis on research and development, adoption of a new Patents Act, regulation on entry of foreign products and capital in our market and protection to small-scale industries. In the conditions prevailing in India, all these measures helped to overcome, to a certain extent, economic backwardness and the abject dependence on the imperialist powers, and in laying the technical base for industrialisation. Alongside the development of the public sector and State intervention through limited planning, the policies pursued by successive governments saw the increasing concentration of wealth and the rapid growth of monopolies. Under the leadership of the big bourgeoisie, the State sector itself became an instrument for building capitalism. The bulk of the credit from the public financial institutions was cornered by the big bourgeoisie. The budgetary and taxation policies of successive governments were designed to transfer resources from the people to a

narrow stratum of the bourgeoislandlord classes. The large-scale evasion of taxes spawned huge amounts of black money and was a method to promote the private accumulation of capital. The common people, workers, peasants and the middle class were put to ruthless exploitation in the name of financing the plans for capitalist development. In the absence of basic land reforms the domestic market remain limited and domestic industry could not grow and expand without reliance on foreign capital. The huge external and internal borrowings financed this form of State capitalism. The growth of monopolies and increasing penetration of foreign finance capital became a marked feature of this path.

The specific path of capitalist development adopted by the ruling classes from the fifties was bound to be crisis-ridden and reached a stalemate. The big bourgeoisie's compromise with landlordism led to the domestic market not being expanded as the purchasing power of the peasantry could not grow sufficiently. Increasing reliance on borrowings, both external and internal, to finance industrialisation and the expenditure of the State led to a serious crisis both in the external balance of payments and the fiscal deficits. The financial crisis finally led to the Congress government accepting the IMF-World Bank conditionalities. The Indian big bourgeoisie sought to meet this crisis by increasing collaboration with foreign finance capital and opening up the economy.

The big bourgeoisie, which earlier favoured State intervention to build infrastructure for capitalist development due to its weak capital base, accumulated sufficient capital over the decades and fattened itself on State assisted development and subsidies. By mid-eighties the big bourgeoisie was prepared to enter the core sector reserved for the State, take over the public sector and expand to new areas in collaboration with foreign capital. This accompanied by the crisis in the State sponsored capitalist path formed the internal base for liberalisation. Externally, the collapse of the Soviet Union hastened the process of shift in policies and the acceptance of the IMF and World Bank dictates

The pressure to open up and liberalise the economy brought about a shift in the economic policies from the mid- eighties during the Rajiv Gandhi regime. Import liberalisation and growing short-term borrowings led to huge fiscal deficits. This along with the changed international scene led to a situation where the Congress government in 1991 accepted the IMF-World Bank conditionalities for getting a structural adjustment loan. The policies of liberalisation were pushed further forward by the BJP when it came to power. The liberalization and structural adjustment policies pursued by successive governments

since 1991 have led to the opening up of the economy to foreign capital, the process of dismantling the public sector and liberalization of imports. The areas of operation so long reserved for the State/public sector have been opened up to foreign and Indian monopoly capital. With a view to liquidating the public sector, the shares of public sector units are disinvested and sold out cheaply to private monopolies. Through reduction of import duties, indigenous products are displaced by foreign goods resulting in large-scale closures and throwing out tens of thousands of workers from their jobs. International finance capital has exerted relentless pressure for opening up the financial sector. The privatisation process in the banking industry and the opening up of the insurance sector have been given priority. The signing of the GATT agreement in 1994 led to India having to accept the WTO regime. Changes in the Patents Act and the opening up of the services sector, serve the interests of imperialist capital. All these developments have led to the erosion of economic sovereignty. Under liberalisation, major concessions have been given to the big business houses and the affluent sections by the reduction in the rates of income tax and the abolition of other taxes such as wealth tax. Such policies have enormously enriched the affluent classes and expanded the market for luxury goods for their consumption. To meet this demand, goods are produced domestically in collaboration with foreign capital, or, are imported. The indiscriminate entry of foreign capital is affecting vital sectors of domestic industry. Multinational companies are buying up Indian companies. Even though some sections of the non-big bourgeoisie appear willing to collaborate with foreign capital, large sections of the medium and small capitalists are badly hit by liberalisation. The working class has borne the brunt of the heavy burdens imposed by the capitalists and the government. The real wages of the workers do not rise because of the ever-increasing prices. With the crisis in the industrial sphere becoming endemic, the workers face the onslaught of closures and retrenchment. The labour laws supposed to safeguard the rights of the workers are defective and even these are not enforced; violation of laws by the employers is the norm. The recognition of trade unions by secret ballot and the right of collective bargaining are denied. The offensive of liberalisation and privatization has rendered lakhs of workers jobless without any social security to fall back upon. The deregulation of the labour market is demanded as part of the policy of liberalisation. Benefits and rights earned by workers through prolonged struggles are sought to be curtailed. Permanent jobs are being converted to contract or casual jobs. The growth of a powerful international media controlled by transnational corporations enables imperialism to directly intervene and influence social and cultural life. The purveying of consumerist,

egoist and decadent values through the transnational media has a direct impact on our society. The media in India controlled by the big bourgeoisie and other commercial interests systematically spread the same values. The development of healthy, democratic and secular values requires the combating of such retrogressive trends. The Constitution of the Republic of India which was adopted in 1950 had laid down a set of directive principles to be followed by the State. These include: adequate means of livelihood for every citizen and the right to work; an economic system which does not result in the concentration of wealth; right to education and provision of free and compulsory education for children; living wage for workers and equal pay for equal work for men and women. None of these principles have been realised in practice. The glaring gap between the Constitutional precepts and the practice of the bourgeois rulers is a scathing indictment of the bourgeois landlord system instituted after independence.

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Sir Cyril Radcliffe and Partition of British India

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On 15th August 1947, India became independent, after being carving out a new nation known as Pakistan. In the map of world, on the north-western and eastern side of India Western and Eastern Pakistan was created. There was a refugee movement at a large scale, peoples from both the countries were migrated, their was bloodshed since the partition happened on religious basis; both the masses were eager to provoke violence and kill each-other. By the plan there was to be a border commission to be formed that will decide the demarcation of demographic extent of both the countries, After celebrating their extended weekend, thanks to the Independence Day, most Indians are back to their usual routine after shelving the August 15 celebration for the next year. But, August 17, is also an extremely important date in the history of India as today is the Radcliffe Line, which had marked the bifurcation of British Indian into two separate and independent dominions India and Pakistan were declared the boundary between India and Pakistan. The line was drawn by a British with considerable loopholes which till date are a bone of contention between the two nuclear-armed countries marked the fate of millions or rather billion and a half people living in two countries. Riots, rapes, mass murder, the exodus of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs from India and Pakistan to the land of their religious affiliation and later the war over Kashmir in 1947 paved way for a seemingly unending hatred and mistrust between two neighbours. But for a person who had never visited India, drawing

a line just because he has been told to do so by Lord Mountbatten and the British rulers, it was always easier said than done for Sir Cyril Radcliffe.

The biggest onslaught on the concept of United India came in the form of Radcliffe Line, which divided India into two independent countries India and Pakistan in 1947. It was named after its architect, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, who, as chairman of the Border Commissions, was charged with equitably dividing 175,000 square miles of territory with 88 million people. The line separates India and Pakistan from the Rann of Kutch in Gujarat till international border in Jammu in Jammu & Kashmir. Radcliff Line had divided British India into three parts - West Pakistan, India and East Pakistan. But in 1971, the Bengali people in East Pakistan rebelled against their West Pakistani rulers. As a result, a new country came into being and is known as Bangladesh. Sir Cyril Radcliffe, a lawyer by profession had never been to India and it's very difficult from him to divide a country he doesn't know much about and has never been to. The line he drew is often designated as 'Bloody Line' and Radcliff himself is said to have reservations about drawing the line in such a haste, a fact he admitted years later during an interview with an Indian journalist Kuldeep Nayar. 'Are you satisfied with the way you drew the border lines between India and Pakistan?' I asked. 'I had no alternative; the time at my disposal was so short that I could not do a better job.'

Nearly 40 percent of India was covered by these princely states which were not British possessions and hence were not part of British India. Hence, the British could neither give them independence nor partition them. The rulers of these states were, therefore, fully independent and had to choose which of the two nations they wanted to join (or if they wanted to remain independent). However, later the majority of the states decided to either join India or Pakistan except for a few. Punjab and Bengal were of complex demographic with neither have absolute Muslim or Hindu majority. Therefore, two provinces, Punjab (55.7% Muslims) and Bengal (54.4% Muslims) which did not have an overpowering majority had to face burnt of an individual's idiosyncrasies and lack of knowledge. Radcliffe left India the day after he drew the line separating India from Pakistan, never returning to see how the country changed after partition. It's also believed that he refused the take 3000 pound as fee and agreed to draw the lines. It may sound strange to many but Nayar's book also reveals that Radcliffe - despite drawing line between two countries - wanted to keep a few things under the joint control of both sides. The same joint control trick was first decided for the irrigation

system. The Punjab province had a formidable canal system which irrigated the area and even now Pakistan Punjab is the biggest web of canal irrigation system in the world. Radcliffe awarded the irrigation canals to Pakistan and the rivers feeding them to India, while the controlling headwork evenly divided. But obviously, it didn't work. Lahore is perhaps the most written about city, when we talk about partition. It could have been India's if Radcliffe hadn't decided to give it to Pakistan. Once again mentioned in Kuldeep Nayar's book, Radcliffe had told Nayar that he wanted to give Lahore to India but if he had done so, Pakistan wouldn't have got any big city because he had given already given Kolkata to India. "I nearly gave you Lahore." Lord Cyril Radcliffe, Chairman of the Boundary Commission, told me. "But then I realised that Pakistan would not have any large city.

Provisions were already given in the Indian Independence act of 1947. After the demarcation the regions were formed, and one of its immediate and most dire consequence was "Refugee movement". "The population of undivided India in 1947 was approximately 390 million. After partition, there were 330 million people in India, 30 million in West Pakistan, and 30 million people in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh)." ¹ Panjab was one of the most affected province that saw the bloodshed, it was one of the two main provinces that were divided due to the partition. Lawrence James observed that 'Sir Francis Mudie, the governor of West Punjab, estimated that 500,000 Muslims died trying to enter his province, while the British high commissioner in Karachi put the full total at 800,000...This makes nonsense of the claim by Mountbatten and his partisans that only 200,000 were killed.' ² Communal violence was taking place in both the sides, both the factions were engaged in provoking masses to retaliate, During this period, many alleged that Tara Singh was endorsing the killing of Punjabis. On 3 March 1947, at Lahore, Singh along with about 500 Sikhs declared from a dais "Death to Pakistan". ³ Nehru wrote to Gandhi on 22 August that up to that point, twice as many Muslims had been killed in East Punjab than Hindus and Sikhs in West Punjab. It is estimated that around 1–2 million people died during the partition of British India. In terms of size and rapidity, the Partition of India in 1947 constitutes perhaps the largest example of voluntary and involuntary mass population movement in modern history. Estimates of migrants between 1947 and 1951 as a result of Partition range from 10 to 17 million, while estimates of deaths associated with Partition range from 200,000 to over 1 million. The magnitude of the Partition refugee crisis can be appreciated in comparison to the 20.5 million persons world-wide currently under the United Nations high Commissioner for Refugees' mandate of concern. ⁴

The partition of India in August 1947 offers a unique opportunity to examine the consequences of such involuntary migrations. We estimate that 16.7 million people were forced to leave during the four year period after the partition. With 14.5 million inflows during the same interval, this suggests that 2.2 million people were "missing" or

¹ "Chronicles of madness and Mayhem: A Study of Saadat Hasan Manto's Short Stories, Ms Gouri Mohan, Page no. 2

² Bharadwaj, Prasant; Khwaja, Asim; Mian, Atif (30 August 2008). "The Big March: Migratory Flows after the Partition of India"

³ Excerpts taken from these books. Heritage of the Sikhs, Sardar Harbans Singh

⁴ UNHCR estimates there were about 20.5 million persons of concern as of 1 January 2003

unaccounted for during the partition.⁵ Partition-related flows altered the composition of the literate populations in India and Pakistan. A one standard deviation increase in inflows and outflows is related to a 0.9% increase in literacy for India, a 0.2% decrease in literacy for Pakistan, and a 1.2% decrease in Bangladesh (not statistically significant). However, since inflows into a country were composed of the majority religious group of the receiving country, and outflows from a country were composed purely of the minority group of the sending country, we emphasize that inflows and outflows played an important role in the overall impact apart from an "aggregate effect." In particular for Pakistan, the aggregate impact is small as the out-migrating Hindus and Sikhs were vastly more literate than the resident Muslims.⁶ A one standard deviation in outflows from Pakistan decreased literacy by 1.02%. However, in Pakistan, partition-related flows had large compositional effects within religious groups. This occurs due to in-migrating Muslims being vastly more literate than resident Muslims. An example of place with a small aggregate effect but important compositional effects is the case of Karachi in Pakistan. The district of Karachi received a large influx of migrants - in 1951, nearly 28% of the population was migrant. Hindus and Sikhs in Karachi in 1931 were also much more literate than the resident Muslims - 21% as opposed to just 3.7%. After partition, nearly all Hindus and Sikhs left Karachi (only 1.5% of the population in 1951 was composed of minorities). Yet, the aggregate effect on Karachi's literacy is very small - this was due to the highly literate migrants who moved into Karachi. In the city of Karachi, 91% of the literate population was migrant! What is important here is while overall literacy rates remained largely unchanged, who the literate population was composed of certainly changed. Partition thus replaced existing minority-majority literacy differences with within majority literacy differences. Migratory flows also had a large impact on percent employed in agriculture. Indian districts that had one standard deviation increase in inflows saw a drop in percent engaged in agriculture of 5.95%, while one standard deviation increase in outflows increased percent engaged in agriculture by 4.79%. Consistent with migrants being less likely to engage in agricultural professions, the impact of outflows and inflows is the opposite - with inflows into a district lowering agricultural occupations and outflows from a district raising it. However, as Pakistan and Bangladesh show no significant net effects this suggests that the impact

⁵ The partition of India: demographic consequences; Bhardwaj, Khwaja & Mian;

⁶ literacy among Muslims in Pakistan in 1931 was 3.31%, while among Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan it was 16.56%.

on India was not only in terms of migrants being less likely to initially belong to agricultural professions but that in-migrants, even agriculturists, were less likely to engage in agriculture once they entered India. This is supported by the fact that at least in Punjab, those leaving Indian Punjab were supposed to have vacated less land as compared to those who left Pakistani Punjab⁷. While migrants were more likely to be male, to the extent that outflows and inflows into a district were balanced in percent male and similar to resident male ratios, one would have expected that gender balance would remain unaffected by migratory flows. The impact on gender ratios in Indian districts is large: an Indian district which saw one standard deviation (12.04%) of its population moving out and being replaced by one standard deviation (6.14%) in inflows also saw an almost 0.20% higher decrease in the percentage of men between 1931-1951 as compared to a district experiencing no migratory flows. In Pakistan as well, partition resulted in decreased male ratios. A one standard deviation increase in inflows caused a decrease in percent male of almost 0.25%. These results are consistent with the fact that in 1931 Muslims in India had a smaller male ratio than Muslims in Pakistan-hence inflows into Pakistan might cause a decrease in percent male. In addition, Muslims in India had a higher male ratio than Hindus and Sikhs in India - hence the departure of Muslims also decreased male ratios in India. In general, we do not find significant effects from partition-related flows in Bangladesh. This is possibly due to the small number of district level observations we have for Bangladesh or could also be the result of the large consequences of the Bengal famine. The Bengal famine could make it harder for us to isolate the effects due to partition.

The anecdotal evidence from Pakistan, especially accounts from Karachi, suggests that migrants were more educated. The data on literacy was not published in the census of India in 1951, so the only available today is of Pakistan and Bangladesh (the then eastern Pakistan). This is important since at times areas with very few migrants had very high literacy rates. For example, Baluchistan in Pakistan had an average migrant literacy of around 63%, but the total number of migrants in Baluchistan was less than 28,000-a relatively small number given the large inflows in other states. The figure shows that for the most part, migrants into Pakistani and Bangladeshi districts were significantly more literate than the resident population. In some cases the differences were quite large: A case in point is Larkana district, which received more than 600,000 migrants and had a difference of 21% in the literacy rates between migrants and residents. Tests reveal that these differences are statistically significant and relatively large:

⁷ Schechtman, 1951

for Pakistani districts the migrant literacy rate was 7.1 percentage points higher than residents. The corresponding difference for Bangladesh was 8.1 percentage points. The effects for India reveal an aggregate increase in literacy of around 0.98%. Outflows in India decreased literacy rates only mildly (coefficient is 0.007), while inflows increased literacy rates quite substantially (coefficient is 0.16). In Pakistan, as mentioned before, outflows decreased literacy rates, while inflows increased literacy rates. The overall effect for Pakistan is small and negative (0.2%). In Bangladesh, though the results are statistically insignificant, both inflows and outflows seem to decrease literacy rates. This is not surprising given that 'while the exchange in population' had almost been even between the two parts of the Punjab, there existed a wide disparity in the land that became available for cultivation in east Punjab. The Hindu and Sikh refugees had left behind forty-three lakh acres of irrigated land, against which existed only thirteen lakh acres of irrigated land evacuated by the Muslims of east Punjab."⁸ However, it is likely that migrants leaving India were not in agriculture in the first place - in this event, areas with more outflows should have an increase in agriculture professions. Still, the difference in land vacated could have more of an effect than that of non-agriculturists leaving from India. Statistical tests reveal that these differences are indeed large and significant: for Indian and Bangladeshi districts, the percentage of migrants in agricultural professions was about 28 percentage points lower (compared to residents). The corresponding difference for Pakistan was only 7 percentage points. In India, we can explore these relationships even further as the Indian census in 1951 provides a more detailed classification of occupation. The results show that migratory flows affected the agricultural occupation structure in India. A district which saw one standard deviation increase in inflows (and no outflows) saw a drop of 5.95 percentage points in individuals engaged in agriculture. However, a district which experienced one standard deviation increase in outflows actually saw agricultural propensities rise by an additional 4.79 percentage points. Together these two effects suggest that both those who left India and those who entered it were less likely to be agriculturists/choose agricultural professions. Anecdotal evidence suggests that apart from just constrained choice due to relative shortage on land vacated in India, those leaving Pakistan may have also been more likely to have non-agricultural vocations. "The economic consequences of partition for the city [of Lahore] were severe. Many institutions, banks and corporate organizations relocated from the city. The majority of factories closed down. The bulk of the skilled manpower left, banks and

⁸ Kudaisya & Yong Tan, 2000, pg 127

financial institutions ceased functioning, and there was a massive flight of capital."⁹ Statistical tests reveal that on average in India the percentage of men in inflows was 1.09 percentage points lower than residents. In comparison, in Pakistan migrants are slightly more likely to be male (0.35%) than residents (this is substantial given that Pakistan districts already had fairly high male ratios) and for Bangladesh this is even starker with migrants being 2.6% more likely to be male as compared to the residents in the districts they migrated to. In Pakistan a one standard deviation in inflows decreased the difference in percent male by 0.25%. Outflows from Pakistan tended to increase male ratios, but the coefficient is rather small and statistically insignificant. For Bangladesh the overall effect is negative, small in magnitude, and statistically insignificant. These results are consistent with the fact that in 1931 Muslims in India had a smaller male ratio than Muslims in Pakistan - hence inflows into Pakistan might cause a decrease in percent male. In addition, Muslims in India had a higher male ratio than Hindus and Sikhs in India-hence the departure of Muslims also decreased male ratios in India.

