JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

Vol. LXI No. 2 2019

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
1 PARK STREET ● KOLKATA 700 016

JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY ● Vol. LXI ● No. 2 ● 2019

COUNCIL
OF
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
(2018-2020)

JOURNAL
OF
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

VOLUME LXI No. 2 2019

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY
1 PARK STREET ❐ KOLKATA

ISSN 0368-3308

Edited and published by
Dr. Satyabrata Chakrabarti
General Secretary
The Asiatic Society
1 Park Street
Kolkata 700 016

Published in August 2019

Printed at
Desktop Printers
3A, Garstin Place, 4th Floor
Kolkata 700 001

Price : ₹ 400 (Complete vol. of four nos.)

CONTENTS

LEARNING FROM THE INDOLOGICAL RESEARCHES OF OUR EARLY NATIVE MASTERS*

K. PADDAYYA

I am truly overjoyed to present myself once again at the time-honoured Asiatic Society in Kolkata. I am grateful to its Governing Council for their kind invitation to deliver this year's Raja Rajendralala Mitra memorial lecture. Today is a day of remembrance as it marks the death anniversary of Rajendralala Mitra. In tune with the nostalgic spirit of the occasion, in this lecture I propose to highlight the contributions of some of the past masters of our land to early Indological studies and also explore the possibility of obtaining some useful insights from their work for dealing with contemporary academic and social issues. I must confess that this lecture is a cut-and-paste effort and its newness, if any, lies in bringing together information about the work of native scholars of the early colonial period from eastern, southern and western parts of the country.

Let us begin with how it all started. The establishment of the Asiatic Society on 15 January 1784 marks the first institutionalized effort to gain knowledge about the Asiatic lands. The founder Sir William Jones envisaged the Society's projected goal as one of initiating inquiries into "Man and Nature; whatever is performed by the one, or produced by the other" (Jones 1807a: 5). Indeed the Asiatic Society served as the mother of all institutions devoted to Oriental studies and almost every branch of investigation dealing with the region had its beginnings in the learned proceedings of the Society. It inaugurated what is called New Orientalism (Trautmann 2009a: 156).

Sir William's own eleven anniversary discourses to the Society are a class apart and known for their broad sweep and many wonderful insights. These are aimed at finding links among the Asiatic peoples – the Hindus, the Arabs, the Tartars, the Chinese and the Persians –

* 2nd *Raja Rajendralala Mitra Memorial Lecture* delivered at the Rajendralala Mitra Bhavan, Salt Lake on 26th July 2019.

by undertaking a comparative study of their histories, languages, religions, cultures and philosophies. What was the final intent of this whole endeavour? In Sir William's own words: the goal was to know "… who they severally were, whence, and when they came, where they now are settled and what advantage a perfect knowledge of them all may bring to our European world" (Jones 1807b: 28). We may also recall here the gentle reprimand he had administered to his countrymen even before landing on the Indian soil: "We are like the savages, who thought that the sun rose and set for them alone, and could not imagine that the waves,which surrounded their island, left coral and pearl upon any other shore" (Jones 1807c: 166). These two statements not only reflect Sir William's breadth of vision in scholarly matters but also his belief in the usefulness of true knowledge as a means for bringing together peoples and cultures of various lands. It is impossible to overemphasize the importance of this universalistic attitude of mind in this age of hyper-nationalism and social and religious isolationism.

The half-century that followed the establishment of Asiatic Society witnessed remarkable advances in the study of geography of Asiatic lands; their ancient history, languages and literature; philosophical and religious systems; epigraphical and numismatic records; art and architecture; and cultural traditions and practices (for a detailed review, see Kejariwal 1988). These studies brought a new awareness about the Oriental lands among the European people. Indeed, these resulted in what Edgar Quinet later called the Oriental Renaissance which brought to Europe "an antiquity more profound, more philosophical and more poetical than that of Greece and Rome" (Schwab 1984: 11). A full century earlier, while referring to the corrective offered by Indological studies to the European mind, Max Mueller (1919: 6) similarly wrote that these "make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human."

While the electrifying effect which the new knowledge about the Oriental lands had on the European mind is conceded by one and all, we are still not clear about the various processes involved in its production. For example, was it all due to the efforts of European

workers? Or, were the indigenous scholars too involved in this knowledge creation effort? If so, what is the nature of their contribution or input to the total effort? Were they mere content-suppliers? Or, were they also originators of ideas? These are issues which are still wide open and deserve close attention. As a small effort in this direction, I wish to draw attention to some examples from the eastern, southern and western parts of the country to illustrate that the share of indigenious scholarship was significant and that it had an originality of its own.