Among total literate in Pakistan in 1951, migrants were approximately 20%. In fact these differences were not only for basic educational measures such as literacy rates, but also for educational attainment in general. If we categorize educational attainment as either attainment of primary and middle education or matriculation (10th class) and higher, we find that migrants were more educated than residents in Pakistan. The idea that within Muslim equality increased is seen clearly in that among people with higher degrees (higher than college degrees) migrants were approximately 47%. Unfortunately we cannot compare migrant education attainment to that of the Hindus and Sikhs who left as we do not have attainment information from 1931. In addition to the above within - group difference, geographic inequalities arose as educated migrants tended to concentrate in big cities. Nearly 20% of literate migrants concentrated in the city of Karachi. Hence Karachi, which in 1931 contributed only 8.9% of total literates in Pakistan, suddenly contributed 20% with most of that increase due to literate migrants. When the geographic concentration is combined with educational attainment differences, the results show the emergence of Karachi as the center of the migrant elite. Among migrants with higher degrees, 50% went to Karachi city. The case of Karachi is particularly important as it was the first capital of independent Pakistan. While India may have experienced similar within-group differences, it is noteworthy that in terms of urban compositional changes, India's experience differed substantially from Pakistan's. In India, Hindus in

⁹ Kudaisya and Tan (2000: pg 179

big cities were already very literate in 1931 - in fact, they were almost as literate as Hindus in Pakistan at the same time (13.2% as opposed to 16.5%). Muslims in big cities in Pakistan, however, were less educated than the average migrant into Pakistan in 1951 (20.2% as opposed to 31.5%). Thus, post-partition, when migrants tended to go to larger cities¹⁰, the differences between migrants and residences were greater in Pakistan than in India. Hence, on the surface what looks to be small aggregate changes in population characteristics actually hides important compositional and geographic concentration aspects. While it is hard to draw long term implications simply on the basis of these patterns, it is noteworthy that the within-group differences, particularly in urban areas, that arose due to the migratory flows may have contributed to differences in how the countries evolved. Pakistan experienced large within-group changes both because migrants were substantially more educated and because these differences were even starker in urban areas that likely played a greater influence. In contrast in India, while there were also substantial within-group differences in education created due to the migratory flows, these were likely to be less salient overall both because a large fraction of India experienced little migratory flows (and hence a greater fraction of the initial minority group remained) and also because the migrant-resident differences were much less stark in Indian cities. These patterns do raise the question of whether they may have impacted the lines of conflict in India versus Pakistan since the evidence in the ensuing decades suggests that while religion remained a salient source of divisions in India, in Pakistan the more significant difference tended to be within Muslims, with migrant status often playing an important role.¹¹ It is worth noting that the top leaders in the initial years of Pakistan had all been Muhajirs [migrants]...With ...their higher levels of education and skills, their representation in the bureaucratic and political systems, and their assertions of cultural superiority, the Muhajirs could not assimilate themselves with the original inhabitants of Karachi.¹²

Later on, there is one more effect of partition that is the killing of Gandhi ji. Nathuram Godse killed Gandhi on 30 January 1948 at Birla temple in New Delhi. One of the eye witness account of the assassination of Mahtma Gandhi-

“We both looked at our watches again. It was 5:12 by my watch when Bob said: 'There he is.' We stood near the corner of the wall, on

¹⁰ Bhardwaj, Khwaja, Mian 2008

¹¹ the partition of India: demographic consequences
Prashant Bharadwaj, Asim Khwaja & Atif Mian

¹² Kudaisya & Yong Tan, 2000

the side of the garden where he was coming, and watched the evening light fall on his shining dark-brown head. He did not walk under the arbor this evening but across the grass, in the open lawn on the other side of the flower-beds. It was one of those shining Delhi evenings, not at all warm but alights with the promise of spring. I felt well and happy and grateful to be here. Bob and I stood idly talking, I do not remember about what, and watching the Mahatma advance toward us over the grass, leaning lightly on two of 'the girls,' with two or three other members of his 'family' behind them. I read afterward that he had sandals on his feet but I did not see them. To me it looked as if he walked barefoot on the grass. It was not a warm evening and he was wrapped in homespun shawls. He passed by us on the other side and turned to ascend the four or five brick steps which led to the terrace or prayer-ground. Here, as usual, there was a clump of people, some of whom were standing and some of whom had gone on their knees or bent low before him. Bob and I turned to watch - we were perhaps ten feet away from the steps-but the clump of people cut off our view of the Mahatma now; he was so small. Then I heard four small, dull, dark explosions. 'What's that?' I said to Bob in sudden horror. 'I don't know,' he said. I remember that he grew pale in an instant. 'Not the Mahatma!' I said, and then I knew. Inside my own head there occurred a wavelike disturbance which I can only compare to a storm at sea - wind and wave surging tremendously back and forth. I remember all this distinctly; I do not believe that I lost consciousness even for a moment, although there may have been an instant or two of half-consciousness. I recoiled upon the brick wall and leaned against it, bent almost in two. I felt the consciousness of the Mahatma leave me then-I know of no other way of expressing this: he left me. ...The storm inside my head continued for some little time-minutes, perhaps; I have no way of reckoning. ..It was during this time, apparently, that many things happened: a whole external series of events took place in my immediate neighborhood - a few yards away - and I was unaware of them. A doctor was found; the police took charge; the body of the Mahatma was, carried away; the crowd melted, perhaps urged to do so by the police. I saw none of this. The last I saw of the Mahatma he was advancing over the grass in the evening light, approaching the steps. When I finally took my fingers out of my mouth and stood up, dry-eyed, there were police and soldiers and not many people, and there was Bob Stimson. He was rather breathless; he had gone somewhere to telephone to the B.B.C. He came with me down the steps to the lawn, where we walked up and down beside the flower-bed for a while. The room with the glass doors and windows, by the rose garden at the end of the arbor, had a crowd of people around it. Many were weeping. The police were endeavoring to make them leave. Bob could not tell me

anything except that the Mahatma had been taken inside that room. On the following day he told me that he had seen him carried away and that the khadi which he wore was heavily stained with blood."¹³ Godse stated that he killed Gandhi for showing too much leniency towards Pakistan disregrading the interests of Hindus". There were already about five attempts were made for the assassination of Mahtma Gandhi, Godse was already involved prior to the final succesful attempt. He has justified himself in his book "why I killed Gandhi?" later on Godse was hanged on 15 November 1949. After the assassination the riots were again broke out resulted in killings in Bomabay about 6 people were killed and 26 were injured."¹⁴ These were the immediate effect of the partitions, further there are some more aspects that are even today the bone of contention between both the nations. Such as Kashmir issue, Pakistan has always his evil eyes on the region of Pakistan, at the time of partition, there was no fruitful solution was maintained thus through which the Kashmir Problem became more worse. The first Indo pak war was fought in 1948, The Kashmir was the princely state on 15 August, Jammu and Kashmir had not acceded to either India or Pakistan. It offered to sign a 'stand still agreement' with both countries which would allow the free movement of peoples and goods across borders. Pakistan signed the agreement, but India said it would wait and watch.¹⁵ Two weeks after these words were spoken a force of several thousand armed men invaded the state from the north. On 22 October 1948 they crossed the border that separated the North-West Frontier Provinces from Kashmir and briskly made their way towards the capital, Srinagar. Most of these raiders were Pathans from what was now a province of Pakistan.¹⁶ At that point of time the maharaja of Kashmir became helpless and then he asked for Indian help. Indian forces went to Kashmir and took the situation under it's control, the then Prime Minister of India Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru said, "Had we delayed for a single day the Kashmir would have been passed from our hands". Then this matter was took to United Nations as it was the only possible solution then visible. On 1 January 1948 India decided to take the Kashmir issue to the United Nations. This was done on the advice of the governor general, Lord Mountbatten. Since Kashmir had acceded to it, India wanted the UN to help clear the northern parts of what it said was an illegal occupation

¹³ Vincent Sheean's account appears in: Sheean, Vincent, Lead, Kindly Light (1949); Ashe, Geoffrey, Gandhi (1968)

¹⁴ The Rusell County News, Russell, Kansas, January 30, 1948

¹⁵ India after Gandhi, Ramchandra Guha, Pan books, A valley bloody and beautiful, page no. 61

¹⁶ India after Gandhi, Ramchandra Guha, Pan books, op. cit.,, page no. 62

by groups loyal to Pakistan.¹⁷ Pakistan now suggested the withdrawal of all armed forces in the state, and the holding of a plebiscite under an 'impartial interim administration.' India instead referred the matter to the will of the people.

A striking feature of the UN discussions on Kashmir was the partisanship of the British. Their representative, Philip Noel-Baker, vigorously supported the Pakistani position, in March 1948 Sheikh Abdullah replaced Mehr Chand Mahajan as the prime minister of Jammu and Kashmir. Then, in the middle of May, when the snows had melted, the war recommenced. The two armies battled on through the later months of 1948. In November both Dras and Kargil were recaptured by the Indians, making Leh and Ladakh safe for the moment. In the same month the hills around Poonch were also cleared. However, the northern and western parts of Kashmir were still in the control of Pakistan. Some Indian commanders wanted to move on, and asked for the redeployment of three brigades from the plains. Their request was not granted. For one thing, winter was about to set in. For another, the offensive would have required not merely troop reinforcements, but also massive air support. Though the plebiscite never happened and the Kashmir remained the bone of contention. Abdullah said, 'the fighting will continue; India and Pakistan will prolong the quarrel indefinitely, and our people's suffering will go'.¹⁸ From that day till today India and Pakistan had fought four wars, held many talks but still the problem remains. The next three wars were fought in the year of 1965, 1971 and 1999. In this the most determining was the war of 1971. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was the then prime minister of India, she sympathised with the cause of Eastern Pakistan, and launched a operation that resulted in the liberation of East Pakistan as Bangladesh. Even prior and after this the war of 1965 and the war of Kargil was fought. Though India always remain victorious. The cold war has also impacted the Kashmir problem, even failing on direct war on ground Pakistan took the shelter of provoking militancy in the valley that resulted in terrorist activities throughout the country. The issue of the Kashmir is important not because of the region itself, but because the dispute involves two nations of strategic interest to the United States.

The cold war started just after the second world war, the two supreme powers of the then world were the United states of America and the Soviet Union. The United States viewed Pakistan as a crucial cold war ally, while the non-aligned nation of India was seen as more friendly to the Soviet Union and thus wasn't a strategic partner to the U.S..This

¹⁷ India after Gandhi, Ramchandra Guha, op. cit., , page no. 67

¹⁸ India after Gandhi, Ramchandra Guha, op. cit., , page no. 69

paradigm began to change following the collapse of the Soviet Union and with the increasing power and prestige of China. In order to gain a buttress against China, the United States began to seek a closer partnership with India. A question that then arises is what impact the Cold War era relationships have on the current United States position on the Kashmir. By examining the history with both nations since independence from the British, one may be able to determine the U. S. position on Kashmir vis-à-vis the closeness of relationships. Tensions brought about by the growing Cold War between the Soviet Union and western nations, particularly the United States, impacted relations with India and Pakistan immediately after those two nations gained independence from the British in 1947. The complexity of the issue and changing strategic realities led researcher Parama Palit to note that “The hallmark of the US policy on Kashmir has been its inconsistency”.¹⁹ A former British Indian foreign secretary opined that once the British control of the region waned, an alternative center of power was needed to replace it. This was especially true in order to counter rising Soviet influence. Due to the British experience in World War II with India’s geo-strategic importance as a base for operations, the British desired to form a partnership with a nation that was formed out of British India; Pakistan was the desirable country to form a partnership with due to the fact that more areas of strategic importance at the time fell within proximity to Pakistan than they did to India.²⁰ Cultivating a Pakistani alliance in order to provide a bulwark against Soviet expansion and create an ally for support in future confrontations, the British went so far as to push the United States to repudiate Indian ownership of the Kashmir and openly side with Pakistan through a recognition of the validity of claims to the Kashmir. While the United States did not go so far as to support Pakistani claims to the Kashmir, it did increase support and interaction with the country. An alliance with Pakistan was extremely important to the United States and became a priority, especially given the Indian position of neutrality in the Cold War that was highlighted by a policy of non-alignment and ultimately pro-Soviet attitude.²¹ India initially moved from a neutral to pro-Soviet position out of need. The United Nations (UN) position on the dispute over the Kashmir was worded in a way to indicate that Pakistan had a legitimate claim, rather than concurring with India’s position that Pakistan had committed an armed aggression to seize a portion of Indian territory. The UN position was seen as being the

¹⁹ Palit, “The Kashmir policy of the United States: A study of the perceptions, conflicts, and dilemmas,” 784.

²⁰ Harrison, “The United States and South Asia: Trapped by the Past?” 403

²¹ Shehzad Qazi, “Hedging Bets,” *World Affairs* 175 (4) (2012): 23.

result of United States influence, and was to the benefit of Pakistan which was able to claim the UN statement as a claim of legitimacy over the region. The apparent support of Pakistani claims to the Kashmir coupled with increasing military aid and attention paid to the country by the United States, served to alienate India from the west and make Soviet influence possible in India. The United States viewed India's non-alignment policy as a ruse to disguise its support of the Soviet Union, a position which Secretary of State Dulles described as "an immoral and short-sighted conception" which would result in the Indians succumbing to Communism.²² For some time, the result was that the United States pursued a closer relationship with Pakistan while India pursued an independent course which was often at odds with American foreign policy aims. Relations with India were further strained by Indian acquisition of nuclear weapons. Even with this situation, the United States made several attempts to settle the Kashmir dispute. In order to support Pakistan, the United States attempted to encourage a settlement to the dispute through a plebiscite, a position that India is not inclined to support due to its belief that the Kashmir is a part of India, and any ending of the tensions is a matter for India and Pakistan alone. Over time, the United States realized the Kashmir issue was as important an issue to India and Pakistan as the Cold War was to the Americans and western power. That fact along with the unwillingness of Pakistan or India to support the United States in Vietnam led to a general disengagement in the region.²³ While the United States maintained relations with both countries, a period emerged when the United States paid little attention to either and played both sides of the fence, first by appearing to support Pakistan's position during the 1971 India-Pakistan war, and then by appearing to support India during the 1999 Kargil conflict. Support for Pakistan waxed and waned over the years. A close relationship during the early years of the Cold War thawed until the United States needed Pakistani assistance to thwart the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, only to thaw again amid the buildup of a Pakistani nuclear arms program until the United States once again needed Pakistani assistance in counter-terrorism operations after 9/11.²⁴ The United States decided to try to improve relations with India in order to counter growing Chinese influence in the region.[xxiv] An indication of the subtle shift towards India and away from Pakistan was evident by the United States'

²² Palit, "The Kashmir policy of the United States: A study of the perceptions, conflicts, and dilemmas," 785.

²³ Palit, "The Kashmir policy of the United States: A study of the perceptions, conflicts, and dilemmas," 788.

²⁴ Shuja "America and South Asia Since September 11".

support for a bilateral solution to the Kashmiri problem as opposed to a plebiscite.

The United States-India-Pakistan relationship is complicated by current events. The United States is actively pursuing a global counter-terrorism policy and needs the assistance of Pakistan, while simultaneously needing a closer relationship with India as a means to counter growing Chinese influence in the region. It would appear as if relations with Pakistan would have deteriorated if not for the 9/11 attacks which resulted in the United States need for Pakistani cooperation in the hunt for terrorists and invasion of Afghanistan. The result is the current relationship between Pakistan and the United States is focused almost entirely on security concerns, while the relationship with India has been building over a number of years and focuses on economic, cultural, and energy programs as well as security issues. The challenge with taking any position on the Kashmir is how to remain neutral, and build relations with India without sacrificing the relationship with Pakistan. This will likely remain the United States' approach unless the situation deteriorates to a point where the tensions between India and Pakistan are damaging the nation's strategic interests, or the region attracts large numbers of multi-national terrorists posing a direct threat to the United States.²⁵

²⁵ Has the Cold War Affected the United States' Position on the Kashmir? | Small Wars Journal.

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Europeanized Tamil nadu: Expeditions and Religious Conversion, 1781-1840

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Introduction

The advent of Portuguese, Dutch, British, Danish and French East India Companies had brought too many changes into India and exposed the society into multicultural socio-economic and cultural transformations. The novel idea of colonialism produced innovative politics, economy and introduced a religion Christianity in India. The spread of Christianity in the Coromandel Coast had influenced the life of oppressed Tamils enormously. The radical changes what the society of India had met in the 18th century for which, in reality, the seeds were sowed in 14th century Europe. Subsequent to the arrival of the first Danish Christian missionaries, Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Pluetschau at Thrargambadi, understood that the people of the region were not having life equal to the Europeans of their society. Then the Christian missionaries contemplated to sow the seeds of transformation through education in which German Schools were established in the coastal villages of Tamilnadu. To provide perspicuity to the objective of the paper has been divided into three parts. The first part is briefly discussing about why the king and queens of Europe encouraged their sailors to have expeditions towards of India to conquer the fabulous wealth. The tactical and rich commercial experiences of various European trading companies in India have

elaborated in the second part. The final part of the paper narrates how a replica of European based society was created in Tamilnadu.

I

European Expeditions: Discovery of Direct Sea Route to India

The close of the eighteenth century was rightly considered as the most important period in the history of modern India. During that time the freedom of the United States of America very directly affected the wealth and status of Great Britain because who had consider it as, economically and politically, a valuable strategic colonial possessions of them in the world. Then the French revolution had proliferated and instilled a fear in the minds of rulers of adjacent nations of Europe and Asia. Because the objective of the revolution very consciously challenged the identical base of homo-hierarchicus form of monarchical governments and endangered it's every social institution of Europe and raised a question over the liberties of the people in the civilized world which seemed dependent.

¹ The radical changes what the Indian society met in the 18th century for which, in reality, the seeds were sown in 14th century Europe. During the time of 14th Century Italy gained its fame in Europe for her rich mercantile business with Middle-East and its markets located in Genoa and Venice. To do the maritime business the continent of Eurasian and Africa was well linked by interconnected business regions with three important vice-classifications. The East Asia vice-classifications had connected China and the Spice Islands in equatorial Southeast Asia to India, the Middle-East Mongolian vice-classification linked the Eurasian continent from the eastern Mediterranean to Central Asia and India and the European vice-classification, which located on the middle of the markets at Champagne in France. At that time the business roads of the Italian cities, Genoa and Venice, had also linked Europe to the Middle East and the Indian Ocean.²

In the middle of 13th century the newly established Portugal business firms were emerged as competitors for the monopolistic trading activities of Italy. The two newly created states, Portugal and Spain, were emerged in Europe by driving out the Arabs from their land. Until that time the abundant wealth owned by the Arabs were now flowed into the hands of the Christian nobles of the states and who too secured it by ventured into the maritime business activities.

¹ William Ellis, *The History of the London Missionary Society, Vol. I*, London, 1844, pp. 1-2.

² Robert B. Marks, *The Origins of the Modern World: A Global and Ecological Narrative from the Fifteenth to the Twenty-first Century*, Oxford, 2007, p. 33.

Meanwhile, in 1453, the Turk involved in an invasion for capturing the Constantinople while the important commercial cities of Italy, Genoa and Florence, had met serious destruction and lost their spice trade which they had with the eastern part of the world. Simultaneously the mounting maritime business activities of the Portugal business firms too posed serious challenges to the commercial growth of Italy and particularly for their Gold business.³

After capturing of the Constantinople the Turk had put an end to the European's commercial contact with the Easter part of world. Even before and after the wars of Crusade, somehow, Italy maintained a good relationship with the traders of the Arabs in the Middle-East in which sustained the markets Genoa and Venice. At the end of the 13th century a particular adventurous trading firm of Italy had a long two years of travel through land to reach China for establishing a trading relationship in which who succeeded it. During this visit, it was widely believed that, Marco Polo took part of a member of this firm where the Mongol Empire Kublai Khan welcomed them. After completing his stay in China, Marco Polo, returned to Venice by a ship adopting a sea route. Meanwhile of his travel, Marco Polo recorded that, the firm members had visited Japan, Spice Island and Tamilnadu. After returning to Venice Marco Polo had shared his voyage experiences with his friends and others of the society with stories of fantasy richness of Asia. The travel accounts of Marco Polo stimulated too many imagines and hidden desirous of the Kings, Queens and Sailors of Europe over the unconquered wealth of a country which really situated in a very faraway place of the world. The engrossed Kings and Sailors of Europe decided to discover a new direct sea route, other than of the Turk dominant Constantinople sea, to reach the unknown land of Asia and India to access the unconquered wealth which Marco Polo illustrated in his travel account.⁴ Simultaneously by hearing such stories the Christian Missionaries of Europe too had many dreams of probability to visit the places and convert numerous people of the region into Christianity. On the other hand the European merchants had imaginings to visit India to access the valuable goods for sale in Europe in which who, believed that, could make a manifold profitable business. The kings and Queens had the confidence that through creating commercial contacts with India and other states of Asia which would help them to improve their wealth, political status and political power in Europe. Inflated travel accounts of Marco Polo had portrayed

³ R.T. Naylor, *Canada in the European Age, 1453-1919*, Canada, 2006, p.8.

⁴ Hugh Murray, *The Travels of Marco Polo: Greatly Amended and Enlarged*, New-York, 1845, pp.14-15; see also V. Rao, *World History: From Early Times to A D 2000*, New Delhi, 2007, p.181.

India in Europe as a land of wealth which would not be depleted easily.⁵

As a commercial competitor of Italy in Europe whatsoever the Portugal kingdom wish to establish a business contact with India for which decided to spend huge money for navigational research projects. The Portugal kings encouraged the sailors of Europe to have many expeditions to find a new very direct sea route to India. Christopher Columbus, who was born at Genoa in Italy, became sailor at the age of fourteen, however, had a resentment that as his labour was not paid enough in Italy in which decided to move to Portugal for his work. At that time he had extensive experiences of travel over a great part of the Europe and the world. After reaching Portugal he learned to read and write in Latin and improved the skill of Map making. By using his experiences of voyage, map making skill and reading of the Marco Polo's travel account Christopher Columbus had come to a conclusion that the great ocean to the east of China was the same ocean that touched the western shores of Europe and he believed that the world was indeed smaller than which was presumed. With this plan he first approached the Italian king but who declined to support him financially and then approached the Portugal king where to met an unexpected disappointment. Finally the king Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain supported him for his voyage which too ended in vain instead of India he reached New World.⁶

Thanks to the efforts of Henry the Navigator the Kingdom Portugal won many colonies in Atlantic Island from which acquired much wealth from agricultural products of sugarcane and other crops in addition to the slave trade. The accumulated wealth was again invested in further exploration of sea routes in which the Portuguese sailors who were initially involved were reached East Coast of Africa, then which continued up to West African and finally to Asia and India. 13th November 1460, Prince of Portugal the Henry the Navigator died but not the quest which he left to the explorers of his fellow countrymen. In 1481, King John II accepted the throne and continued the tradition. In continuation of the work of Henry the Navigator, the King John II, set his goal to explore a direct sea route from Africa to India. In 1487, he left this task to Bartolommeo Dias to continue the voyaging further down to the West coast of Africa. Consequently Bartolommeo Dias reached Cape of Good Hope. This was a significant accomplishment in the History of exploration of Europeans which set

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Rebekah R. Liebman and Gertrude A. Young, *Growth of America*, California, 1959, p.11.

off a direct sea route to India and to the countries of Asia.⁷ In 1497, the King of Portuguese D. Manuel II presented the opportunity to continue the mission India exploration, to complete the work of Bartolommeo Dias, to Vasco da Gama. On 8th July 1497 Vasco da Gama initiated his travel from the path of Bartolommeo Dias and on 20th May 1498 he reached the coastal village of Kallikottai in Kerala. This exploration helped Europeans to establish a new direct trade route to India in which provided better chances for the Portugal kingdom to access great wealth of India and the power in Europe.⁸

II

Advent of Colonialism

Very exactly from today more than 520 years before the Portuguese sailor com trader Vasco da Gama alighted at the sea shores of Kallikottai in Kerala which facilitated anew opportunity after a long time back to the traders, colonists and Christian priests to reach India and continue their business. Nearly a century the Portuguese kingdom had kept the map of sea route, which connected India and Europe, as secret in which dominated the maritime business of India.⁹ Next to that, in March 1510, the Portuguese Governor Afonso de Albuquerque involved in a war with the king Adilshah of Bijapur by which captured the tactical and rich commercial entree seaport of Goa. Then it was believed that the Island Goa was incorporated with 13 villages of 6 to 7 groups in circuit of 27 miles of distance in extent.¹⁰ Primarily Afonso de Albuquerque invaded the island because within these 13 villages most talented carpenters of India were lived, who had extreme skills and intelligence over ship building and curiously who had the abilities to repair the wrecked ships too. In addition to that other reasons for the capturing of Goa were the availing natural harbours, abundances of nails needed for the construction and repairing of the ships, verity of spices in which the Portuguese could drive multi fold profits in Europe. Since 1510, the Portuguese ascertained their control over the complete Asian coastline from Hormuz in the Persian Gulf to Malacca in Malaya and the Spice Islands in Indonesia. On 17th October 1510 Afonso de Albuquerque wrote a letter to his king D. Manuel II by explaining the

⁷ Lisa Ariganello, *Henry the Navigator: Prince of Portuguese Exploration*, Canada, 2007, pp. 28-30.

⁸ E.G. Ravenstein (ed.), *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama 1497-1499*, Cambridge, 2010, pp. 13-14.

⁹ Tony Napoli, *Vasco Da Gama: Great Explorers of the World Discovering the Sea Route to India*, New York, 2010, pp. 21-22.

¹⁰ Pratima P. Kamat, "Historical Geography and Natural Resources," in Teotonio R de Souza (ed.), *Goa Through the Ages: Economic History, Vol II*, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 15-16.

reasons and the circumstance which led him to capture Goa and another 90 years the Portuguese not had any European rivals in India.¹¹

In 1578 first time a book of John Frampton was published in English, a translation version of *Suma de Geographia*, related to the sailing of West Indian waters in England. Just before of the war with Spain, in 1770's, Walter Raleigh an advisor of Elizabeth I encouraged her to commence colonies in the New World in which two ships were deputed for exploration in 1584. After 1570 England proved her navigational maturity with the help of Francis Drake's voyage. In 1579, Walter Raleigh appointed a young mathematician Thomas Harriot to drawing new charts, instrument and rules to improve and modernise the navigational science of England. In 1581, the second Spanish navigational book *The Art of Navigational* was translated and published in English by John Frampton. In 1588 England won the powerful country Spain in a war which turned her into a leading country of Europe.¹² In the latter half of the sixteenth century the budding navigational sciences of Europe had provided best opportunities to the commercially growing countries of England, Holland and France to further improve their capability of naval power. The strong inclination what Dutch and England had at that time over the wealth of overseas which led them to engage into the maritime business and fixed a direct rivalry with the monopolistic trade of Portuguese in India. Fierce battles were took place to control the commercial markets of Indian Ocean in which Dutch won the control of Indonesia and England over India, Sri Lanka and Malaya.¹³

In 1579, much prior to the naissance of the English East India Company a British man called Thomas Stephens visited Goa. Only after him more of the English men came to India afterwards. History considered that in 1583, Ralf Fitch, an Englishman was a first English traveller of India who had stayed here nearly eight years and after that returned to England in 1591.¹⁴ In between of the years 1583 and 1591, Ralf Fitch, the London business man disguisedly boarded into a Portuguese ship *Tiger* and came to India for that crime he was arrested and put into a prison of Goa from where he wrote an elaborate account of his experiences of voyage to India. Meanwhile of his account Ralf Fitch recorded on the profusious export of silver coins from Japan and

¹¹ K.M. Mathew, *History of The Portuguese Navigation in India*, Delhi, 1988, p. 301.

¹² David W. Waters, *English Navigational Books, Charts and Globes Printed Down to 1600*, Coimbra, 1985, pp. 246-248.

¹³ Ibid; see also Bipan Chandra, *History of Modern India*, New Delhi, 2009, p. 55.

¹⁴ Mohan Mishra and Narottam Mishra, *India: Through Alien Eyes*, Australia, 2012, p.14.

India to China and also narrated the details of gold which were gone in opposite direction inspired again the attention of the English traders towards of India.¹⁵ In 1592, Ralf Fitch brought the Portuguese's sailing map of India to Britain which was simultaneously published in Dutch and England as titled *Sailing Guides to the Eastern Seas*. Until that time what the Portuguese sailors maintained as secret was now revealed to all and published as map in Europe which moved nearly all of the countries of Europe to venture to have an expedition towards off India in which the British had the best prospect to enter and capture the markets of Asia.¹⁶

From the time of inception of the Portuguese voyages with India the London merchants used to purchase their needed Indian goods chiefly from them by using a Turkey Company. However, in 1587 the war in which England involved with Spain put an end to all her communications with Portugal. By using these circumstances the Mediterranean Turkey Company dangerously raised the prices of Indian commodities intolerably which somehow forced the London merchants to think an alternative. On in this situation, in 1595, the Dutch who had won the Portuguese in the Indian water commanded the trade too. In 1597 the monopolised market advantage of Dutch led her to declare a deep raise of price on Indian pepper in European market, for instance 1b pepper was raised from 3s. to 6s. and immediately which was raised into 8s. and then prices of other articles in proportion, which very directly hit the economy of merchants of London particularly and England generally. To save England's internal economy from the catastrophic effects the London merchants had decided to make a direct mercantile contact with India for which the initial attempts what they had met a tragic failure despite the recent monopolizing avarice character of the Dutch had now being goaded to attain a share of the rich trade of India.¹⁷

In 1599, Richard Staper and his acquaintances collectively deputed a merchant of London, Mildenhall, to the Court of the Great Mughal Empire in India. However, until 1603, Mildenhall did not able to reach Agra and meet the king. After that, in 1606, with the help of some Jesuits missionaries and Italian merchants, who had at that time resided in Agra, had secured ample commercial privileges for the English. Simultaneously the London merchants were indefatigably

¹⁵ Richard Von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune: Money and Monetary Policy in China, 1000-1700*, Berkeley, 1996 , p.129.

¹⁶ J. Horton Ryley, *Ralph Fitch: England's Pioneer to India*, New Delhi, 1998, pp. 47-51 and 250; see also D.B. Quinn, *The Hakluyt Hand Book*, Vol. I, England, 2010, p. 211.

¹⁷ Ibid.

worked to establish a Company for conducting over sea trade in East-India. On 22nd September 1599, with the support of the Lord Mayor of London, most of the Aldermen and other chief merchants of the city congregated at Founder's hall and formed an association for trading with India for which the merchants collected a capital of £30,13368.¹⁸ Meanwhile a dispute erupted between the English and Spanish Commissioners prevented the formation of the company for a while and then deliberation was resumed on trade with India. On 31st December 1600, the England Queen Elizabeth issued a Charter with conditions in which the English East India Company came into existence, the Charter stated that, extract:

“By the name of ‘The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies,’ with succession, the power to purchase lands (without any limitation), to sue and be sued, and to have a common seal. The direction of the voyages, the provision of shipping and merchandize, the sales of the goods imported, and all other business belonging to the Company, shall be managed by a Governor and twenty-four Committees, named in the charter, who shall be succeeded by others to be elected by the Company on the first day of July, or within six days thereafter, every year. They shall have the exclusive privilege of trading during fifteen years, reckoning from Christmas 1600, to all parts of Asia, Africa, and America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, eastward to the Straits of Magellan, except such countries or ports as may be in the actual possession of any Christian Prince in amity with the Queen. The sons of members, not being under twenty-one years of age, and also their apprentices, their factors, and others employed by them in the India trade, may freely use the trade.¹⁹ The Company may assemble at any place and time convenient, and make bye laws for the regulation of their business, and of the people in their employment, and may order offenders to be punished by imprisonment or fines, consistently with the laws of the realm. The Queen, considering that, in a new and unknown trade, many articles may be exported, which will be found unfit for sale in India, grants a total exemption from duties for the outward cargoes in the four first voyages; and for the customs upon their homeward cargoes they may give two bonds payable in six and twelve months. After the four first voyages, if any goods shall be lost on the passage outward, the duties paid upon them shall be deducted from those payable on the goods to be next shipped. The India goods imported by the Company, for which the duties have been duly paid, may be exported within thirteen months

¹⁸ David Macpherson, *The History of the European Commerce with India* (London: Longman, 1812), p.77.

¹⁹ Ibid.

after their arrival, by English merchants and in English vessels, without paying any further customs.²⁰

The Company may export in the ships, now preparing for their first voyage, silver coin, not exceeding the value of thirty thousand pounds, consisting of Spanish or other foreign coin, or of money coined in the mint to the amount of at least six thousand pounds. It being necessary (necessary) that the Company's ships sail at a particular season of the year, they shall 'in any time of restraint' be empowered to send six good ships, and six good pinnaces, well armed, and manned with five hundred English seamen, who shall at all times be permitted to go on their voyages 'without any stay or contradiction,' unless notice shall be given in due time to the Company that the Queen may not spare the said six ships and six pinnaces and the mariners requisite for 'the' from her own service. All the Queen's subjects are strictly prohibited from trading to the countries comprehended in the Company's privilege, on penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo, imprisonment, and other punishment, unless they have licenses in writing under the seal of the Company, who are empowered to grant such licenses. The Company are bound to import within six months after the return of every voyage, except the first one, as much gold or silver as shall be equal to the value of the silver exported by them. If the Company's privilege be found by experience to be prejudicial to the realm, the Queen may revoke it, upon giving two years' notice and, if the trade shall be found beneficial to the realm after the trial of fifteen years, new letters patent shall be granted for other fifteen years."²¹

From 1601 to 1613, The Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies had in many ways attempted to contact Indian kings and Queens to establish their direct trade relationship with them. Nearly after one hundred years of the arrival of Portuguese in India the England King James I deputed William Hawkins as his emissary to meet the Mughal Emperor Jahangir to secure trade concessions and establishing permanent trading posts in India. On 24th August 1608, after 16 months of a hard sea passage Hawkins reached Surat. Even after securing the relationship with the Mughal Emperor the English merchant could not sustain it for a long time and the circumstances forced Hawkins to move out from Agra. Finally he reached England in 1613. In the middle of constant trade competition and intrigues of Portuguese the London merchants deputed Captain Thomas Best and then Sir Thomas Roe as next ambassadors of England to India. Now the London Company established its factory at

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., pp.79-80.

Surat, however, which encountered recurrent disturbances at the hands of Portuguese traders.²²

In 1602, the European overseas mercantile competition was widened with Holland's determination to structure an East India Company, which chose to involve in the commerce of spices and porcelain for such markets the Chinese, Siamese, Malays, Indonesia, Japanese, Indians and Arabs gained their fame.²³ In 1623, the Dutch East India Company involved in a war with English East India Company to eliminate their dominance over the spice trade in Europe and chiefly to control the Indonesian Islands. After gaining victory the Dutch East India Company established their trading posts in various places of India and particularly in Surat, Broach, Cambay, Ahmadabad, Cochin, Nagapatanam, Masulipatanam, Chinsura, Patana and Agra.²⁴ The defeat in Spice Island taught good lessons to the Company merchants of London traders in India which forced them to refocus their concentration on trading establishments of India. In 1661, the marriage between King Charles II of England and Princess Catherine of Portuguese had offered a great chance to the English East India Company to settle their commercial enmities in India. In 1668, the royal couples, King Charles II and Queen Catherine, leased their marriage gift Bombay to the East India Company for an annual rent in which, except Goa Diu and Daman, the Kingdom of Portuguese lost all her trading posts in India. In 1667, by charting a plan to recognizing each of their territorial limits, The Dutch East India Company and English East India Company, had determined to put an end to their irregular wars and antagonism of trading activities in Asia. The former accepted to thrive within the precincts of Indonesia and the later in India in which the companies accepted peace.²⁵

In 1611, the English East India Company established their first factory at Masulipatanam. After that factories had also established at Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad and Agra in 1623. However, immediately after a while by minding the precious trades of Coromandel Coast the merchants of English East India Company decided to transfer their trading base to Madras. In 1639 from a local king, Sri Ranga Raja, secured lease, for which a year rent Rs. 1,200 pagodas was fixed, of a land where they decided to construct their fortification wall. Within the

²² Anthony Read and David Fisher, *The Proudest Day: India's Long Road to Independence*, London, 1997, pp.12-13.

²³ T. Volker, *Porcelain and The Dutch East India Company, 1602-1682*, Leiden, 1971, pp.9-10.

²⁴ Bipan Chandra, *History of Modern India*, p.55.

²⁵ Nick Robins, "Loot: In Search of the East India Company, The World's First Transnational Corporation," in *Environment and Urbanization: Globalization and Cities*, Vol. 14, London, 2002, p.81.

fortified building the Europeans were alone authorized to enter and live by the company officials and called it as 'White Town.' Subsequently much closer to this fortification a native settlement had also emerged where weavers and other native peoples were initiated their residence which called as 'Black Town.' By which, in 1639, Madras came to existence.²⁶

In 1633, the English merchants opened their first factory in Orissa and in 1651 secured permission from the Mughal king to do business in Hugli in Bengal. After that factories were also established at Patna and Balasore. In 1698, Azim-u-Sha, the Viceroy of Bengal granted Zamindari of three villages, Sutanati, Kalikata and Govindpur, for an annual rent of Rs. 1,195 to the English East India Company and in 1702 the Company completed the construction of Fort William.²⁷ In 1717, from the Emperor Farrukh Siyar, the company secured a royal order in which claimed the right to do any business in Bengal in devoid of paying any taxes to the government. After that as never before the Company commenced it's proliferated mercantile dealings in India. In 1664, The French East India Company was established and came to India to do mercantile trade in competition with England.²⁸ After 1757, the English East India Company started to clutch the political power of India in which a visible shift took place from commerce to straight governance, which too happened purely to save the bankruptcy of internal economy of the Company and England. Because, at that time England had invested bullion of pounds on Indian textiles which brought the criticism of Mercantilists of London. In the early 19th century the Company's monopoly of Indian trade came to a conclusion which forced them to focus their attention on building an empire. After 1857, the British-Indian colonial government materialised their dream of establishing an English Empire in India and the new form of government helped to emerge a novel and unique system of administration.²⁹

III

Europeanized Tamilnadu

It is assumed that the modernity have emerged and disseminated from the European experiences of economic and political life of the societies to colonial Tamilnadu and which assisted to replicate within the Indian societies parallel to the modern Europe. The

²⁶ J. Tallboys Wheeler, *Early Records of British India: A History of English Settlements in India*, London, 1878, pp. 47-48.

²⁷ Ibid., pp.163-164.

²⁸ Bipan Chandra, *History of Modern India*, p.59; see also Trilochan Dash, *Krishna Leelaa in Brajamandala a Retrospect*, Bhubaneswar, 2012, p.57.

²⁹ Thirthankar Roy, "Economic History and Modern India: Redefining the Link," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 16, Summer 2002, p. 114.

consequence was that whenever we encounter a group of people from a village, which exists different from the mainstream Tamilnadu or from the cultural habits of European replica, while we would call them as not having adequately learned the idea of modernity and would identify them as 'traditional.' By which we would come to a conclusion that the word modernity ever widely used, while in the time of Colonialism, to create a replica of European based 'homogeneous' society in Tamilnadu.³⁰

However, the entry of colonialism and its key descriptions of state formation in India had happened quite different from Europe. Remarkably, the European trading firms, particularly English East India Company, at the outset came into India in devoid of a critical row with the Mughal administration. This was occurred on account of the strange system of caste in India, which prevailed power in the society, curtailed it and organized it based on supremacy. With the help of everyday practice of caste the society disciplined its social conduct free from recurrent straight recourse to the power of the state. Astonishingly the state administrators were administered themselves with the rules of unwritten castes and its order. The system of caste order had exercised over governmental power on the composition of the society. Imperial or local administrators were allowed to wielded their power to commend the people to uphold the caste norms and whenever violations took place, the authorities, punished the violators and restored the normality of the society. Simultaneously, the administrative powers of administrators, whether royal or a local, were not confer to alter the caste membership of an individual or a group of the society. Indeed, the traditional Tamil social and political authority of the country had existed between numerous layers of micro to macro level of caste through the regional kingdoms.³¹

In an early phase of colonialism, while of the Portuguese merchants' inhabitancy in costal Tamilnadu, fabled tales were unfolded to avoid their men marrying native Tamil women. A tale was narrated in which 'an Indian woman married to a Portuguese was delivered at Bardes of a Monster with Two Heads and Teeth, the Ears Like a Monkey, on the forehead an Excrescency of Flesh like a Horn, the Legs subjoined they look like one, leaping out of the Midwife's hands, it seized a Black and bit out a piece of her flesh.' The stories of such kind deliberately portrayed and forced the Portuguese soldiers to believe that the mixed-race child of such a union was as a threatening factor. The fantastic and grotesque image of bestial horror was

³⁰ Sudipta Kaviraj, "Modernity and Politics in India," *Daedalus*, Vol. 129, Winter 2000, p. 140.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

deployed to give the impression that straying beyond the racial contours of the European body was tantamount to transgressing the biological border of the human species.³²

Initially colonialism did not emerge with an intention to command a particular state or to command other peoples of India. The European firms presented themselves to the Tamil society with a novel idea of a company which was until that time neither heard nor practiced by Indians. However, the East India Companies later had developed a desire to involve into the internal administration of the country and imitated as a local Indian raja or a zamindar. After that everything had been turned. The European merchants and their work force lured towards of easy money and started to collect revenues from the natives whom had settled on the land for which the European Companies paid tenancy, introduced state wide accountancy, created statistics, registers with report and maps of territories to make familiar the society and geography of the land with their foreign counterparts and administrators.³³

At the outset the Portuguese merchants and missionary had considered the natives of Tamils as 'barbaric.' The Portuguese brought with them their religion Christianity which they believed kept them as modern in this new muddled environment of the colony. Adrian Carton wrote that: "...This mock fantasy of outrage about the horrors of miscegenation, however, stood in contrast to the realities of everyday colonial life. Interracial relationships were not spectacular or debauched but common and necessary. As in other colonial outposts, European men formed sexual relationships with local women as part of the culture of permanent settlement. Men who conquered the land saw it as their natural right to conquer the flora, fauna and people on it and this was inevitably extended to what was perceived as the natural right to sexual conquest."³⁴

Too many colonial texts were recorded very comprehensively that the European merchants, whenever had chances, encountered sexual relationships with Tamil indigenous woman which they had executed it with much consciousness to create fondness with the new land and to create a mixed race of children of *dubasis* in Tamilnadu. Yet, ever the mixed race of children were considered as social burden, ill-treated and received with contempt of the conventional society.

³² Adrian Carton, *Mixed-Race and Modernity in Colonial India: Changing Concepts of Hybridity Across Empires*, New York, 2012, p. 11.

³³ J. Tallboys Wheeler, *Early Records of British India: A History of English Settlements in India*, p. 48.

³⁴ Adrian Carton, *Mixed-Race and Modernity in Colonial India: Changing Concepts of Hybridity Across Empires*, p.15.

Simultaneously the Portuguese merchants were realised the depredations of their local concubines despite who were allowed it to continue because it was impossible to bring their wives with them in the ships which meant for the remote land India. In 1510, to set right the issue, Alfonso de Albuquerque, declared a policy in which recognised the marriage of the Portuguese soldiers with a non Christian India woman. However, such marriages were not accepted in Europe and considered it against to their domestic codes of marriage. To have an amicable settlement to the issue it was decided that before of such marriage the native women had to be converted into Christianity. But in reality few women were did so and many preferred not which forced the European mean to ignore the primordial morality of their society.³⁵ The church and state supported it, as like their territorial ownership of imperial Portuguese merchants' power in India. The Catholic Church encouraged interracial relationships of their fellow people, in the new colony, in India which actually provided a significant space for the missionary endeavours of colonization. Finally such mixed race of children was remarked as European Christians.³⁶

The legacy was continued again by the other colonisers of Europe, English and French, of India who too framed their political policies over this issue. The early English and French terminology for Portuguese Eurasians occupied the Portuguese linguistic originated. There were different other words had also used to identify such social categories in Tamilnadu. Commonly the mixed races of people were called as 'foreigners' which to derived from Portuguese language. Initially the words Eurasians or foreigners were chiefly confined to identify the white European foreigners, however, which was used to refer all the Christian groups of Tamilnadu. The birth of new hybrid groups of peoples were really a by product of sixteenth and seventeenth century colonialism in Tamilnadu.³⁷ From the 16th century onwards the process of Christianization took place with the creation of new crossbreed communities who had much visibly differentiated from the natives.' However, Europeanised crossbreed natives were not allowed to enjoy the similar position of the Europeans in India.³⁸

After 1660, Englishwomen, single and married, commenced to coming to Madras and wedded Englishmen, however, their ceremonial and unceremonious nuptials with Eurasian and Tamil women were

³⁵ C.J. Hawes, *The Making of a Eurasian Community in British India 1773-1883*, Surrey, 1996, pp.1-2.

³⁶ Adrian Carton, *Mixed-Race and Modernity in Colonial India: Changing Concepts of Hybridity Across Empires*, p.11.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 26.

outnumbered at Fort St. George. From time to time critical questions were raised in England by mentioning religious and ethnic apprehensions over the marriages of English East India Company Staff, military officers and soldiers with the Eurasian women or native Tamil women. To regulate such marriages the London Company frequently amended policies on marriages and baptism of her subjects lived in India.

Despite in 1680, with an intention the Madras Council approved and encouraged a large number of Eurasian women to work and reside in Madras. The Madras Council felt that such approval would aid the company to gain loyalty and support while of a war from them because number of the English soldiers and officers had their children with these women. After some time the London Company considered that such relationships with Eurasian women would endanger their religious practices and baptism on Protestantism in particular. During that time by explaining the fear and it's consequences of political plot over the existences of London Company in Madras, William Isaacson, a priest, wrote a letter to the Directors of the Company in England in which he claimed that habitually two French Catholic priests, living adjacent to the White Town, baptizing the children born to the parents of Englishmen and Eurasian women as Catholics in Madras. In consequence the residents of Fort St. George wrote a complaint letter to the London Company authorities in which demanded to expel the French priests from their quarters to somewhere else. For such exorcize the Englishmen reasoned in the letter that the two priest would amalgamate the Eurasian women and made them stand against of the company while of a war. Because the officials of the Company had speculated the issue through the view of mounting English-French conflicts in Madras.³⁹ To put an end to the problem, on 8th April 1687, an order was passed by the Madras Council in which the English soldiers were encouraged to marry the native Tamil women instead of Portuguese Eurasian women. Adrian Carton quoted the order that: 'the marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George formerly recommended to you is a matter of such consequence to posterity, that we shall be content to encourage it.'⁴⁰

The intention of the order was that to curtail the casual sexual relationships of the London Company workforce with the Portuguese Eurasian women in Madras. By which the Company Officials had the

³⁹ Daniel O'Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company, 1601-1858*, London, 2012, p.82; see also Adrian Carton, *Mixed-Race and Modernity in Colonial India: Changing Concepts of Hybridity Across Empires*, p. 22.