I

Let us, first of all, consider the case of eastern India. It is well known that about a dozen Sanskrit Pandits were closely associated with the translation work of Sanskrit texts undertaken by the Bengal Government of East India Company headed by Warren Hastings. Mukherji (1985) has given a short account of the work of these native scholars. In addition, Sir William engaged a private tutor for learning Sanskrit. Ramlochan was the non-Brahmin scholar who taught Sanskrit grammar to him from 1785 and also helped him in matters dealing with ancient texts including reconstruction of the chronology of ancient India. Sir William described him as "a pleasant old man of the medical cast, who teaches me all he knows of the Grammar" (Cannon 1970: 682) and "an excellent scholar, and a very sensible and unprejudiced man" (Jones 1807d: 19). He benefited much more from the work of the Brahmin Pandit Radhakanta Sarman (for a short account of his career, see Rocher 1990). The context of this interaction is briefly as follows.

In 1922 the civil servant F.E. Pargiter's book *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* appeared. In this book Pargiter went beyond the Vedic texts which are religious in nature and made an attempt to reconstruct ancient Indian dynastic history on the basis of Puranic and epic accounts. Thanks to the contributions of later workers we now know that ancient India had its own historical tradition called the *itihasa-purana* tradition and that it passed through two or three stages of development (Pathak 1966; Warder 1970; Thapar 1991, 1992; Sharma 2003). It is important to note here that Sir William already made the

first explicit attempt to use the Puranas and other indigenous writings for reconstructing ancient Indian history. He also warned that, while using these sources, one must take care not to "mistake enigmas and allegories for historical verity" (Jones 1807d: 2). He regarded truth as "the very soul and essence of history". Sir William published his views in three papers, viz. "On the Chronology of the Hindus" (1788); "A Supplement to the Essay on Indian Chronology" (1788); and "On Asiatic History, Civil and Natural" (1793). He identified four stages in ancient Indian history, of which the first three were relegated to the realm of mythology. Regular history, according to him, began with the Magadhan kings in 2100 B.C.

From our point of view, what is important is the fact that for his reconstruction of ancient Indian chronology Sir William depended to a great extent on Radhakanta Sarman's short treatise in Sanskrit called *Puranarthaprakasa*. This 21-page text has now been published by Ludo and Rosane Rocher (1996) with detailed notes about how Sir William acquired and used it for preparing his own essays. Here it is enough to note that Radhakanta Sarman composed it in late 1783-early 1784 entirely on the basis of information secured from the Puranas. The text consists of four parts: i) *Kalasankhyaprakarana* (Hindu reckoning of time); ii) *Dharmanirupanaprakarana* (religious texts of all kinds); iii) *Sristyadivirupana*(matters regarding creation); and iv) *Rajavamsa* (royal dynasties or lists of kings). *It is the first attempt at writing a history of ancient India*. A copy of the text was presented to Warren Hastings, at whose instance Radhakanta Sarman actually took up the task of composing it. Soon it was translated into Persian. It was this Persian edition which came to Sir William's notice. Not fully satisfied with the Persianized names of persons mentioned in the text, Sir William got in touch with Radhakanta Sarman and made for himself a separate copy of the Sanskrit composition. Realizing the need for separating facts from myths and fables, he held consultations with Radhakanta Sarman and other scholars such as Ramlochan and the Kashmiri Pandit Govardhana Kaul. He also made use of other Sanskrit texts such as the *Manusamhita* and *Gitagovinda*. After this careful scrutiny he published his three essays mentioned above, in which he adopted the

four-part framework outlined by Radhakanta Sarman. Thus Sir William's reconstruction of ancient Indian chronology was not merely inspired by Radhakanta Sarman's pioneering effort but was to a great extent modelled or based upon it. He was gracious enough to acknowledge this in many words. In a letter dated 25 March 1787 and addressed to Sir John Shore, the Governor General, he wrote: "I am charmed, my dear Sir, with the short but comprehensive work of Radhacaunt, your pundit, the title of which I see is *Puran-arthupracusam,* or the meaning of the Purans displayed. It contains pedigrees, or lists of kings, from the earliest times to the decline of the Indian empire… I am only tantalized with a thirst for more *accurate* (emphasis added) information…" (Cannon 1970: 735). Further, in his essay "On the Chronology of the Hindus" Sir William admitted that his account is an "extract from the Puranartha Pracausa, or the Puranas Explained, a work lately composed in Sanskrit by Radhacanta Sarman" (Jones 1807d: 19).

Sir William also showered high praise on Radhakant Sarman's qualities of head and heart. He called him "a Pandit of extensive learning and great fame among the Hindus of this province" (Jones 1807d: 19). He was so influenced by Radhakant Sarman's virtuous character that he volunteered to offer financial support for clearing the Pandit's debt incurred due to benefits he had extended to his young students (Cannon 1970: 737, 762, 763, 802). Such is the high esteem in which Sir William held the native scholars. The Pandits in turn respected Sir William both for his gentlemanly temperament and love of Hindu learning. They deeply mourned his untimely death on 27 April 1794. Recording their feelings of loss and grief at his passing away, Sir John Shore wrote: "The pundits who were in the habit of attending him, when I saw them at public *durbar,* a few days after that melancholy event, could neither restrain their tears for his loss, nor find terms to express their admiration at the wonderful progress which he had made in the sciences which they professed" (Shore 1807: v).