⁴⁰ Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture*, Philadelphia, 2000, pp.166-167.

confidence to reduce the numbers of illegitimate birth of Eurasian children in Fort St. George. To make the Company employees responsible towards their marriages with the native Tamil women, with the blessings of the church, the regulations were passed. In other words, Englishmen's marriages with Catholic Eurasian women had dejected over the growing influences of French Company in Tamilnadu.⁴¹

David M. Pomfret wrote on a critical issue of loss of identity of the Eurasians children in the society which complicated their life, extract: "...This disinclination to distinguish Eurasian cohorts did not go unchallenged. Bowring, a radical liberal, set the tone, reporting his concern that 'a large population of children of native mothers by foreigners of all classes is beginning to ripen into a dangerous element out of the dunghill of neglect.' Alarming accounts of a rising underclass of rootless, culturally lost children for whose existence the governing class was partly responsible were the subject of bitter satire in *The China Punch*. This journal's caricaturists mercilessly lampooned the British 'gentlemen' in whom mere proximity to Eurasian infants in public space was sufficient to arouse intense embarrassment."⁴²

In 1710, Protestant missionaries who were deputed from England to other parts of the world had possessed Bibles in Portuguese to serve amongst the Indian the heathens and Catholic Eurasians for which 1,250 copies of New Testament was printed and dispatched to Tharangambadi. In 1712, the English East India Company ordered every missionary of their country, who were deputed to India to serve for the cause of Christianity, ought to learn the native languages of their labouring state with Portuguese in a year of their arrival. Even at the beginning of the 18th century Portuguese was prepared as a language while conducting trade with Indians by the European companies.⁴³

David Lester Richardson recorded the following account on in his letter as his experience which he encountered with the *dubasis* while of his visit to Madras at the port, extract:

"... 'New arrivals' at Madras are pestered to death by a throng of importunate and noisy Native agents, called Dubashes, who undertake to do almost everything, and almost for nothing all they

⁴¹ Daniel O'Connor, *The Chaplains of the East India Company, 1601-1858*, p.85.

⁴² David M. Pomfret, "Raising Eurasia: Race, Class, and Age in French and British Colonies," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 51, April 2009, p.318.

⁴³ T. Collins Winn, G. William Carlson, Christopher Gehrz and Eric Holst (eds.), *The Pietist Impulse in Christianity*, Cambridge, 2011, p. 290.

want is 'Master's favour.' They speak broken English, and promise not to let 'Dam black rascal' cheat their employer; pretending to forget that they are black rascals themselves. Alas! for the unfortunate Griffin who puts his trust in a Dubash. When I first went out to Bengal as a young cadet, the ship touched at Madras. From the crowd of Dubashes that soon covered the ship's decks, I selected what I thought an honest face. My learning in the science of physiognomy was then by no means shallow in my own estimation. The man on whose shoulders the face grew presented a written 'character,' signed by some European gentleman then dead or far away. It had been bought or borrowed perhaps a hundred times, and been used as a certificate of integrity by a hundred rogues. These certificates generally pass in this way from hand to hand. I gave him a large mass of clothes to get washed. He detained them from me till the very last moment that the ship was starting for Calcutta. Then he came on board, and in the hurry and confusion of the time I received a huge bundle without examination. The day after we had left Madras, I discovered that I had a wretched lot of old shirts in exchange for elegant and costly new ones, worn but once, and instead of the finest and strongest stockings that a London out-fitting warehouse could supply, I had rotten rags, which were stockings in form and appearance only, when I tried to put them on they went all to pieces. These comprised of cosmopolitan populations where the notion of whiteness was already transformed by interracial relationships before the arrival of later waves of European men. The establishment of Dutch, French, English and Danish trading companies saw the arrival of more single European men in these settlements who found Portuguese Eurasian women to be very much a part of local communities."⁴⁴

The new emerging religion, before the formal consolidation of British dominion in India, presented a cultural crisis over the identity for the mixed-race people predominantly who were lived in the coastal Tamilnadu, in other words, such emergence of Eurasian cultural and colonial political role helped to conceptualize the hybridity in India.⁴⁵ In between of the years, 1678 to 1740, the number of English people who had residence in Madras was not crossed 400 in number in which 250 were soldiers and the remaining 150 were free merchants. During

⁴⁴ David Lester Richardson, *Anglo-Indian Passage: Homeward and Outward or A Card for the Overland Traveller from Southampton to Bombay, Madras and Calcutta with Letters Descriptive of the Homeward Passage*, London, 1845, pp.47-48.

⁴⁵ Adrian Carton, *Mixed-Race and Modernity in Colonial India: Changing Concepts of Hybridity Across Empires*, p.22.

that time while the governorship of Thomas Pitt, 7th July 1698 to 1709, a map for St. George was prepared which narrates that the houses of the English people were tiny in size, included six streets with a church. The 'White Town' was entirely retained for the inhabitancy of whites and secured through guards.⁴⁶

However, in the early period of time the European merchants' lack of knowledge over the native languages of the state had forced them to entirely depend on the *dubasis* or the Eurasians for the local information. During the 19th Century the traders of London Company involved in various wars with the Indian kings and queens to secure the wealth and the market of India. After that politically, slowly but surely, the Company traders developed a desire to conquer India. Subsequent to the attractive victories over the native rulers, with an innovative administrative model of centralization, the Company Officials initiated their consolidation process of Indian lands under the colonial rule. Such attempt had left a profound and permanent outcome on the Indian society.⁴⁷

Conclusion

The European East India Companies took the task to disseminate the idea of European modernity among the peoples of the world for which whom were adopted their brain child colonialism as a tool. During the 18th century the radical changes which the society of India had experienced for which, in reality, the seeds were sowed in 14th century Europe. The series of European explorations, particularly the voyages of Portugal, had helped to discover a new direct sea trade route to India. By which on 20th May 1498 Vasco da Gama reached the coastal village Kalikottai in Kerala and the voyage had provided better chances for the Portugal kingdom to access the great wealth of India and power in Europe.

Principally, the affiliation between colonialism and Christianity revealed through the epitome of modernity by which the newly established Colonial rule introduced manifold changes in in Tamilnadu. After 1797 the movement of religious conversion towards Christianity amongst the oppressed people of the state bestowed, directly and indirectly, social growth of the region. Such conversions had stood as a precursor to the numerous similar movements in different parts of the country. The European Christian missionaries essentially focused their dissemination in Tamilnadu and particularly in Tirunelveli against to what they had considered as 'Hindu

⁴⁶ Soren Mentz, *The English Gentleman Merchant at Work: Madras and the City of London 1660-1740*, Copenhagen, 2005, p.242.

⁴⁷ Debjani Ganguly, *Caste, Colonialism and Counter-Modernity: Notes on a Postcolonial Hermeneutics of Caste*, Oxon, 2005, p. 41.

Cruelties.’ The missionaries believed that cruel Hindu customs were irrational, barbaric and inhumane. They had also advocated fundamental changes in the socio-economic system of Madras and Bengal Presidencies.

The immense augmentation of the missionaries’ presence in the state caused remarkable disturbances to the existed societal order. Consequently brutal clashes were broke out between of the oppressor and socially oppressed. In reality, the conversions were not as the thought of the missionaries, but an effect of their own agency as part of the ongoing emancipative movement of the oppressed people of the state. Especially in the first half of the 19th century Tamilnadu witnessed mass movements of conversions which were virtuously took place because of the contradictions and conflicts what the local landowners of caste Hindus and the browbeaten peasants had against of each others. Pragmatically the Christian missionaries had provided finest opportunities to the subalterns of the district to flee from oppressions and obtain benefits from the missionary, which in reality with bread bequeathed protection and education.

David Ludden wrote on the changes which took place in the 19th century Tamilnadu while the administration of British Colonial Government of India in the following words that, extract: “...The nineteenth century witnessed a slow but steady political centralization as urban elites expanded their power and urban centers became nodal points for professional administrative action in village affairs. That centralization progressed in three phases of imperial state building. Each phase had its particular significance for the peasantry; together they chart the creation of the modern political structure on which twentieth-century politicians built a nationalist superstructure in South India... within this ideological setting established during three decades after 1820, state personnel imported industrial technologies, both material and organizational, during four decades of profound economic and imperial expansion from 1840 t0 1880. The result was Queen Victoria’s empire, built by self-conscious and self-interested efforts by Indians and Englishmen, village peasants and urban elites...”⁴⁸

⁴⁸ David Ludden, *Peasant History in South India*, United Kingdom, 1985, pp. 101-102.

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Banaras, Banarasis, and Bengal i Durga Puj a: A socio-cul tural perspective

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This research paper is based upon the author's own perspectives that is born and brought up in Varanasi (Banaras); and closely observed the socio-cultural amalgamation of the city happenings.

The best thing about the Indian culture is that it offers variety that spice up the life. Banaras (officially known as Varanasi) is one such place that reflects the spirituality of Indian culture and diversities of the country. For devout Hindus, Banaras is Kashi – the city of light (Eck, 1993). Being the oldest living city in the world and because of its antiquity and religious meanings attached to it, life in Banaras is multi-facet one and there are numerous aspects of the city that can be spoken of. All religious roads in India lead to Varanasi. Hindus, Buddhists, Jains have throughout the centuries been visiting it, to offer worship or in search of learning (Lannoy, 2002). Varanasi's prominence as a religious city is unrivalled in India. Besides being a pilgrim centre, it is also a centre of learning, fine arts, music, crafts and culinary styles which have perhaps no comparison elsewhere. Varanasi offers a kind of mystical ambience, an amalgam of past and present and mix of myth and reality that is hard to forget. Varanasi is also known world over for certain special items. These are Banarasi sarees, Banarasi paan and Banarasi sweets. In addition, the style of living of Banarasi is so distinctive as to put him in a class apart.

Banarasis, by nature, are known to be relaxed and laid back, dwelling complacently and joyfully. At a first glance a Banarasi may seem to be wild, eccentric, untraditional and unaccountable. However they believe in a philosophy of pleasure moulded to the truth of social life that gives

them a sense of freedom and contentment (Kumar, 1986). Swaying lazily around the ghats, temples, and other older parts of Banaras, this older attitude still seems to prevail. Even the breeze from the Ganga slows down as it descends upon the holy city and its wake bequeaths a calm over its residents. A Banarasi is always in the mood of Masti, and so are the bulls in the city. Both of them seem to walk alike with careless unhurried steps, unbothered of anything or anyone. Though the city suffers from the chaos and ills of a mismanaged and unplanned urban area, one can still feel its vibrations and the sacred essence that keeps it lively and charming. Walking around main Ghat area, the richness of this variety is presented in its fullest. There is a whole universe here, living in a bubble that thrives in its unique identity. A fusion of cows, beggars, devotees, Internet cafés, firangs, cow dung, religious texts, sadhus, and stray dogs blends together harmoniously. Life and culture in Banaras has developed all along the banks of the holy river Ganga. The crescent shaped Ganga looks beautiful and dramatic, and so does the riverfront. The Ghats at the riverfront have their own story and their own architecture. Picturesqueness of these Ghats is breathtaking. The very heterogeneousness of buildings, temples and trees make the canvass complete and filled with indescribable charm of colour in forms of people devoutly taking holy dip in the river, magical melody of bells coming out of temples and Pandas squatting under the leafy umbrellas officiating rituals. People access the Ghat and the river through lanes, called as galis, which is one of the intriguing aspects of the city. The web of lanes and sub-lanes running in almost parallel layers across the city make Banaras more distinct by making its antiquity apparent. Not only these winding lanes change their mood and aura along with the time of day but sight and smell of one lane vary from the other. The lanes have a lively festive feel and brisk business takes place in lanes narrow as these be. Away from the mundane chaos of day to day life, there are lots to relish and celebrate – in the variety of foods and cuisines available in these. One can start the morning with hot *kachori-sabji* along with fresh and juicy *jalebis*. Many sweets and chat shops can further keep one busy during the day. Evening can be relished with Lassi or Thandai with an intoxicating option of Bhang. The life vibrating inside these mystical lanes takes one back to the yester years of past. Lanes, though narrow, are all accommodating. Along with passersby, gossipers, people eating out or busy in buying and selling, there is also space for bulls and dogs having siesta or even for a death procession (Singh, 2007). Banaras can be termed as the city of festivals as they are celebrated all over the year. Some of them have distinctive charms and unique features of their own. Among all the festivals celebrated in the city, Durga Puja is one that is celebrated on a grand scale and full zest.

However Durga Puja in Banaras is not the only happening of the season. Along with it, goes the celebration of Navaratri and Ram Lila. These are the greatest attraction of Banaras and are celebrated with highest amount of religious fervent, dedication and zeal. Coinciding with the Durga Puja celebration, Ram Lila of Banaras is yet another charming and significant celebration which too is organized in different parts of the city and presented by the local citizens in a purely local fashion. Though the Ram Lila is celebrated all over the city, the most famous one is Ram Lila of Ram Nagar which attracts a large number of audience (Chandramouli, 1995). Two most significant events of Ram Lila are Nakkataiya (when Laxman cuts the nose of Ravana's sister) and Bharat Milap (the union of the four brothers after the victory over Lanka). Among the Nakkataiyas in Banaras, the most prominent one is the Chetganj Nakkataiya which has a mile long procession of Lags (tableau based on tricky mechanical devices) and persons wearing highly decorated masks of Kali and Durga presenting sword fights. Bharat Milap staged in Nati Imli is a rare occasion to visit. Thousands of people gather to witness this grand festival of Banaras. Such wonderful shows are definitely the pride of Banaras.

Puja in Banaras is celebrated with strong fervor with Ma Durga's idols in hundreds of Pandals. Though for ten days, the city seems to standstill because of traffic chaos and crowd moving to visit these Pandals, yet people accept it very cheerfully and enjoy their time from morning to late night. Pandals are illuminated not only with excellent decoration but also with fine work of craftsmanship. Many times there are artisans from West Bengal who help in decorating the Pandals in unique traditional way. Most of the Pandals follow a theme. Apart from the traditional idols made from mud, there are idols which are made of pearls, cardamom, Rudrakshas, jewels, dry fruits or even matchsticks.

A special mention has to be made of Bengali community in the city who not only with Puja Celebration but also with other cultural activities make their presence felt. Bengalis have been part of Varanasi for centuries (Bhattacharjee, 2015). Bengalis people spread over a string of neighbourhoods from Dashashwamedh ghat to Sonarpura. And the largest section is in Bengali Tola (Mishra, 2017). As a matter of fact, the community has merged so well with the local people and culture that at a first glance it is hard to single them out as a different entity. The statues for the puja celebrations are sculpted by the artisans from Kolkata and traditional Dhunuchi dance remains an attraction for all. Pandals of Bengali community have more cultural touch and religious serenity followed by elaborated rituals of their own way. The city has numbers of organizations, clubs and associations formed by the Bengali community. There are around 20 Puja organizations which

celebrate the festival in Bengali style with trademark features of Kolkata's Pujo (TOI, 2016). Out of these, Banarasi Durgotsav Sammelani (BDS), Bharat Sewa Sangh and Kashi Durgotsav Samiti (KDS) are the oldest ones. Two social organizations (Bharat Sewa Sangh and Ramakrishna Mission) follow Vedic rituals whereas all other follow Baroyaari Pujo. The ritual starts on the evening of Mahasashti with Kolabou Pujo followed by Nabopatrika Pujo and Devi Sthapan on Mahasaptami. Kumari Pujo is done on the day of Mahaastami. On Mahadashmi, Visarjan of Ma Durga is performed ritualistically which is followed by Sindooradaan. When the immersion of idol of Ma Durga is finally done, it is time to visit relatives and friends to wish them Shubho Bijoya and to take the blessings of the elders. Each day, Pooshpanjali is offered to Ma Durga in morning time. There is daily Bhog in all these Pandals which well attended. During the days of Puja, one can see Bengali people in colourful new clothing and with a zestful gleam in their eyes visiting Pandals from morning to night. Some Puja Pandal also arrange cultural activities, like Jatra, drawing competition, etc. After Dashmi many Bengali clubs organize Bijoya Sammelan, an occasion of get together and followed by cultural programmes.

Even after the culmination of Puja celebration, the people of the city would still be intoxicated with festivity that takes few days to cool down to give space to yet other coming festivals.

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Colonial Manipulation and Unconventional Livelihood: Emigration from Madras Presidency to Mauritius, 1834-1912

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Introduction

The campaign against slavery and its eventual abolition in Europe coincided with the ruin of Indian peasantry and the artisanal class, particularly weavers. The overwhelmingly redundant wage labour available in India by the first quarter of 19th century prompted the European planters to consider India, a favourable recruiting ground for their required plantation labour. Emigration of Indian labourers into Ceylon (later Sri Lanka) started first. In the initial phase, emigration of Tamil labourers into Sri Lanka was temporary in nature. However, the impoverished conditions of Tamil peasantry forced them to seek permanent employment in the plantations of Ceylon, Mauritius, Assam, Fiji and other Crown Colonies of Britain. Remarkably the waves of Tamil indentured labour emigration became stronger by the beginning of the third quarter of 19th century.

In Mauritius, which is the prime area of our study, such an exigency had arisen when slavery was abolished in 1834. The exploitative experiences of their past urged them to take to the system of indentured labour to ensure prompt supply of labour for their plantation work. The slaves emancipated in the wake of slavery abolition in 1834 were in no mood to opt for plantation work. Therefore the white planters in Mauritius had to look to India for their alternative source of labour supply.

Initially those who were recruited under indentured labour system hoped to have a dignified existence in the foreign country. But their hopes were belied when they landed ashore in the foreign country. To provide lucidity to the objective of the paper has been divided into three parts. The first part discuss about the geographical features of Mauritius and its history in detail. The shortage of labour supply in Mauritius plantations, lobby of white plantocracy, export of coolies from India in the early 19th century have contended in the second part. Rise of sugar price in Europe, demand for more indentured labour from India, proportion of female indentured emigrants, details of ships and emigrants whom were left from port of Calcutta to Mauritius has explained in the final part.

I

About Mauritius

Islands lying off the South-East coast of Africa have been divided into six groups such as, the African Islands, the Comoro Islands, the Madagascar Islands, the Mascarene Islands, the Seychelles and the Chagos. The Mascarene has been functional to a group of three islands namely Reunion or Bourbon. Ile de France or Mauritius and Rodriquez-Mauritius is the central island of Mascarene group, placed in the Indian Ocean about eight hundred kilometers east of Madagascar. In certain respects Reunion and Mauritius are called as sister islands.

Mauritius lies between 19°58 and 20°32 South latitude. It is oval in shape, its greatest length being 37 miles and breath 34 miles. Its area is 708 square miles. It is generally considered of volcanic origin. The centre is occupied partly by range of hills from 1,800 to 2,800 feet in height, partly by elevated plateau. The island is almost entirely surrounded by coral reefs, at varying distances from the land. The climate is not insalubrious. On the islands the temperature is said to range from 70° to 80° Fahrenheit, but at Port Louis, the Capital, the thermometer stands much higher.² The annual atmospheric conditions of the country have been classified into four periods: from January to March is the season of great heat and also of violent hurricanes. April and May is not found very distinctly characterized. From June to September is the season of South-East wind and rain. From October to December the weather is described as squally, but dry. Naturally soil is fertile and

¹ Allister Macmillan (ed.), *Mauritius Illustrated: Historical and Descriptive Commercial and Industrial Facts, Figures and Resources* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2000), p. 1.

² Ibid.

strangely adapted to sugar-cane cultivation.³ To this staple one third of the total area of the island is said to be devoted, another third being 'given unto grazing or market gardens, Manioc and Maize.⁴ To understand the history of Mauritius we should apply the modern historical context of Mauritian. Prior to the 16th century European colonial extension, like many other islands of the western Indian Ocean, including Reunion, Seychelles and Chagos archipelago, Mauritius had also by all means unrestrained.² About the elongated hullabaloo over the discovery of Mauritius and its ancient past, Vijayalakshmi Teelock, a known historian wrote that, extract: "...One long standing controversy in the history of Mauritius has been over the discovery of Mauritius. Up to now there is no consensus on who the first 'discoverer' of Mauritius were, Barnwell and Toussainl in *A short History of Mauritius*, claimed that the Phoenicians could have been the first to come to Mauritius some 2,500 years ago."⁵

It is explicable that prior to the early 17th century the island of Mauritius not had any human settlements. About 2,000 years ago Phoenicians were presumably visited Mauritius and then Malays and Arabs had stopped on the island while of their travel in successive years.³ *The Mauritius Almanac and Colonial Register of 1873*, recorded that, extract: "...The Islands must have been known very early, probably to the Phonicians (Phoenicians) who were constantly trading up and down the African coast. There is certain evidence of their being known to the Arabs, as in the 'Ile du Nord' Arabic inscriptions have been found cut on the rocks. It is not improbable that the Arabs of the East Coast of Africa made them a refuge in their

³ Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India* (Calcutta: The Government Press, 1874). p. 81.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Laura Jeffery and David Vine, "Sorrow, Sadness, and Impoverishment: The Lives of Chagossians in Mauritius," in Sandra J.T.M. Evers and Marry Kooy (eds.), *Eviction from the Chagos Islands: Displacement and Struggle for Identity Against Two World Powers* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2011), P. 86.

⁶ Deryck Scarr, "Mauritius: Slavery and Slave Society to 1835," in Kevin Shillington (ed.), *Encyclopedia of African History*, vol. 1 (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2005), pp.963-964; and see also Vijaya Teelock, "Mauritius: Indentured Labor and Society, 1835-1935," in Kevin Shillington (ed.), *Encyclopedia of African History*, vol. 1 (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2005), pp.964-966; Quoted from Vijayalakshmi Teelock, *Mauritian History: From its Beginnings to Modern Times* (Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute, 2001), pp. 22-23.

⁷ Peter Hawkins, *The Other Hybrid Archipelago: Introduction the Literatures and Cultures of the Francophone Indian Ocean* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2007), p. 29.

piratical expeditions. Who knows what horrid tragedies may have been enacted amongst the lovely scenery of this Archipelago, equally dark and blood stained with those perpetrated by the Buccaneers of the West...”⁴

Sydney Selvon, wrote in the third chapter of *A New Comprehensive History of Mauritius: From the Beginning to this Day* that, extract: “The Portuguese were the first Europeans to see the Mascarene Islands and to land on them after the Arab-African-Indian pilots and sailors, at the beginning of the 16th century. Several dates have been put forward in Mauritian and foreign history books concerning the Portuguese discovery of Mauritius, Rodrigues and Reunion. Controversy has also enshrouded the debate as to the identity of Portuguese Captains who first saw the islands. Mauritian historian Alfred North-Coombes has written that Portuguese Captain Diogo Dias was the first one to discover the Mascarenes, more precisely Mauritius itself, in July 1500, and Reunion at the beginning of August of that year, reaching afterwards the Malagasy coast on August 10. That would push back the discovery of Mauritius by the Europeans some years earlier than believed by most historians. Historian Theodora, who has refuted Coombes, has also given a quite challenging reasoning to prove very ancient visits by Eastern peoples to the Mascarene Islands prior to the European discovery by the Portuguese.”⁵

Vijayalakshmi states that: “Between, 1500-1530, the first European navigators believed to have come to Mauritius with Pedro Mascarenlas. Other historians mention the name of ‘Domingo Fernandez’ Several Portuguese names were given to Mauritius. ‘Santa Apolonia,’ ‘Mascarenlas,’ ‘Diego Roiz’ and ‘Civne.’”⁶ Since 1511 the Portuguese traders frequently used Mauritius, while of their travel in between of Cape and India, as a place to stop and to take rest. During that time the Portuguese interests were completely laid on the trade what they had with India and East Africa in which the traders never had a venture to found a permanent settlement in the island.⁷ In 1505 the Portuguese had simply fixed the geographical position of Mauritius by landing some deer, goats, monkeys and pigs and gave to it the name

⁸ John B. Kyshe (ed.), *The Mauritius Almanac and Colonial Register: 1873* (Mauritius: Dupuy and P. Dubois, 1873), p. 78.

⁹ Sydney Selvon, *A New Comprehensive History of Mauritius: From the Beginning to this Day*, Vol. 1& 2 (____:M.D.S, 2012), p. 13.

¹⁰ Vijayalakshmi Teelock, *Mauritian History*, p. 23.

¹¹ Laura Jeffery and David Vine, “Sorrow, Sadness, and Impoverishment: The Lives of Chagossians in Mauritius,” p. 86.

of Cerne.⁸ In contrary *History of Physical Anthropology: An Encyclopedia* states that: "...The Dutch introduced pigs to Mauritius in 1628 to 'maintain God-fearing shipwrecked sailors,' and the pigs multiplied so rapidly that the out-competed dodo (the word actually means 'stupid' applied to a large, flightless member of the rails that had once lived on the island of Mauritius) became extinct early in the 1660s."⁹

In the early 16th century the Portuguese had illustrated a map of the landscape which contiguous to the island and called it as 'Ilha do Cirne' which means 'Island of the Swan.'¹⁰ In 1598 the Dutch had colonized Mauritius and to honor Maurice of Nassau the *Stadthouder of Holloand* (head of the State) which had christened as Mauritius. The Dutch had deserted the island in 1710, but left inadvertently a few fugitive slaves to lurch there. In 1715 the French East India Company had claimed Mauritius and renamed it 'Isle de France.'¹¹ John Holm, writes in his book *Pidgins and Creoles* that: extract: "...In 1721 some settlers were sent from Reunion to Mauritius because of this it was believed that Mauritian was an offshoot of Reunionnais or had at least been heavily influenced by it... Between 1727 and 1730 the slave population on Mauritius grew from about thirty to about one thousand; some six hundred of these came from West Africa, while the rest came from India (speaking mainly Tamil and Bengali) and Madagascar. In 1730 there were also four to six hundred French-speaking settlers in Mauritius, none of whom had come from Reunion¹². The Portuguese, Dutch, French and British had utilized the port of Mauritius as a place where to get rest and acquire unsullied provisions of vegetables, water and meat to continue their further journey. The Dutch and French East India Companies had failed in their venture to have an earlier settlement in Mauritius. The earlier settlers were drastically and frequently interrupted by intrinsic disasters, shortages of labourers and spread of syndromes which shattered their agricultural plants and farming activities, which disheartened the successive settlers to shun to had a permanent settlement The amplified British and French nautical

¹² Review of the Book *Sub-tropical Rambels in the Land of the Aphanapteryx: Personal Experience, Adventures and Wanderings in and around the Island of Mauritius* written by Nicholas Pike, Sampson Low and Co., in "Contemporary Literature," *The British Quarterly Review*, Vol. LVII, July 1873, p. 298.

¹³ Frank Spencer (ed.), *History of Physical Anthropology: An Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (USA: American Museum of Natural History, 1941), p. 260.

¹⁴ Peter Hawkins, *The Other Hybrid Archipelago*, p. 29.

¹⁵ John Holm, *Pidgins and Creoles: Reference Survey*, Vol. II (Melbourne: University of Cambridge, 1989), p. 397.

¹² *ibid*

movement in the Indian Ocean forced the Dutch to limit their maritime activity which had produced a void. The quarter of the 18th century deepened the conflict between Britain and France. From that time yet again Napoleon had strived to construct a French empire in India and craved to seize the profitable trade from British East India Company which they carried on there. In 1803, under the peace Treaty of Amiens, France got back her French possessions. However, the new Governor General of India, Lord Minto, in 1807 was not reconciled to the situation. He knew that the British could not keep this supremacy over the Indian Ocean without destroying the last bastion of the French Mascarenes¹³, Indian Ocean had aggravated the next ground of covetousness between French and British. The Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars led the French Navy to be in muddled which helped the British to swiftly capture the French trading centers in India. In 1796 to put an end to the growing dominance of French in the Indian Ocean the British army ruined the French bases located in the north coast of Madagascar and captured the Cape of Good Hope in 1806 by which disallowed the French to using it as a base. This was a real puff to the French protection.¹⁴

Gilbert Eliot, the Governor General of British East India Company in India had executed a plan of an incursion against of the Bourbon Island. The mission was assigned to Lieutenant Colonel Henry S. Keating for which he gathered British troops from Madras and Bombay Presidencies in India. On 8 May 1810 the India army set their sail for Rodrigues Island where they reached on 20 June of the year. On 3 July 1810 again the troops initiated their voyage for Bourbon where they landed on 7 July. The very next day Indian troops were attacked the capital St. Denis. On 9 July 1810 the Island Bourbon was captured by the Indian army. After tasting the victory the Governor General of India instantly passed an order to have an expedition against of Mauritius.¹⁵

Now the Command of the Indian troop was assigned to Lieutenant General John Abercromby, Bombay Presidency. For this attack the troops were assembled from Bengal, Madras and Bombay presidencies. Few of the officers and troops who had served in the assault of Bourbon had also coupled in this attack. Within few days of fierce battle, on 3 December 1810, Mauritius was also captured.¹⁶

¹³ Vivekananda's

¹⁴ Andrew Neil Porter, *Atlas of British Overseas Expansion* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 80.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Alexandra Richards, *Mauritius: Rodrigues, Reunion* (Guilford: The Globe Pequot Press, 2009) p. 195.

Finally the trounce of French had converted the India Ocean as a 'British lake,' which provided an absolute right to the British to govern nearly 73 million square kilometers of the Indian Ocean. Initially the English people had considered Mauritius as economically a nonviable land for exploitation and even did not use it for a naval base. Despite the diplomatic reasons forced them to keep Mauritius at least for strategic considerations.¹⁷

Emigration to Mauritius commenced from the days of French rule in Pondicherry. The Tamil slaves were taken to Mauritius and employed in hard labour. There were also Indian traders who independently went to Mauritius to make quick money. But the emigration that commenced from the beginning of the 19th century was a planned and organized one.¹⁸

II

Emigration in the Early Period

After abolition of slavery in Europe, sugar and other industries of British, French and other colonies were threatened with ruin, due to the shortage of labour supply.¹⁹ Thus, several methods were adopted to bring the labourers into their plantation or colonies. Mauritius had also tried several methods from 1834 to bring labourers in their plantations from various parts of Africa and Asia.²⁰

Captain Birch, than Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, in his evidence before the Emigration Committee of 1838, said 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. The Government of India later forced an ordinance and the contracts made with the emigrants, permitted the departure of the latter, on condition that each man appear before one of

¹⁷ John Robert Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 287.

¹⁸ Alan Mountain and Alain Proust, *This is Mauritius* (New Holland: New Holland Publishers, 2004), pp. 7-8; see also Richard B. Allen, "Licentious and Unbridled Proceedings: The Illegal Slave Trade to Mauritius and the Seychelles during the Early Nineteenth Century," *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 42, ___ 2001, pp. 93-97.

¹⁹ Charles Anderson, *Report on Outlines of A Plan: Introduction of Indian Labourers at Mauritius* (London: Nichols, 1840), p. 13.

²⁰ *Knowsley Pamphlet Collection*, 1834, Part II, pp. 1-3; see also Rev. Francis P. Flemmyng, *Mauritius; or The Isle of France: Being an Account of the Island its History, Geography, Products and Inhabitants* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1862), p. 91; and C. J. Robertson, "The Sugar Industry of Mauritius," *Economic Geography*, Vol. 6, October 1930, p. 344.

the Magistrate of Calcutta and swear that he went voluntarily. The contracts, which were for a term of five years, looked liberal enough on paper. A living wage of 8 rupees, in addition to an ample dietary, was fixed as the minimum monthly payment. But in 1832 a petition was received from two of the emigrants complaining that their wages had not been paid properly.²¹

When the abolition of slavery in British colonies in 1834 was done, the sugar-planters of Mauritius had by now come to believe that India was their best recruiting ground. A shipment of about 40 coolies reached that island in August 1834.²² At the beginning, emigrants were recruited mainly from the tribal areas of Bengal Presidency and they were called 'Hill Coolies' and also known as 'Dhangars.' Along with hill coolies a considerable number of lower caste Hindus were also sent to the British Colonies.²³

An official report from Mauritius claimed that: '...the experiment had been attended with very complete success; labourers and employers were mutually satisfied with each other, misunderstanding arose only from temporary stoppage of articles of subsistence which the master agreed to supply, but which were not for the moment procurable, not from any discontent with the situation in which the Indians found themselves placed; their labour were generally regulated by express contract; where this was not the case, from sunrise to sunset, with two and some times three hours from meals, constituted a day's work.'²⁴

In between August 1834 and May 1837, at least 7,000 emigrants left Calcutta for Mauritius, of which 200 were women. Nearly one half of the whole numbers were 'Hills Coolies,' Dhangars, Kols and Santhals or Santhads. About 100 men and eight women had left Bombay for Mauritius during the same period.²⁵ Table II.1, provides the detail about the number of ships which sailed from the Port of Calcutta to Mauritius with Indian indentured labourers, since the enactment of Act No.12 of 1837, which implemented on 1st June 1837, from June 12, 1837 to April 28, 1838.

²¹ Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, p. 2.

²² David Northrup, *Indentured Labour in the Age of Imperialism, 1834-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 60-65; and Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, p. 2.

²³ Thirthankar Roy, "Sardars, Jobbers, Kanganies: The Labour Contractor and Indian Economic History," *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 42, September 2008, p. 972; See also Raj Sekhar Basu, *Nandanar's Children: The Paraiyans' Tryst with Destiny, Tamil Nadu 1850-1956* (California: SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2011), p. 149-152.

²⁴ Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, p. 2.

²⁵ C. Joseph Baranabas, "From Madras to Mauritius 1800-1856," p. 29.

The Governor of India sent instructions to persons applying for permission to import labour. These included (a) the selection of real agricultural labourers; (b) the recruitment of a suitable proportion of women (c) careful medical inspection; (d) the limitation of advances of wages; and (e) careful measures for the supply of rice. The second circular addressed to employers dealt with the exact performance of contracts in regard to food, clothing, punctual payment of wages, observance of hours of labour and other points.²⁶

It is on record that between August 1834 and August 1838, nearly 25,000 labourers left India for Mauritius.²⁷ From Calcutta to Mauritius, 7,411 labourers sailed between August 1837 and 1838. From Bombay about 139 labourers went to Mauritius during the year. While Geoghegan reported that the information about Madras was not clear, he seemed to arrive at a conclusion that around 10,000 labourers should have gone from Madras during the period.²⁸

Table II.1

Ships Sailed From the Port of Calcutta to Mauritius, from June 12, 1837 to April 28, 1838

Name of the Ships Sailed from the Port of Calcutta to Mauritius	Date Of Permits Issued	Men	women	Children		Remarks on Categories of Labourers
				Male	Fem ale	
Belsoni	12 June 1837	174	8	2	3	Labourers
Lonach	18 June 1837	74	8	3	3	Lonach put back leaky; transferred to Donna Carmelita--- sailed about 20 th July; Labourers
Carnatic	19 June 1837	150	6	1	4	Labourers
Charles Heartley	24 June 1837	204	7	6	2	11 artificers, the remaining were labourers
Hooghley	20 July 1837	40	nil	nil	nil	9 domestic labourers, remaining were labourers
	11 August 1837					Chiefly domestic

²⁶ Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, p. 2.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 5; see also A. J. Christopher, "Ethnicity, Community and the Census in Mauritius, 1830-1990," *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 158, March 1992, pp.58-60.

²⁸ C. Joseph Baranabas, "From Madras to Mauritius 1800-1856," pp. 29-30.

Bright Planet		12	2	1	1	servants
John Bagshaw	18 August 1837	170	6	1	nil	Labourers
Amwell	19 August 1837	30	nil	nil	nil	Labourers
Moulmein	21 August 1837	50	1	nil	nil	4 domestic servants, remaining were labourers
Baboo	23 August 1837	102	6	Nil	nil	Labourers
Luminy	31 August 1837	6	nil	Nil	nil	Labourers
Parland	10 September 1837	188	nil	nil	nil	4 domestic labourers, remaining were labourers
Mary Anne	20 September 1837	36	nil	nil	nil	1 domestic, the remaining were labourers
Belsoni	18 October 1837	162	6	5	5	30 artificers, 2 domestics, the remaining were labourers
Thomas Snook	19 October 1837	50	4	3	nil	Labourers
Donna Pascoa	19 October 1837	316	16	6	3	Labourers
Bombay	23 October 1837	300	2	nil	1	22 domestics, 13 artificers, the remaining were labourers
Arab	20 November 1837	157	4	2	2	9 domestics, remaining were labourers
Indian Oak	28 November 1837	200	5	1	nil	Labourers
Alfred	6 December 1837	25	1	1	nil	Labourers
Victoria	11 December 1837	107	1	Nil	nil	Labourers
Elizabeth	13 December 1837	205	nil	nil	nil	6 artificers, 2 domestics, remaining were labourers
Herefordshire	19 December 1837	80	nil	nil	nil	6 domestics, 21 artificers, remaining were labourers
Christopher	23 December 1837	314	2	nil	nil	19 domestics, 6 artificers, the remaining were

Rawson						labourers
Raj Rane	26 December 1837	177	nil	nil	nil	13 domestics, the remaining were labourers
Helen	16 January 1838	165	1	1	nil	4 domestics, 4 artificers the remaining were labourers
Donna Carmelita	18 January 1838	48	nil	Nil	nil	Labourers
Lord Auckland	27 January 1838	152	nil	nil	nil	8 domestics, 1 artificer, the remaining were labourers
Cavendish Bentinck	12 February 1838	267	2	2	3	2 domestics, the remaining were labourers
Emerald Isle	16 February 1838	12	nil	Nil	nil	Labourers
Cecilia	3 March 1838	60	nil	Nil	nil	Labourers
Earl Clare	5 March 1838	488	nil	nil	nil	10 domestics, the remaining were labourers
Euphrasia	6 March 1838	205	nil	nil	nil	1 domestic, the remaining were labourers
Donna Pascoa	3 April 1838	410	5	nil	nil	13 domestics, the remaining were labourers
Lapcier	28 April 1838	150	nil	nil	nil	9 domestics, the remaining were labourers
Total		5,286	93	35	27	

Source: Number 295, *Accounts and Papers: Correspondence Between the Government of India*, 18 September 1838, vol. 19, 26th January - 22 June 1841, pp.170-172.

Among the Indians the emigrants of the Madras presidency were always preferred.²⁹ The superior healthiness of Madras emigrants was better suited to a sea travel. Since they were drawn from a comparatively small area and the recruiting districts were also nearer to Madras, the control over the recruiters were easy, in comparison with that of the Calcutta recruiters. The people from Madras were also considered to be better educated than those of the up-country populace.

²⁹ Thomas Hylland Eriksen, "Indians in New Worlds: Mauritius and Trinidad," *Social and Economic Studies*, vol. 41, March 1992, p. 163; see also Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, p. 5.

The people of Madras Presidency generally had little prejudice against crossing the sea.³⁰

On 22 March 1837, the Colonial Secretary of Mauritius F. Dick, wrote a letter to the Secretary of Madras Government in which he demanded to restrain a ship from voyage on the ports of Pondicherry and Tranquebar, extract of the letter:

‘...The ship Edward Robinson, of 300 tons registered burden, having on a late voyage from Pondicherry and Tranquebar brought to this island as passengers 425 natives of India, under engagements to serve as labourers or domestic servants in this colony, his Excellency the Governor has deemed it necessary to give intimation to the captain of that vessel, that should be on any future occasion receive on board as passengers any number beyond what is allowed under the 6&9 Geo. 4.c. 114&21, he will not be allowed to land them at this port.

The same ship, it is understood, is about to return to Pondicherry on a similar voyage, and it being most desirable to the interests of humanity that every proper restraint should be place upon the captains of vessels in regard to the number of passengers they may receive on board, I have his Excellency the Governor’s directions to request that you will move the Honourable the Governor in Council of Madras to make such communication to the government of Pondicherry as may tend to effect the object in view, and also to ensure proper medical attendance, for in the instance alluded to, there was no surgeon on board the Edward Robinson, nor any person capable of giving professional assistance in case of sickness or an accident occurring.’³¹

In 1838, Indian Governor Lord Auckland stressed on the necessity of obtaining fuller information as to the actual treatment of the Indian emigrants and questioned the propriety of allowing a laborer to go far off British colonies. He directed the Governments of Bombay, Madras and Bengal to withhold permits for vessels carrying emigrants and to appoint committees to consider the whole question of emigration, its abuses and their remedies. The Government of Mauritius was also asked to appoint a Committee to enquire into the condition of the

³⁰ Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, p. 5; see also I. M. Cumpsto, “A Survey of Indian Immigration to British Tropical Colonies to 1910,” *Population Studies*, vol. 10, November 1956, p.158; and Rhoda Reddock, “Indian Women And Indentureship In Trinidad And Tobago, 1845–1917: Freedom Denied,” *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol. 32, December 1986, p. 28

³¹ Number 295, *Accounts and Papers: Correspondence Between the Government of India*, 18 September 1838, vol. 19, 26th January - 22 June 1841, pp.170-172.

Indians who had emigrated to this colony. Pending receipt of reports, emigration was prohibited in all colonies. Emigration was banned in Mauritius between 1839- 1842. Planters did suffer much because of this ban.³²

In Mauritius the year 1839 was significant for several reasons. First the apprenticeship system was ended on 1st April 1839 and signified the real emancipation of ex-slaves. A month later, on 11th May, the most prosperous merchants of Port-Louis met to discuss Indian immigration and to send agents to recruit workers from other areas.³³ Although emigration was now prohibited, a trickle continued to reach Mauritius, as figures later prepared by the protector of Immigrations shows (Table II. 2):

Table II: 2
The First Emigrants to Mauritius, 1834 - 1842

Year	Male	Female
1 834	75	n. a
1 835	1,182	72
1 836	3,639	184
1837	6,939	353
1 838	11,546	353
1 839	937	102
1 840	107	9
1841	499	43
1842	73	10

Source: Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1830 - 1920* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 70.

The plantation lobby in Mauritius launched a campaign of pressure to lift the ban on India. The anti slavery committee worked equally to ensure that the ban remained.³⁴ During the 1840's, when demand in Mauritius for labour was touched a high then the ban on

³² Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, pp. 5-6; see also *Report on Export of Coolies from India to Mauritius* (London: British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1842), p.3.

³³ W. Kloosterboer, *Involuntary Labour Since the Abolition of Slavery* (Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1960), p.4; and Charles H. Wesley, "The Abolition of Negro Apprenticeship in the British Empire," *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 23, April 1938, pp. 162-199; see also Richard B. Alle, "Licentious and Unbridled Proceedings: The Illegal Slave Trade to Mauritius and the Seychelles during the Early Nineteenth Century," p.99.

³⁴ Charles H. Wesley, "The Abolition of Negro Apprenticeship in the British Empire," pp. 159-199.

emigration had lifted, Captain Christopher Bidon, the Protector at Madras, reported that core course of emigrants recruits took place from the crammed full Tamil districts, where the landless labourers had a hopeless struggle for survival. Among them, the lower strata people whom have classified as untouchables were prominent, for their living condition was virtually one of slavery under the grip of the upper castes' tyranny and any release from their bondage was to be welcomed. The people who had classified into the categories of untouchables lived in districts very much, though in some districts they were even more numerous while comparing with the caste Hindus; in Chengalpatu they formed 27 per cent of the whole population and 21 per cent in Thanjavur. Christopher recorded that the greater part of his recruits derived from Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli and South Arcot, while supplementary flow of migrants had also engaged from Telugu districts of Vizagapatnam, Ganjam and Rajahmundry.³⁵

Sir Lionel Smith, Governor of Mauritius, told Lord John Russell that 'people from India have been the outpouring of the lowest caste of the population of each presidency,³⁶ who are deplorably disorderly and dissolute and thirty year later this was still the opinion of Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien, Inspector General of Police in Mauritius who told the Royal commission that, 'No man emigrates who can do well at home... it may be assumed that with the poorer classes who came to work and from the honest population we get a large infusion of the criminal class.'³⁷

When the final report of the Dickens committee, which appointed to enquire into abuses alleged to exist in the export of coolies from India, appeared in October 1840, the main report condemned the working of the indentured system in detail; both in the recruitment in India and on the sugar estates. Dickens and his allies insisted that permission to renew the traffic would weaken moral influence of the British Government throughout the world. They put forward recommendations for regulating the coolie trade. But Grant in his minute advocated regulations which were on much the same lines in order to make emigration flourish.³⁸

While the report was circulated among the members of the Governor-General's Council it stimulated conflicting responses which

³⁵ Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1830 - 1920* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 54-56.

³⁶ *Report on the Export of Coolies from India to Mauritius*, pp. 3-6.

³⁷ Quoted from Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*, p. 56; see also Victor Plarr, *Men and Women of the Time* (_____:_____, 1899), p. 811.

³⁸ Number 295, *Accounts and Papers: Correspondence Between the Government of India*, 18 September 1838, vol. 19, 26th January - 22 June 1841, pp.170-172.

were very different indeed. Andrew Amos recommended the resumption of emigration to Ceylon, Mauritius and Reunion, under strict regulations. H.T. Prinsep, a renowned conservative recommended the government to allow emigration, but not beyond the Cape of Good Hope and demanded to fix the period of the contract maximum of five years only. W.W. Bird insisted on keeping prohibition.³⁹

But the reality was over shadowed every thing else and the ruling class in Mauritius was confronted with the gravity of the shortage of labour.⁴⁰ In 1841, discussing the issue, *the East India*, a colonial magazine criticised the colonial office for its prejudiced support of Indian coolie emigration to the crown colonies in the following words: 'there exist in the coffers of Colonial Treasury a sum of no less than 9,00,000 dollars, destined to be spent on public works of the island, and that, for want of hands to undertake those works, the Government, through perfectly aware of their necessity, is utterly unable to carry them into execution.'⁴¹

The ban upon emigration was only removed in December 1842. In the following year the demand for labour in Mauritius, repressed by years of prohibition, again asserted itself and nearly 40,000 emigrants sailed. During this year 17,000 labourers sailed from each of the ports of Calcutta and Madras and the remainder from Bombay. The ratios of women were 13 to every 100 men.

The order of council of 15 January 1843 however restored immigration after intensive campaign by the 'Free Labour Association.' Two defects in the new indentured system were showed up almost immediately. The first was the low percentage of women among those arriving and the second was the high cost of importation. On September 7, 1843, P.D. Pinay president of the Immigration Committee of Mauritius immediately reciprocated to it and passed a resolution in their council, extracts:

'...Resolved, that the committee concurs fully with his Excellency in his desire to ameliorate the system of immigration, and particularly in regard to the introduction of females and families; but, from the best information in the possession of the committee, it does not appear that such a number of labourers can be introduced in the course of the present year as will suffice for the more pressing wants of the agriculturists, exclusively of the rest of the community. For, supposing immigration to proceed for the next

³⁹ Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*, pp. 71-72.

⁴⁰ *Report on the Export of Coolies from India to Mauritius*, p. 4.

⁴¹ Quoted from Lanka Sundaram, "The International Aspects of Indian Emigration," p. 746.

four months as actively as it has done for the four past, it is calculated that the number of labourers introduced will not have been sufficient to supply the sugar estates alone.⁴²

It is also to be considered that, if any sudden check were given to immigration before a sufficiency of labourers have arrived, not only great prejudice would be done, but the benefit, which has been partially experienced by their arrival, would be lost, and the evils, from which the colony is only beginning now to extricate itself, would be renewed to their full extent. Among these, the deteriorated state of the plantations from want of hands is not one of the least; and therefore it is to be remembered that it is necessary not only to provide the means of carrying on cultivation for the future, but to restore it to the state in which it would have been if there had been no interruption to immigration. Many properties have, from want of hands, fallen into such a state as only now to yield a small portion of what they formerly produced, and the cultivation of provisions and vegetables, the rearing of stock, &c, have been so much interrupted, that the expenses of these necessaries have augmented the cost of living in the colony to a most prejudicial extent, felt by all, but especially by those in straitened circumstances, and in the humbler ranks of the community.

It is also essential for the existence of the island in anticipation of the changes openly announced as early about to take place, that there should be such a supply of labour as will enable the planters to raise their sugar at a low price, in order to meet competition with foreign sugars in the home market. With these impressions, and entering fully into the views of his Excellency the Governor, for the remedy of every abuse or inconvenience which may exist in the present system of immigration, either here or in India, the committee is of opinion that, as regards that country, no better measure can be adopted than for his Excellency at once to expedite to Calcutta an agent possessing his full confidence, there to make inquiries into the abuses said to exist, and to ascertain in concurrence with the Bengal Government the most effective means of remedying them; and, especially, to make arrangements for obtaining a sufficient number of female emigrants, as well as of families. With the information which would thus be obtained,

⁴² The Council Meeting held on Thursday 17 September 1843, at Government House, while passing the resolution the following members were made their presence: The Procurer and Advocate-General, President; the Colonial Secretary; the Auditor-General; the Collector of Internal Revenues; the Acting Collector of Customs; Messrs. Bourgault, du Coudray, Pitot, Koinig, Harel, Hunter, Barbe, Forster.

and in sufficient time to enable the Governor to bring forward every measure necessary to ameliorate the system of immigration, his Excellency's object in regard to such improvement being effected at an early period would be satisfactorily carried out, and the committee will be always ready to give their hearty concurrence to any measure which can contribute to preserve free and uninterrupted the course of immigration from India, upon which the members are sensible that the prosperity of the colony at present depends. With regard to this island, if any abuses exist, of which the Committee has not as yet been informed, the members think that they cannot have any better security for their correction than the vigilance exercised by his Excellency, since Indian immigration has been renewed, and the interest he has so actively taken to preserve it pure and free from reproach.⁴³ The 'bounty' system, on the recommendation of Anderson,⁴⁴ was abolished and a new system, the 'contingent' system was introduced in 1844. The 'contingent' system established a fixed quota of immigrants to be brought in monthly and a stricter selection in the 'quality' of those chosen. Although at first Anderson had recommended that only 500 be brought monthly, this figure was considered insufficient. Madras was reopened as a port to allow for an additional 3,000 men to be embarked. The aim in increasing the labour supply was mainly to depress the wages. Rs.7.00 a month was considered too high in

⁴³ *Report on the Immigration Committee, 7th September, 1843* in *The Seasonal Papers Relative to Emigration of Indian Labourers to the Mauritius*, vol. IX, 1844, pp. 226-227.

⁴⁴ Lord Farred, *What is Bounty* (London: Cassell and Company Limited, 1899), p.3. The book provides the explanation for the system 'Bounty' as: '*...Prima facie* the answer to the question "What is a Bounty?" is a simple one. It is "payment of money made out of the public purse to manufacturers or traders who make, sell, or export some particular article," and this is the case now with some of the sugar bounties.' And '*...There* seems to be a strong opinion among those best acquainted with the West Indies that it is desirable to improve the manufacture of sugar in those islands by the establishment of central factories and of subsidised steamers, and the Colonial Secretary is said to be favourable to the plan. If the public funds of the Colonies are used for this purpose, or if pecuniary assistance is given by the Imperial Government, the public money thus given or lent would clearly be a bounty within the meaning given to it by Sir J. Westland and Lord Curzon. And in any case, if central factories are set up by or with the aid of the Government, the enterprise, however praiseworthy and however unobjectionable, would clearly be an advantage created by Government, and, therefore, in Sir J. Westland's and Lord Curzon's words, "artificial and arbitrary."

1842.⁴⁵ Table II.3 provides the details of the Mauritian districts where Indian Indentured Labourers employed in the sugar cane estates, in 1846.

Table II. 3

Numerical Statement of the Mauritian districts where Indian Indentured Labourers employed, for the year 1846

Mauritian Districts	Total Indian Labourers Employed in the Estates
Port Louis	8,223
South Pamplemousses	2,018
North Pamplemousses and Riviere du Rempart	2,899
South Pamplemousses and Riviere du Rempart	1,435
Flacq	2,680
Grand Port	2,632
Savanne	1,408
Black River	591
Plaines Wilhems	1,681
Moka	180
Total	23,747

Source: Number 27, Enclosure 3, *Correspondence Relative to the Supply of Labour to the West India Colonies and Mauritius in Accounts of Papers: Emigration and Labour Colonies*, vol.37, 19 January - 23 July 1847, p. 229.

The initial phase of emigration continued until 1847.⁴⁶ A number of significant changes took place around this time. There was also an economic crisis and in Mauritius, labourers who had previously enjoyed high wages saw their wages drop from 14 shilling to 10-12 shillings and then again to 8 shillings a month (see Table II. 4).⁴⁷ There was also a hardening of attitude on the part of the colonial government. There were innumerable problems in securing additional and cheaper labour. The first labourers who had arrived under the new system in 1843 also began in 1847 to claim return passages to home, but contrary

⁴⁵ Vijaya Teelock, "Mauritius: Indentured Labor and Society, 1835-1935," pp. 964-966; See also Vijayalakshmi Teelock, *Mauritian History*, p. 230.

⁴⁶ Number 170, *Correspondence Relative to the Supply of Labour to the West India Colonies and Mauritius in Accounts of Papers: Emigration and Labour Colonies*, vol.37, 19 January - 23 July 1847, pp. 243-251.

⁴⁷ Number 27, *Correspondence Relative to the Supply of Labour to the West India Colonies and Mauritius in Accounts of Papers: Emigration and Labour Colonies*, vol.37, 19 January - 23 July 1847, p. 231.

to that the planters wish to keep labourers within the country for longer and at cheaper rates.⁴⁸ Table II.5 provides the information of the Indian immigrants who had recruited and introduced into Mauritius plantations under the Bounty System and by the colonial Indian government officers from the year of re-opened 1843 to 1857.

Table II. 4

Rates of Wages Paid to the Indian Indentured Labourers during the First Half Year of 1846

Month	Wages in		
	£.	S.	d.
January	1	12	-
February	1	04	-
March	1	-	-
April	-	18	-
May	-	16	-
June	-	12	-

Source: Number 27, Enclosure 6, *Correspondence Relative to the Supply of Labour to the West India Colonies and Mauritius in Accounts of Papers: Emigration and Labour Colonies*, vol.37, 19 January - 23 July 1847, p. 231.

Whereas many Indian women were employed, though not as indentured workers, they were not labourers but domestic servants before 1842. After that year, their employment was not regulated like men and if they performed field labour, they were not entitled to rations. Many men also migrated because they knew their wives would not be required to work.⁴⁹ On 11 June 1841 the House of Commons discussed under the Presidentship of J.P. Grant and who passed a minute related to the existing alleged abuses on the export of coolies from India to Mauritius, extract:

'...As concerns the labourers (apart from the consideration of their families, which I will speak of afterwards), the paucity of women can only affect them in their morals, and in their happiness, whilst absent. Now I cannot but think that those who have laid stress on this point, have confounded two very distinct cases of

⁴⁸ Richard B. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen, and Indentured Laborers in Colonial Mauritius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 62; in Ravinder K. Thiara, "Indian Indentured Workers in Mauritius, Natal and Fiji," in Robin Cochen (ed.), *The Cambridge Survey of World Migration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 63-68

⁴⁹ David Northrup, *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 62.

emigration; viz. the case of men going abroad for five years, in order to make wherewithal to set themselves up in comfort in their own country at the end of the time, with the case of men emigrating for life to a distant land, where they intend to live and die. To afford the latter class all facilities for transporting their families with them, if they are family men, or if they are not, and they are proceeding to a land where there are comparatively few females, to promote in all proper ways the emigration of respectable females, in order to afford the male emigrants, when their means shall justify such a step, facilities for marrying, does seem to me a very moral and kind thing to do. Yet even in this case, I can hardly look upon this as so necessary a measure that unless it can be accomplished, male emigration for life should be prohibited; for I cannot doubt that natural causes will set all right at last. But forcing a man of the former, or service seeking class of emigrants, whether he will or not, to incur the charge of exporting a female, and maintaining her in a very expensive colony, whilst his service lasts, and of importing her and her children back with him, does seem to me a strange point to insist upon vehemently. It will not do to say that it is the employer who is to be made to pay for these expensive requirements. The employer cannot afford to pay more than a certain sum in all for the labour he imports, and whatever he pays for the labourer's wife, beyond the value of any work she may do for him, he must deduct from what he can afford to pay the labourer. The real effect of any such law as this will therefore be, to prohibit the exportation of labourers to all colonies except those where the want of labour is excessive, and thus the same law might practically open some pestilent colony in the West Indies, or South America, and close the healthful and neighbouring island of Mauritius.⁵⁰

The only aspect of coolie emigration in which efforts were made to improve upon the previous conditions was that of female and family emigration. The real assertion was that Indians would not take their families with them while going overseas. It was therefore necessary to devise a scheme whereby they would be transported away from and back to their homes. Contrary to this, pressure was mounted in the sugar colonies towards extending the period of service and restricting the trend towards return. The obvious outcome was that men would not settle unless they were enabled to have family with them. The proportion of women in the early migration to Mauritius was tiny but after 1842, a number of men who had returned to India on

⁵⁰ *Minute on the Cooly (Evidence) Question Number 97, Correspondence Between the Government of India and Court of Directors Relating to the Hill Coolies*, vol.37, 19 January 23 and July 1847, p. 25.

completing their five years industrial residence came back to the island with their wives and families.⁵¹

In 1844 the number of emigrants to Mauritius fell to 8,242. For this year Madras supplied no emigrants.⁵² As a matter of fact, the presidency again began to supply labour to Mauritius only in 1850. The Mauritius demand of 7,000 persons per annum was met from Calcutta. The percentage of women had fallen to 16 around this time.⁵³ In 1844 the proportion of women was 17 per cent. Indian wives did not find a recognized place in the law of Mauritius which was based upon European, Christian rules of marriage. From 1849, a declaration before the Protector at Calcutta that a couple was married supposedly endured recognition of their relationship in Mauritius, though Hugon reported that the declaration was sometimes 'rejected.'⁵⁴

Table II.5

Indian immigrants recruited and introduced into Mauritius plantations under the Bounty System and by the colonial Indian government officers, 1843 to 1857

Year	System of Labour Recruitment	Number of the Ships to Mauritius	Adults		Children	Total
			Male	Female		
1843	Bounty System	157	26,888	3,373	997	31,258
1844	Bounty System (January 1 to March 31)	43	7,451	1,157	452	9,060
1844	Government Officers (April 1 to Dec. 31)	20	4,045	646	401	5,092
1845	Government Officers	44	7,677	1,462	1,146	10,285
1846	Government Officers	27	4,847	1,150	792	6,789
1847	Government	26	4,845	562	322	5,729

⁵¹ Enclosure Number 1, *Emigration of Natives of India to Mauritius in Correspondence Relative to Indian Labourers in Mauritius*, 17 December 1839, pp.4-36; Verene .A. Shepherd, *Narratives of a Passage from India to the Caribbean* (Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2002), p. 141; Basdeo Mangru, "Abolishing The Return Passage Entitlement Under Indenture: Guianese Planter Pressure And Indian Government Response, 1838–1917," *Caribbean Quarterly*, vol. 32, December 1986, p.4-5.

⁵² *Report on The Land and Colonial Emigration Commissioners*, vol. 23, 1844, p.1-2.

⁵³ Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, p. 65.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

	Officers					
1848	Government Officers	21	4,445	564	294	5,303
1849	Government Officers	30	5,937	886	459	7,282
1850	Government Officers	38	7,793	1,344	686	9,823
1851	Government Officers	37	7,743	1,468	560	9,771
1852	Government Officers	61	12,318	2,926	1,552	16,796
1853	Government Officers	40	9,131	1,729	1,284	12,144
1854	Government Officers	61	13,797	2,527	2,192	18,516
1855	Government Officers	43	8,529	2,460	1,926	12,915
1856	Government Officers	n.a	7,930	2,723	2,000	12,635
1857	Government Officers	88	7,314	3,109	2,302	12,725

Source: *Eighteenth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoodf, 1858), p. 90.

III

Emigration in the Second Half of 19th Century

When sugar prices rose in the 1850's the demand for more labour became more stringent and the number of immigrants arriving each year increased.⁵⁵ Governor Anderson reversed many of his predecessors' policies preferring to adopt a planter-centric view of immigrants, seeing them as unstable and prone to desertion. From 1847 onwards, contracts had included a period of 'industrial residence' of five years.⁵⁶ This reduced the costs considerably. While in 1847 it cost £6 13shs. to import a labour; by 1850's, it cost only £3 3shs.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ *The Economist: Weekly Commercial Times*, _____, 1852, p. 1.

⁵⁶ *Report on Accounts and Papers of House of Commons for Colonies: Emigration*, Vol. 6, 19th January - 23 July 1847, pp. 311-315; Copy of a despatch from J Earl Grey to Governor Sir W. M. Gomm, K.c.b. Sir, Downing-street, 23 February 1847 refers that: "With respect to clause 12, it is to be presumed (though the clause is too generally worded) that this clause is only intended to apply to immigrants during their industrial residence; but, even with this qualification, it is very objectionable. Taken in conjunction with clause 6, it imposes, within its sphere of operation, upon every planter employing an immigrant for any period of time, however short, a stamp-duty of 20*. or a fine of 5*. a day. It renders it necessary for every immigrant to procure a permit of residence at a cost of 40 s. immediately on the expiration of his contract of service (as otherwise he cannot be lawfully harboured by

In 1855, under the initiative of Governor Higgison private immigration was restored once again. The 'free return passage' for immigrants was cancelled. Between 1852 and 1854, some 10,000 labourers were brought in; by the late 1850's, this had doubled to some 20,000 a year.⁵⁸ The abolition of the free return passage from Mauritius in 1853 led to the rise of the proportion of women among the emigrants to 25 per cent.⁵⁹

The initiative in putting pressure on the coolies to increase the proportion of female immigrants came from the colonial office. John Russell addressed a letter to Mauritius and the West Indies (25 May 1855) in which he conveyed the intention of the Government to stop Indian emigration unless due proportion of women was recruited. He pointed out that in the British emigration to the United States, Canada and Australia, 1843-54, the ratio of women to men had been 80 per cent or more. It was desirable to reach this level in the colonies too. The lowest figure that was acceptable to the government in 1856 was one female to three males. If this was not achieved, the British Government threatened to stop emigration.⁶⁰

any one), and this though he may expect to be re-engaged in the course of a few days. And it imposes on those who harbour immigrants without a stamped contract or permit of residence, the duty—without giving them any means—of ascertaining whether those immigrants are of the class to which the present law is applicable, a provision which must work almost equal hardship upon the immigrants and on those who receive them into their houses. I have strong objections to clause 13 of the Association's draft. I am aware of no sufficient ground for wholly prohibiting the paid agency of sirdars in hiring Indians; and the interference with this agency would seem likely to involve a great inconvenience to the Indians....Mauritius Association, 15th Clause.—The Association deem the payment of "Twenty passport and Free shillings" inadequate to defray the expenses of the colony for bringing labourers Passage, from India, and therefore unjust towards it, inasmuch as the average cost of introduction of an immigrant, exclusive of women and children, is at present Si. 10 s. Earl Grey's 3d Clause.—Monthly tax on immigrants not under written engagements."

⁵⁷ *Reports from Commissioners: Seventh General Report of The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners*, vol.9, 1847, p.23; see also David Northrup, *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834-1922*, pp. 24-25.

⁵⁸ *Twenty Ninth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, 1869), p. 80.

⁵⁹ *A Collection of the Laws of Mauritius and Its Dependencies*, vol. VI, 2nd February 1852 to 31st December 1853, 1868, p. 123; see also Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*, pp. 71-72.

⁶⁰ *Report on Accounts and Papers House of Commons for Colonies: Relating to Immigration to the West Indian Colonies*, vol. XVI, 1859, pp. 65-69; The letter refers that "...In forwarding for the information of the Board a return of

According to the report of the protector at Madras, emigration from the southern presidency was drawn from Godavary, Vizagapatnam and Ganjam districts and from Madras and Chengalpatu. Emigrants from other districts were rare. In 1857, the protector named Thanjavur, Tiruchirappalli, South Arcot, Vizagapatnam, Ganjam and Rajahmundry as the main recruiting grounds. And the Madras emigrants were said to be “chiefly pariahs, with considerable number of Sudras and few Musalamans.”⁶¹ Table III.6 provide the details of the ships and the number of emigrants who had embarked from the port of Calcutta to Mauritius for the year 1857.

During the year 1856, a new Secretary for the colonial government Henry Labouchere, sent out another circular addressed to Governor Wodehouse in Demerca (19 March 1856). He insisted that for the year 1856-57, women must form 25 per cent of the total and in the following year the males must not exceed three times the number of females sent for the year 1856-57.⁶² The object was to ensure that if

the ships despatched with emigrants to the West India Colonies during the season just completed, I beg to state, with reference to your letter of the 2nd November last, that the whole of the people embarked on those ships have left India on the clear understanding that they will be required to perform ten years of industrial residence before they can claim a back passage at the expense of the Government; but they would be at liberty to return to India at the expiration of their fifth year of industrial residence; provided they paid for their own passage. It is not, however, at all probable that a single person will be in a condition to avail himself of this latter condition. All Coolies who may leave India hereafter for the West Indies, shall be engaged on the terms specified in third paragraph of your letter above referred to... You will understand that the views expressed in that Despatch on this subject are to be considered as equally applicable to the West Indies, where, indeed, it is still more important to redress the disproportion, inasmuch as the immigrants being brought from a greater distance, and for a longer term of service, must be regarded as constituting a more permanent population.”

⁶¹ Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, pp. 67-68.

⁶² *Report on Accounts and Papers House of Commons for Colonies: Relating to Immigration to the West Indian Colonies*, Vol. XVI, 1859, pp. 191-192; The Dispatch No. 9 discuss the following issues, extract “At the time at which the papers in question were written, much disappointment existed at the comparative failure of the supply of immigrants for the year; and I do not deny that in endeavouring to allay the irritation on that score, and to encourage the planters to look forward with better hope to the season of 1856-7, I may have applied to the past acts of Her Majesty's Government terms which, with more consideration, I should have rendered less offensive in your eyes. Certainly I was dealing with the circumstances which immediately impeded free immigration, and among them the most prominent was the demand made upon the Coolies for contribution towards the expense

the colonies wished to increase total recruitment they would first have to rise the number of female emigrants. This directive evoked protests from Caird, who objected that he had difficulty in procuring the minimum number of women. It was more difficult to induce women to go overseas from North India than from the South. Whereas in the 1858 migration to Mauritius, women formed 34 per cent of those shipped from Calcutta, they were 48 per cent of the emigrants and 41 per cent of those from Bombay.⁶³

Table III.1
Ships and the Numbers of Emigrants Embarked from the Port
of Calcutta to Mauritius, 1857

Name of the Ship	Departure Date	Categories of Labourers Embarked					
		Adults		Children		Infants	Total
		male	Female	Male	Female		
Canning	22 May 1857	220	106	24	24	25	399
Appleton	24 May 1857	222	103	33	18	21	397
Soubahdar	26 May 1857	188	90	24	13	12	327
Devonshire	30 May 1857	194	103	23	13	21	354
Wm.Fairbairn	09 June 1857	220	98	43	21	24	406
Eneas	17 June 1857	105	50	13	9	10	187
Thos. Hamlin	18 June 1857	210	92	26	20	14	362
Recorder	21 June 1857	161	73	21	12	17	284
Indian Ocean	26 June 1857	188	92	35	28	19	362
Calliope	08 July 1857	192	84	31	19	27	353
Punjab	11 July 1857	162	79	17	14	19	291

of the back-passages. For Mr. Caird wrote, on the 8th September, 1855, "the people are willing to engage for ten years industrial residence, and at the expiration of that time to be entitled to a free passage back to India, but they decline most positively to contribute a farthing towards the back passage...In my Despatch No. 9th January last, I begged that the migration agent at Calcutta might be instructed to make arrangements in good time for sending to Guiana in the season of 1856-7 whatever number out of the 3,500 Coolies previously applied for he might not have been able to procure in 1855-6. At that time I had not received any applications on account of the season of 1856-7, but they have since come in to the number of 2,125, making a total for the two seasons of 5,625, of which not more than 600 have been sent to us...I cannot hope that the balance will be procured in the next season, but I sincerely trust that no pains will be spared to procure a large number, and would beg permission again to call attention to the question of obtaining some from Madras..."

⁶³ *The Journal of The Society of Arts and of the Institutions in Union*, Vol. X, (London: Bell and Daldy, 1862), pp. 266-267; and see also *Eighteenth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners*, pp. 50-53 and *ibid.*, pp. 90-93.

Minerva	12 July 1857	183	100	36	19	25	363
Helvellyn	18 July 1857	221	102	29	26	27	405
Kirkham	23 July 1857	236	96	26	11	12	381
Clarendon	04 August 1857	222	107	24	19	22	394
Rajasthan	16 August 1857	182	75	23	14	17	311
Blue Jacket	31 August 1857	224	93	40	17	28	407
Carnatic	20 September 1857	142	115	38	25	22	342
Soubahdar	08 October 1857	155	102	44	35	21	357
Appleton	28 October 1857	194	121	36	35	41	427
Devonshire	05 November 1857	182	99	40	30	21	372
Adelaide	04 December 1857	175	89	25	20	24	333
Futtay Shah Allum	23 December 1857	204	89	26	21	20	360

Source: *Eighteenth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners* (London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswood, 1858), p. 92.

In 1858, the ‘contingent’ system was again replaced by a ‘contract’ system in Mauritius. This system ended the freedom of the labour to choose an employer after his arrival in Mauritius. They were now to sign a contract in India itself binding them to the employer for three years.⁶⁴ In 1859, 120 ships carried immigrants to Mauritius. Over half of them came from Calcutta (23,180), with over one-third from Madras (15,975) and the remainder (5,242) from Bombay. The total 44,397 was the highest reached during the eight years of indenture.⁶⁵

Until 1859, there was no depot at Madras: coolies were lodged in contractor's godowns.⁶⁶ This practice was condemned and hence, Mauritius acquired a depot.⁶⁷ There was a camp at Nagapatinam to

⁶⁴ *A Collection of the Laws of Mauritius and Its Dependencies: Ordinance No. 30 of 1858*, Vol. VII. 1868, p. 665; see also *Report on Accounts and Papers: Cape of Good Hope, German Emigrants, Immigrants and Liberated Africans*, vol. XL, 1857-1858, pp. 144-145

⁶⁵ George Ripley and Charles A. Dana (ed.), *New American Cyclopaedia: A Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge*, Vol. XI (London: D. Appleton and Company, 1868), p. 297; and see also Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*, p. 98.

⁶⁶ *Report on Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India*, 1860-61, p. 292.

⁶⁷ *Report on Accounts and Papers House of Commons for Colonies: Immigration*, Vol. XVI, 1859, p. 109: SIB, Emigration Office, November 25, 1856, Sub-Enclosures refers that: “...The Mauritius planter has since been compelled to abandon his operations, but Mr. Thomson recommends that, to prevent such embarrassment in future, emigration to Mauritius should be prohibited during the season of West Indian emigration. To meet the competition of the French, he desires that lie may be authorized to make advances to emigrants of. five or seven rupees, repayable out of their wages, and to establish a depot for their reception, so as to prevent their absconding

those who were emigrating to Natal, Malaya and the Straits Settlements. Ceylon established a system of official control later in the century and eventually set up two camps for those leaving at Tatapari, near Tuticorin and at Mandapam (Rameswaram).⁶⁸

In view of the import of large scale of labour, the sugarcane production in the Island enormously increased. In 1855, the area under cultivation amounted to 81,000 acres; by 1860 it had increased by over 50 per cent to 1, 22,000 acres. Mauritius had clearly emerged as a principal British sugar producing colony. From exporting 55,163 tons in 1850, the island moved up to 1,34,048 tons in 1860; the crop of 1865 was recorded 1,65,000 tons, which was not surpassed for another thirty five years.⁶⁹ As sugar was produced in ever larger quantities, there was fall in price. This resulted in the reduction of the duties on sugar that created a much greater demand among the people of Britain and Europe. It was calculated that in 1820 the consumption of sugar in Britain amounted to 16.81b per head, per annum. By 1860, average consumption had more than doubled to 38.8 lb.⁷⁰

By 1860, the female quota for Mauritius had raised to 40 per cent. Hugh Tinker's *A New System of Slavery* indicates that by the 1861 census in Mauritius, the Indian population figured 1,92,534;⁷¹ of

after they have promised to emigrate. He further states that he has been compelled to tell the emigrants that they will be allowed to return to their country (meaning, we presume, at the public expense) after an industrial residence of five years...The establishment of a depot in Madras (as in Calcutta) we do not doubt to be necessary. We need hardly add, however, that no one can be forcibly detained there if he wishes to leave it. For this, therefore, we would request the sanction of the Secretary of State."

⁶⁸ *Report on Accounts and Papers House of Commons for Colonies: Immigration*, Vol. XVI, 1859, p. 109; see also *Report from Commissioners: Emigration Commission, Factories, Mines and Public Health*, Vol. XXII, 1862, p.43-47; and Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste in South India*, pp. 129-131.

⁶⁹ George Ripley and Charles A. Dana, *New American Cyclopaedia: A Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge*, Vol. X (New York: Appleton and Company, 1860), p.692; see also Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*, p. 26; see also Adam and Charles Black, *The Encyclopedia Britannica of Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and General Literature*, Vol. XIV (Edinburgh: Neill and co., 1860), p. 363.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Report on Accounts and Papers of House of Commons for Colonies: Colonial Possessions, Convict Discipline and Transportation, Convict Establishments, British North America*, Vol. XXXIX, 1863, p. 107; see also *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, Vol.LXXIII, March (London: Longmans, Green and co., 1866), pp.292-293; Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*, p. 89.

these 1,41,615 were males and 51,014 females, so that males formed almost three quarters of the Indian population.⁷² In 1860s the influx of Indian immigrants into Mauritius tapered off rapidly to only a few thousand a year and came to a halt after 1880.⁷³ The table II.7 gives the details of emigration from India to Mauritius, with Births, Deaths, Arrivals and Departure, for the years 1861 -1870.

Beyts, Special Commissioner of Mauritius for the Department of Immigration, paid a visit to India in 1861 to try to improve the emigration arrangements. In India by his proposition a few modifications had been made in the system of recruiting the Indian labourers, with a view to check the malpractices which were raised from the competition of the agencies of the different Colonies. The implementation of these changes had been resolute upon with the consent of the agents, with pending the introduction of a legislative enactment providing a sufficient remedy for the evils complained of.⁷⁴ Mauritius maintained depots at Calcutta and Madras and recruited at Bombay through contractors. Beyts urged a new depot at Raniganj, then the end of the railway line from Calcutta. This was a favourite place for crimps trying to lure away people to Assam. Ryland, the Magistrate at Raniganj, told Beyts and caired that: “there were a great many Duffadars and *arcotties* (crimps) at Ranigunj... quarrels

⁷² Ibid; and Charles Anthony Coke, *Report on Census of the British Empire: Colonies and Foreign Possession*, Part II (London: Bookseller, 1864), p.266; In addition to the Census Report of 1864, the dispatch, No. 3. 1863, Copy of a from the Acting Governor to his Grace the Duke of Buckingham And Chandos had also claims contrary to the statement of Hugh Tinker. The dispatch refers that: “...The total resident population on 31st December last is estimated, on the basis of the census of 1861 and subsequent alterations recorded, at 341,165, but I am inclined to believe this to be lower than the reality, as the additions by immigration are confined to those from India returned by the Protector; whilst it will be seen, for example, from the return of aliens, that no less then 1,623 Chinese arrived at their own expense, and were registered by the police within the year...” The census report of 1864 refers that: “...The “Population” is two-thirds more than in 1851; the total being stated as 313 462: of this total of the native population is only 116 889. While the immigrant population is 196 573. The resident population of Port Louis (City and District) in 1861 amounted to 74 525, being 24 616 more than in 1851. Persons to a square mile, 437 in 1861. In Seychelles and other dependencies of Mauritius the population in 1851 was 8 001; increase in ten years, 1 054...”

⁷³ Roald Findlay and Stanislaw Wellisz (ed.), *The Political Economy of Poverty, Equity and Growth: Five Small Open Economies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 220.

⁷⁴ *Report on Accounts And Papers of House of Commons: Progress and Condition*, Part I, Vol. XLI, 1863, p. 303.

frequently occur amongst them'. He said the coolies were, "disposed to go wherever their duffadars wished to send them... He had seen batches of coolies guarded by chupprassees as if they were prisoners."⁷⁵

Table III:2
Emigration from India to Mauritius, 1861 to 1870

Years	Arrival		Departure		Birth		Death	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1861	9,624	3,050	1,671	369	2,302	2,252	3,078	1,020
1862	8,486	2,551	2,281	486	3,283	2,362	6,818	2,009
1863	4,385	1,731	3,058	686	3,359	3,359	6,505	1,888
1864	6,647	2,056	3,486	734	3,502	3,502	6,311	2,166
1865	16,230	5,530	3,469	776	3,834	3,683	5,937	2,286
1866	5,415	2,165	3,399	908	3,703	3,703	5,890	2,187
1867	1,328	160	2,967	868	3,528	3,545	16,973	6,769
1868	2,530	722	2,364	704	3,066	3,141	8,119	4,067
1869	1,967	658	2,333	752	3,214	3,044	5,356	2,570
1870	3,692	1,393	2,675	744	3,503	3,503	3,081	1,687

Source: John B. Kyshe (ed.), *The Mauritius Almanac and Colonial Register* (Mauritius: E. Dupuy and P. Dubois, 1871), p. 25.

Note: In 1867 spasmodic epidemics of cholera and Malaria in Mauritius which killed many of the Indian immigrants. The authors of the book *Exposition of Ideas* wrote that: "...In St. Louis, Mauritius, an epidemic of malaria killed 22,231 persons out of 80,000 in 1867-1868 and might easily have depopulated the island in the same way that the disease is believed to have devastated ancient Greece and large tracts of Italy and Spain..."⁷⁶

During the year 1862 there were no labourers arriving at Mauritius under the 'contingent' system. All other new immigrants were attached to a recruiter sent by employer. Between 1863 and 1870, the conditions governing labourers became even more rigorous and according to Carter, by the 1860s, "the convergence of interests

⁷⁵ Proceeding No. 275, Letter from H. Marriott, Emigration Agent for British Guiana, to J.D. Gordon, Dated November 28, 1861; see also Report from Commissioners: Emigration Commission, Factories, Mines and Public Health, Vol. XXII, 1862, pp. 43-47; The principal recommendation made by Beys : " 4. It is proposed to establish a sub-agency for Mauritius at Raneegunge, and if it should be found necessary, a sub-protector. Raneegunge is the place at which it is said fraudulent recruiters waylay emigrants on their way to Calcutta, and induce them to change their destination. It is to counteract these practices that a sub-agency at that place is recommended. It is calculated that it will cost 360/. per annum, but if the new regulations for the control of the recruiters should prove effectual, it will not then be needed..."

⁷⁶ The Baxter Hathaway and John Moore, *Exposition of Ideas* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1885), p. 118.

between planters and the colonial state was at the most apparent,” while the “protective machinery set up to defend the interest of immigrants was correspondingly at its most ineffective.”⁷⁷

In 1865, W.H. Marsh, the Assistant colonial Secretary, had been sent to India. He listened to the lamentations of the Madras Agent who complained that although he had engaged a contractor to provide 2,000 recruits at a commission for Rs.9 per head, the man had produced only 500, who were willing to go. Labourers were being attracted to other jobs: to building railways, to the coffee plantations in the Nilghris hills and to tea estates in Assam, Ceylon was taking 1,00,000 seasonal labourers from Madras, while Natal and the French Colonies also competed with it to secure their needs. The West Indies were unable to retain any recruits in the face of this competition. Beyts urged the need for a ‘well managed agency’ and this must have produced some results, for recruitment to Mauritius shot up to 20,283 during 1865.⁷⁸

The Royal Commission on Labour gave a detailed account of the composition of the work force of the immigrants from the ship ‘Hindustan,’ 207 persons landed. Of these, 153 had been agricultural labourers, and 3 gardeners. The remaining 51 were as detailed below:⁷⁹

4 were headsmen	31 (brought forward)
2 were Shepherds	2 were tailors
3 were coachmen	1 was shoemaker
3 were carters	2 were potters
3 were grooms	1 was Jeweler
8 were domestic servants	4 were barber
3 were washer-men	1 was clerk
1 was coolie	8 were police constables and peons
1 was milkman	1 was sepoy
3 were carpenters	

31 carried forward Total 51

As for the regional figures for indentured labour, the province of Bihar had contributed nearly one-half of the Calcutta emigration; the North West Provinces and Oudhu came next (for the number from Central India was very small indeed), West Bengal stood third. The quotas from other provinces were very small. It may be said, generally, that the earliest recruiting grounds in the Bengal Presidency were Bihar, and Chota Nagpur, while the recruits were ‘junglies’ or ‘hill-

⁷⁷ Vijayalakshmi Teelock, *Mauritian History*, p. 232.

⁷⁸ Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*, p. 102.

⁷⁹ *Report on the Royal Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Treatment of Immigrants in Mauritius*, Part I, 1875, p. 247.

coolies.⁸⁰ Between 1842 and 1870, respectively 108, 156 Biharis came to Mauritius and further 47,286 from the 'North West Provinces.' Similar prevalence had also existed in other importing colonies of Trinidad, Jamaica and British Guiana and led to the development of one common language, Bhojpuri.⁸¹

The Mauritius demand for labour also fluctuated. In 1865, 19,493 persons sailed for that colony; in the following year the number dropped to 3,549; and in the next year a sudden cessation of demand which was attributed to the epidemic fever of 1866 and 1867; the figures for 1868-1870 recorded a steady but slow increase in the demand for Indian labour. Since 1865 there had been no emigration from Bombay.⁸² The results of emigration from 1842 to 1870 may be thus summed up (Table II:8):

Table III: 3

Male - Female Ratio of Emigration, 1842-1870

Ports	Men	Women	children	Total
To Mauritius from Calcutta	1,48,669	35,650	24,496	2,08,815
To Mauritius from Madras	72,230	22,066	16,529	1,10,825
To Mauritius from Bombay	22,954	5,743	3,064	31,7 61
Total	2,43,853	63,549	44,089	3,15,401

Source: Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, 1874, p. 66.

In 1867, of 24,722 Indian women employed on sugar estates only 97 of them appeared in the category of waged labour. Most of them were engaged themselves to do household duties such as prepare food, maintain small garden plots, rear poultry and livestock and help at crop time. Notwithstanding this in 1871, of 74,454 Indian women, 71,453 were categorized as unemployed in the census. Simultaneously the same census enumerated that there were however also: 868 domestics, 244 laundresses, 45 charcoal sellers, 549 gardeners, 241 dressmakers, 52 independent proprietors and 90 trades' women as lived in Mauritius.⁸³ Based on the 1871 census report, Table II: 9, gives the details of the of the Indian population in Mauritius, for a decade 1861-1871 and Table II. 10 provides details of the number of

⁸⁰ Raj Sekhar Basu, *Nandanar's Children*, p. 149-152; see also Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, p. 65.

⁸¹ Dharma Kumar, Tapan Raychaudhuri and Meghnad Desai (ed.), *The Cambridge Economic History of India 1757-1970*, Vol. 2 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 486; see also Vijayalakshmi Teelock, *Mauritian History*, p. 252.

⁸² Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, p. 65.

⁸³ Vijayalakshmi Teelock, *Mauritian History*, p. 242.

men, women and children emigrated from the Madras Port to Mauritius, for the years 1842 to 1870.

Table III: 4

Decennial Increase of Indian Population

Classifications of Population	Men		Women		Total	
	1861	1871	1861	1871	1861	1871
Indian	1,41,615	1,41,804	51,019	74,454	1,92,634	2,16,258
General	61,346	51,771	56,076	48,013	1,17,461	99,784
Total	2,02,961	1,93,575	1,07,089	1,22,467	3,10,050	3,16,042

Source: Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, 1874, p. 66.

In Mauritius, estates in 1870 were measuring 1,22,343 arpents. Each estate had an average area of 486 arpents, an arepent being equal to 40,000 square feet. To work on the plantation every estate had an average population of nearly 500 persons, while there would be about one working hand allocated to perform the works of 1 5/7 arpent.⁸⁴ The wages on the estate were paid in every 4 months. Immigrant workers were also permitted to keep their savings accounts in banks. An Indian immigrant worker of Mauritius plantation, Moonokea, Hospital Attendant, deposited also £40. A woman, Ghoonea, who had four sons working on the estate, deposited £30. Chinien (Chinnayan), working in the 'Vacu Pan' was paid £20 and one of the *sirdar*, Chavirimootoo (Savarimuthu), paid in £ 15. Another *sirdar*, Mandhap, was paid £ 12. Between 1866 and 1867, Allohur earned £ 98. The highest wage earned in 1871 was £ 50 by Langla Mootos who had re-indentured on the same estate and worked for about ten years on the same estate for an average for £ 4 a month. Another immigrant was Sheikh Hossen who earned only £2 a month because he had been absent for 148 days and sick for 18 days. His wages fell under the 'double cut' system and he thus lost £ 20. The Emigration Commissioners calculated that he had worked for 60 days without any pay, except rations.⁸⁵ In 1874-75, 1,186 emigrants left Madras port for Mauritius. In the same year 1,231 emigrants repatriated to Madras from the same colony.⁸⁶ Table II: 11 gives details of emigration from the port of Madras to Mauritius and Bourbon, for the year 1875-76 to 1880-81.

Table III. 5

Men, Women and Children Emigrated from the Madras Port to Mauritius, 1842 to 1870

Year	Port of	Men	Women	Children	Total
1842	Madras	nil	Nil	nil	nil
1843	Madras	15,125	1,830	548	17,503

⁸⁴ Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, p. 84.

⁸⁵ Vijayalakshmi Teelock, *Mauritian History*, p. 241.

⁸⁶ *Report on Moral and Material Condition of India, 1878-79*, p. 93.

1844	Madras	nil	Nil	nil	nil
1845	Madras	nil	Nil	nil	nil
1846	Madras	nil	Nil	nil	nil
1847	Madras	nil	Nil	nil	nil
1848	Madras	nil	Nil	nil	nil
1849	Madras	nil	Nil	nil	nil
1850	Madras	2,279	608	299	3,363
1851	Madras	2,804	712	499	4,015
1852	Madras	3,854	826	686	5,366
1853	Madras	3,146	798	581	4,525
1854	Madras	4,593	1,357	1,364	7,314
1855	Madras	4,068	1,426	1,234	6,728
1856	Madras	3,014	1,046	876	4,936
1857	Madras	2,772	985	878	4,635
1858	Madras	7,240	2,742	2,106	12,088
1859	Madras	6,319	2,543	2,172	11,034
1860	Madras	2,519	1,126	670	4,315
1861	Madras	3,107	1,153	814	5,074
1862	Madras	2,949	1,032	779	4,760
1863	Madras	1,684	690	646	3,020
1864	Madras	1,265	852	396	2,513
1865	Madras	1,709	858	743	3,310
1866	Madras	1,484	759	828	3,071
1867	Madras	nil	Nil	nil	nil
1868	Madras	215	84	59	358
1869	Madras	820	309	159	1,288
1870	Madras	814	330	192	1,336

Source: Geoghegan, *Report on Coolie Emigration from India*, 1874, pp. 72-74.

Table III: 6
Emigration from Madras during 1875-76 to 1880-81

Colonies	1875-76	1876-77	1877-78	1878-79	1879-80	1880-81
Mauritius Bourbon	2,507	2,558	2,844	3,647	6,548	3,192

Source: *Report on Moral and Material Condition of India*, 1880-1881, p. 87.

During the year 1887, 265 persons emigrated from British India to Mauritius. The following year 1888, 714 emigrants left Madras for Mauritius and 374 repatriated to Madras from the same colony.⁸⁷ In 1889 seven ships with 2,554 persons left Madras for Mauritius and 623 emigrants returned to the Madras port from the same colony.⁸⁸ Table II.

⁸⁷ Ibid for 1887-88, p. 155

⁸⁸ Ibid for 1888-89, p. 172.

12 gives details of Arrivals and Departures of Indian Immigrants to Mauritius, from the year 1834 to 1912.

While there were requisitions from both Natal and Mauritius for a large number of emigrants from Madras, there were rapid recruitments and a large number of shipments. Licenses were granted to seventy-two recruiters for Mauritius during the year 1890-1891. In all 1,929 emigrants were dispatched. The same year two ships returned from Mauritius with 306 emigrants.⁸⁹ The same pattern of recruitment continued for another forty years. The 1931 census reported that the pattern of emigration was exactly the same as during the previous half century or more. Hugh Tinker quotes that: "...Trichinopoly district contributes to every main flow of emigration, Ceylon, Malaya, Burma and the plantations in the West. It's surrounding districts, Madurai, Ramanad and south-Salem followed its lead. Indications are clear that this area is saturated. So, emigration from Tamil districts had reached saturation point."⁹⁰

Table III. 7
Arrivals and Departures of Indian Immigrants to Mauritius,
1834 to 1912

Year	Immigrants Arrivals		Immigrants Departures	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1834	75	Na	4	na
1835	1,1182	72	25	1
1836	3,639	184	187	3
1837	6,939	353	114	20
1838	11,567	241	148	6
1839	933	102	170	3
1840	107	9	394	23
1841	499	43	995	94
1842	73	10	2,021	94
1843	30,218	4,307	2,884	108
1844	9,709	1,840	2,312	149
1845	8,918	2,053	1,492	170
1846	5,718	1,621	2,556	204
1847	5,174	656	1,651	133
1848	4,739	656	2,639	376
1849	6,378	1,047	4,298	594
1850	8,436	1,597	3,283	442
1851	8,257	1,763	2,895	374
1852	13,671	3,814	2,034	392
1853	9,877	2,267	1,767	261
1854	14,995	3,489	3,166	509
1855	9,645	3,270	3,702	565

⁸⁹ Ibid for 1889-90, p. 194.

⁹⁰ Hugh Tinker, *A New System of Slavery*, p. 57.

1856	9,130	3,523	4,220	677
1857	8,640	4,085	3,794	809
1858	20,932	9,014	6,707	1,458
1859	31,643	12,754	4,146	971
1860	9,070	4,216	2,290	543
1861	10,232	3,753	1,786	471
1862	7,440	2,453	1,752	460
1863	3,667	1,587	2,553	667
1864	5,626	1,926	2,692	721
1865	14,910	5,373	2,854	667
1866	3,702	1,894	2,925	890
1867	317	33	2,571	827
1868	1,968	640	1,880	664
1869	1,182	590	1,684	636
1870	2,831	1,245	2,172	670
1871	2,318	974	2,369	705
1872	4,015	1,759	3,788	1,031
1873	5,226	2,388	2,160	875
1874	4,818	2,234	2,874	1,201
1875	1,996	923	2,368	1,055
1876	330	172	2,354	917
1877	1,528	659	1,794	623
1878	3,203	1,623	1,885	527
1879	2,013	1,066	1,926	629
1880	371	213	1,731	614
1881	Na	Na	1,180	371
1882	805	436	1,466	397
1883	1,283	632	1,766	640
1884	4,450	1,939	1,362	491
1885	246	112	2,891	1,110
1886	511	235	1,649	671
1887	191	73	1,707	643
1888	482	231	1,283	448
1889	3,244	1,298	990	329
1890	2,152	873	827	228
1891	713	278	716	184
1892	Na	Na	1,129	349
1893	353	132	1,197	457
1894	758	268	754	214
1895	1,249	485	860	275
1896	593	208	858	297
1897	314	112	671	248
1898	Na	Na	842	264
1899	Na	Na	564	182
1900	2,094	796	858	293
1901	3,265	1,309	469	162
1902	1,875	690	462	186
1903	374	134	383	140
1904	1,513	544	413	148
1905	534	186	314	105
1906	463	155	435	180

1907	439	147	366	145
1908	Na	Na	775	266
1909	Na	Na	512	174
1910	397	135	403	182
1911	Na	Na	364	127
1912	Na	Na	338	119

Source: Allister Macmillan (ed.), *Mauritius Illustrated: Historical and Descriptive Commercial and Industrial Facts, Figures and Resources* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2000), p. 216.

Conclusion

In Mauritius, in the wake of abolition of slavery in 1834, the plantation lobby sought to introduce the system of indentured labour. Though the first recruitment took place in 1835, the systematic recruitment started in 1839 when indentured labourers were brought in. Emigration from the port of Madras to Mauritius commenced in 1850s.

In 1810, British captured Mauritius from French. Emigration to Mauritius was taking place from the days of French rule in Pondicherry. The Tamil slaves were taken to Mauritius and employed in hard labour. After the abolition of slavery in Europe and in Colonies, sugar and other plantation industries were affected due to the shortage of labour supply. Subsequently, several methods were adopted to bring the labourers from India to their plantations. After 1839 the Indian indentured labour emigration was constitutionally well planned and organized one. In the beginning, the emigrants were recruited from the tribal areas of Bengal presidency. However, among the Indians the emigrants of the Madras presidency were always preferred by the planters. Captain Christopher Bidon, the Protector of Madras, reported that main flow of recruits came from the overpopulated Tamil districts. Among them, the dalits were prominent.

From 1847s onwards indentured labor contracts included a period of industrial residence of five years, which mandated the colonial authorities to get them a free return passage. In 1853, the free return passage for immigrants was cancelled. Until 1859 there was no depot at Madras. Coolies were lodged in Contractors' warehouses. As for the regional figures of the indentured labour, the province of Bihar had contributed nearly one-half of the Calcutta emigration and the North West Provinces and Oudh came next. The West Bengal stood third. The 1931 year Census reported, in Tamilnadu, Tiruchirappalli district contributed every main flow of emigration to the British colonies. An Enquiry Committee appointed in 1838 revealed the evils of recruitment and sufferings of emigrants. The most dramatic account was given by two Calcutta citizens David Hare and Longueville Clark. In 1839, Thomy Hugon of the Bengal Service, visited Mauritius and sent back a scathing report from Port Louis on the distressing conditions of Indian indentured labourers. In 1844, a telegraphic

message was sent to Calcutta highlighting the alarming mortality rates among the emigrants at the time of voyage and quarantine. The journals such as the Friend of India and the Gentle Man's Gazette of Bombay exposed the murky situation and called for remedial measures. Meanwhile the great extension of the sugar cultivation in the island led to so keen a competition for labourers among the planters. Accordingly the planters chose to send out Indian recruiters to collect emigrants from India. The recruiters lured the emigrants by fraud. The middlemen played a nefarious role between planters and emigrants. The aggressive white planters killed many Indian indentured labourers, but they were not legally penalized or with simple punishment escaped from the offence. On the other hand if any Indian labourer committed a crime, they were punished severely by the colonies' court of law. The penalty for the alleged vagrancy was excessively severe. In the year 1869, the arrests registered for vagrancy throughout the island were 23,916 Indians. The white planters launched many false complaints against the indentured labourers whose contract expired and who were not likely to re-enter the contract and thereby sentenced them to the jail. To add death to debility epidemics also raged in Mauritius. In 1871, the death rate of children on estates was high. Unsanitary and lack of medical attention led to the death of many of the Indian labourers in the colonies. Abolition of the much cursed indentured system became one of the demands of the Indian National Congress.

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Book Review

Ham Gaey Engl and

Sophie Lee

Ilford, London

Book Name: Ham Gaey England (Travel to England) (Urdu)

Author: Akhtar Hussain Sandhu

Publisher: Dogar Publishers, Urdu Bazar, Lahore (Pakistan)

Publishing Year: June 2018

Price: PKR: 1200/-

Professor Akhtar Sandhu is an author, historian, journalist and poet who came to the UK in 2008 and observed many things relating to the English society very closely which he has mentioned in an interesting way in this book. He lived in Reading and London so his observation remained confined to these cities. He was a Ph.D. student in the University of Southampton so has talked of the University Professors, student life and travel in the train between Reading and Southampton. His mention about Ch. Amjad, Ilyas Chatha, Dr. Pippa Virdee, Professor Ian Talbot and Sikh friends like Mushtaq Singh Mushtaq, Dr. Pritam Singh and Dr. Jasdev Singh Rai shows his deep respect for them. Akhtar Sandhu is a poet so sometimes he has used poetry and poetic diction in the book. I have availed many opportunities to share about art and poetry with the author so I can say that his style and vision can impress upon the readers. Professor Akhtar Sandhu expressed deep respect and affection for his supervisor Ian Talbot. He has discussed respectfully about his teachers, friends in Pakistan and in the UK.

My name is Sophie Lee. I am a poet and painter. I cannot read Urdu but I had a long discussion with Professor Akhtar about this book so I know a bit about this Urdu book published in Pakistan. I have conducted a detailed interview of Professor Akhtar Sandhu on art and poetry, culture of Punjab and Pakistan. This discussion motivated me to know about the book and write on the book. In this book, Professor Akhtar Sandhu has discussed travelling in trains, buses and underground and encountered some experience and

observation. Once he was singing calmly the Urdu lyric on the bus, other passengers resented. When he was about to leave the bus, one Pakistan passenger praised him that he had an amazing and beautiful voice. He was very happy about the compliment. In Hong Kong, I observed that a passenger from the Philippines was singing in Filipino on the bus, other passengers ignored her completely. In my opinion, it is pleasant to hear other people singing different beautiful languages. I enjoy their singing as I consider these activities as free entertainment for me. Singing has some physical benefits too. Singing strengthens the immune system, improves our posture, aids better sleeping, decreases stress levels, improves mental alertness, releases endorphins which is the good brain chemical that make us feel uplifting and cheerful.

Professor Akhtar Sandhu also observed a couple was hugging each other at station. In Pakistan, couples do not hug each other publicly. In Hong Kong, it is quite usual to observe couples hugging on the public transport from my previous observation. Most Hong Kong people had some Western culture influences. He also noticed that most British people travelling on public transport did not engage into other passengers for conversation. They were reading, eating, sleeping, sitting alone, talking loudly on their mobile and listening to music or busy engaging with their mobile phones. In Hong Kong, I observed that only few people travelling on the public transport engage into other strangers for conversation. They had the same activities as the British do. He also observed that Londoners enjoyed their weekends immensely. They visited the pubs, drinking and socialising with other friends, family and colleagues cheerfully. In Hong Kong, I have observed that some Hong Kong people visited pub for relaxation and socialising. My circle of friends, family and my relatives do not go to pub as they do not drink alcohol and they do not wish to encounter some troublemaking drunks, possibly having fights in the pubs. Some Hong Kong people choose to sing karaoke in Chinese songs, shopping, playing games in games centres, listening to professional classical music and much more for entertainment. Moreover, Professor Akhtar discovered some wealthy students who paid other students to do their research projects. I have also observed this activity happening in the UK. He also discovered that some students from Pakistan came to study in the UK however, they did not concentrate merely on their studies. They worked part time unskilled job such as security staff, waiters and waitressing. From his point of view, the role of the students is to study only and should not distract from working part-time jobs. I agree with his comment however, if the students did not have enough finance to pay for their basics such as accommodation and food, this may cause them to experience tremendous stress level which may ultimately affect the quality of study and overall well

beings physically and mentally. Therefore, they chose to work part time jobs in order to live and pay for their basics. I also think that it is beneficial for the students if they work within their field of studies. For example, if a student studies Ph.D. in Accountancy, it would be beneficial for him/her to work as an accountant in a company. In Hong Kong, I observed that small proportion of students took on part time jobs. The majority of students concentrate on their studies and expect to perform well in their studies. Professor Akhtar also observed that Pakistan family had no enjoyable lives, except businessmen. From my observation, some Pakistan families enjoy their lives. For example, they took their children to their local parks to play and interact with other families' children. They went to cinemas to watch Indian/Pakistan movies. They walked peacefully in the parks and visited fun fairs. On the other hand, I observed that most business men from Pakistan were unhappy as they wanted to make more and more money. They spent most of their time on making money and less time spending with their beloved families. When Professor Akhtar first visited the UK, he followed his own country social set up. He did not say 'please', 'thank you', 'sorry' and 'excuse me'. The British found that he was rude. After a few weeks, he learned that it was beneficial to say those words when appropriate. As for my own experience, I have been polite using those words when appropriate. In one occasion, Professor Akhtar walked on the cyclist path. The cyclists kept on staring at him. When a passer-by walked close to him, he told Professor Akhtar that he was walking on a cyclist path which was for cyclists only. He apologised and walked to the footpath for pedestrians and continued his journeys. In my opinion, he did the righteous thing to apologise and promote harmonious relationship with other people in order to avoid embarrassment and conflicts. From my own observation, some cyclists swore at the pedestrians walking on cyclist path or shouted loudly at the pedestrians. Some cyclists became very angry and irritated. They did not allow the pedestrians to apologise. Professor Akhtar also crossed the road and did not care of the zebra crossing. Mention of such experiences shows, Akhtar Sandhu is a straightforward and true man. Professor Akhtar observed that there were green trees everywhere and he did not see any fruit trees there. According to the interpretation, he thought that the British people smiled and were lovely but they were unfaithful and failed to maintain long-lasting friendships. In my opinions, some friendships come and go, just like seasons. It is not easy to find a true friendship. People have complex minds which may be influenced by culture, religious beliefs, social norm, social media, press and media, peers, families, existing ill health, personalities and other factors. I always try my best to make good companies to my friends. I enjoy socialising with other females and have some laugh. I

attend the poetry groups, knitting and natter group and books clubs regularly to keep my whole well-being to be healthy. I remember that one 90-year-old lady, called Betsy from knitting and natter group joked. The other lady, called Dee gave her home-made cloth bag with lavender and told her to put it in the chester drawer where she kept her underwear. Then she replied, "I don't wear knickers". It was very hilarious. Everyone from the group laughed uncontrollably.

Professor Akhtar also met some Russian people. The Russians invited him and celebrated birthday happily together. They came to this country to earn money and sent money home to support the families back home, even though they experienced all the hardships. They had good circles of friends who supported each other in bad times. In my opinion, life is like a yo-yo. It goes up and down. It is beneficial to have good friends who can help unconditionally to go through difficult times and add joy for achievements and celebrating birthdays and festivals such as Christmas and Eid. In Hong Kong, I observed that many foreign workers from the Philippines came to Hong Kong to work as live-in nannies. They worked hard to earn money and sent money home to their beloved families. They sacrificed spending time with their beloved families in their own countries. On their days off work, usually on Sunday, they had gatherings in the park, having picnics, socialising, discussing about their problems and seeking for solutions from others and talking about happy moments. They knew how to chill out and enjoy lives. Most of them were Christians and they visited churches every Sunday to worship God and interacted harmoniously with their brothers and sisters.

Professor Akhtar Sandhu observed that some British women wore shorts running on the pavements or parks in cold weather. They showed their muscular and toned legs and arms. They seemed to be fit and strong. In the personal opinion of the author, they showed no sense of love and charm. Charming women should be shy, sweet and delicate like flowers and fragrances. According to my opinion, females in this society wish to be healthy. They work hard and have duties to look after their children and family. Doing exercises can help them to reduce their stress levels. Ultimately, being fit and healthy can help them to face everyday activities and problems effectively and less likely to use the poor and pressurising NHS service.

I like the opinion of the author during his talk in the book launch arranged by Samia Ali in London when Akhtar Sandhu said, 'Culture always facilitated and rendered affection to religion but it never received the same from religion.' I hope, Dr Akhtar will arrange another publication of the English translation of this book so that people from other countries can enjoy his style of writing

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Book Review

Approach for reviving the lost glory of
Vikramshila and its great Acharya Dipankar

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Book Title : “Vikramshila Bouddha Mahavihar ke Mahan Acharya
Dipankar Srigrayan Atish” (In Hindi)

Publisher : Anamika Publishers and Distributers, Delhi India

Price : Rs 900/-

Year of Publication: 2018

Among the important educational institutions in ancient India like Nalanda and Taxila, Vikramshila Buddha Mahavihara also hold an important place which over more than 400 year managed to stand tall in the world due to its arrogance for excellent center for the diffusion of Buddhism and Indian culture in general. But the irony with Vikramshila is that it remained out of public minds till the excavation works started after 1970, while excavation works for Nalanda and Taxila had been completed during British time. Hence, the two ancient world universities had the privileges to establish its ancient importance in terms of religious, historic and archaeological significances, while Vikramshila almost slipped in the dark annals. During 1970-80 , the confusion related to the exact location of Vikramshila had been cleared after noted excavation at Antichak site in Kahalgaon sub-division of Bhagalpur had been started by Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) under the able leadership of noted archaeologist, B S Verma, the then Superintending Archaeologist. The excavation not only had exposed the main central shrine of Vikramshila from below the earth but also

many sculptures of Buddhist and Hindu deities, excellent example of Teracotta sculptures along with huge articles having historic and archaeological importance. The articles recovered during the excavation could have exposed not only many important facts about Vikramshila and Buddhism but also could solve many mysteries related to the ancient time. With proper study from the materials could have also been the sources of knowing the life and works of Acharya Dipankar. It's a matter of regret as well as great concern that even after more than 40 long years, nothing could be done in this direction. No research works could be conducted till the date. However, amid such chaotic situation the recently published book by Shiv Shanker Singh Parijat on Acharya Dipankar is indeed a noble approach for recalling the glorious history of Vikramshila and the great personalities like Acharya Dipankar. If we talk about the glorious past of Vikramshila in retrospect of its history of Buddhist philosophy of 'Mantrayan' and 'Vajrajan' along with the contributions of the great Acharyas, we must have to remember the name of great Acharya Dipankar for his vast contribution for reforming and refining Buddhism in the vast spectrum of the world. Dipankar is considered as the last 'great Acharya' from India who now has been worshiped as a deity for his immense credibility to project Buddhism in front of the world particularly at the time when Buddhism was fading away rapidly and only the last lamp of Buddhism was flickering at Vikramshila. The entire world still remembers Dipankar for his contribution and his many immortal creations numbering over 200 like "Bodhi Path Pradepa" and "Charya Sanghaha Pradepa".

Noted historian like Shiv Shanker Singh Parijat in his recently published book "Vikramshila Buddha Mahavihar ke Mahan Acharya Dipankar Srigyan Atis, (Publisher : Anamika Publishers and Distributors, Delhi, Price : Rs 900/-) not only concentrated the vast personality of Dipankar, his educational and creativity, his preaching and philosophy but also depicted many relevant issues which once again started rising many silent aspects of the great Indian Pandit, Dipankar. Parijat in his book strongly predicted how Dipankar is still relevant today. He also challenged many previous noted historians and scholars who not only confused the world with their misconceptions about the birth place of Dipankar.

Ironically, even after the edifices of Vikramshila dug out at Bhagalpur after ASI's excavation, no work or not any scholar had rectified the previous 'mistakes' made by the then historians and writers (as some of them called Somapuri as Vikramshila). Rather they preferred to believe such 'misconceptions' which subsequently generated the controversy about the birthplace of Dipankar. Nearly after 70 year of the claim of Pandit Rahul Sankrityayan, Parijat in his book has

strongly echoed the great Indian Pandit and in his deep sustainable research works with minute observations of that Sahor state mentioned in old Tibetan manuscripts and books, claimed that the birthplace of Dipankar is either Olpura or Sourdi at Bhagalpur which is located near the half-excavated site of Vikramshila, not at Bangladesh. Parijat has minutely observed the topography, the ancient sculptures and other archaeological evidences earlier recovered from the two places, the existing mounts and other evidences besides the logical conclusions from the old manuscripts before jumping to his claim. He also expressed his strong belief in this book that excavations at the two places could be very fruitful for having the evidences for the birthplace of Dipankar. The prolong hostile attitude by Bihar government, union government also unmindfulness of the local historians and scholars towards Vikramshila and Dipankar has not only blocked the way for revealing of the truth but also helped some foreign countries like China to hatching up a major conspiracy against India. Our government has been ignorant about the conspiracy plotted by China against India on the issue of birthplace of Dipankar. Since China wants to cut short the relation of Tibet with India to gain political mileages and also for making Tibet isolated, it has devised a strategy to detach Dipankar's connectivity with India. Dipankar still plays a very significant role in strengthening the relationship of India and Tibet. But China simply wants to uproot Dipankar from India and hence it started helping Bangladesh for claiming Bikrampur (near Dacca at Bangladesh) as the original birthplace of Dipankar. China also contributed huge amounts to Bangladesh for preserving the so called evidences and also for constructing a memorial in the name of Dipankar at Vikrampur. Bangladesh already established a memorial there with international funding, namely from China. Now the question arises –why China is interested with Dipankar's birthplace at Bangladesh? Parijat book soon after published, has started drawing a massive response among different sections of readers. Readers have started appreciating the writer for his ability for proper documentation of such an important aspect related to the pride of the nation. Former director of ASI, Md. K K has termed this book as most authentic book with references and footnotes that will help many to study further on Dipankar. Jaya S. Parhaak, daughter of the great Indian scholar, Pandit Rahul Sankrityayan has congratulated Parijat for dedicating his book to Rahul Ji on his 125th birth anniversary. Parijat strongly advocates for immediate taking up the issue in both in academic and political level otherwise, he apprehends if proper works would not be started for asserting the actuality, India would lose the credentials of its great son forever from this land.