The sterling quality of native scholarship that emanated from Radhakanta Sarman, Ramlochan and other eighteenth-century Pandits

of eastern India continued well into the next century. Rajendralala Mitra (1822-1891) was the outstanding figure in the native scholarship during this period (for a rapid survey of his work, see Sengupta 2011). Mitra was unique in more than one way. Although he called himself "a humble labourer" out of modesty, he was by all yardsticks a towering figure among the Indians who specialized in Indological studies in the nineteenth century. He served the Asiatic Society at various levels and was the first Indian to be elected as its President in 1885. Mitra lacked formal education in Indology and yet he was conferred an honorary doctorate degree by Calcutta University in 1876 in recognition of his scholarship. Even a quick glance through the pages of two volumes of his book *Indo-Aryans* containing collected essays first published in 1881 will assure us of the depth and amazing range of his Indological scholarship (Mitra 1969A and B). His writings covered ancient Indian religious and secular texts, editing of manuscripts, epigraphical and archaeological sources, and history of the Palas and Senas. No less interesting are his essays on dress and ornaments, domestic furniture and utensils, spirituous drinks, human sacrifices, picnics, and Sanskrit, Hindi and other languages. While insisting that one must respect the social and religious ramifications of ancient Hindu customs such as child marriage, he was forthright and brought to surface facts on other social aspects. Beef-eating is one of these items. While conceding that this topic "will, doubtless, prove highly offensive to most of my countrymen," Mitra quoted a range of ancient Indian literary texts to show that beef consumption was a common practice in the initial stages of Indian history (Mitra 1969a: 354-88). He also held firm views about the Central Asian origin of the Aryans, which arose from careful and detailed scrutiny of the then available evidences from human anatomy, philology and mythology (Mitra 1969b: 427-60).

Rajendralala Mitra is perhaps best remembered in Indological circles in connection with the prolonged and stinging controversy in which he was involved with James Fergusson about ancient Indian architecture. Readers will recall that Fergusson, a Scottish businessman and indigo-planter, laid the foundations for a scientific study of ancient

Indian architecture. He called India "a great and most poetic region of the globe" and also held that its ancient architecture 'permits us to know exactly the religion, the art and civilization of the people who built it.' Fergusson believed in European racial superiority but still claimed to be a philosophical student of ancient Indian architecture. Between 1829 and 1847 he undertook extensive architectural surveys in the country, which involved preparation of detailed notes, drawing of sketches and making of plans of temples. These field studies led to the publication of two comprehensive volumes titled *Illustrations of the Rock-Cut Temples of India* (1845) and *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1876). Fergusson classified the monuments as belonging to the Buddhist, Hindu, Jain and Muslim periods. Further, he recognized the existence of several distinctive regional architectural styles (Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, Chalukyan, Himalayan, etc.).

Rajendralala Mitra was an admirer of Fergusson's contributions and even called him "a ripe scholar and antiquarian of (great) standing". And yet he had serious doubts about Fergusson's handling of sources and his judgements and boldly stated in these words: "He (Fergusson) seems to overlook, if not to ignore and repudiate, historical evidence, and to confine himself exclusively to the interpretation of ancient lithic remains. Even when he has referred to ancient records, he has not shown that fairness and frankness which were to have been expected from him" (Mitra 1969c: ii).

Rajendralala Mitra raised objections to views about the Greek influence on Indian sculpture and dating of the true arch. In particular, he questioned Fergusson's opinion that the use of stone for construction in India owed its origin to the Greek influences following upon the invasion of Alexander. This led to a prolonged debate between the two of them, involving arguments and counter arguments. The details of this debate are available in Mitra's two papers entitled "Origins of Indian Architecture" and "Principles of Indian Temple Architecture" first published in 1875 and 1880 in his book *Antiquities of Orissa* (Mitra 1969d, e) and *Buddha Gaya: The Hermitage of Sakya Muni* (1878); and in Fergusson's book *The Archaeology of India* published in 1884 (1974). Both brought forward detailed arguments based on

original sources and sometimes used strong words to dispute each other's views. Mitra cited Asoka's pillars, Udayagiri caves (of the Nanda period) and other cases to dispute Fergusson's theory that no stone architecture existed in India till the Greek invasion. He further found fault with the logic of Fergusson's argument about lack of evidence and stated that "To take for granted, therefore, the absence of remains as a proof of the anterior non-existence of buildings is to convert the negation of proof into a positive proof" (Mitra 1969d: 7). Fergusson retaliated and stated that, but for the fact that Mitra's writings did not appear in his private capacity but were published by and therefore had the imprimatur of the Government of Bengal, he "should not have felt called on to notice the criticism of *one who knows so little of the subject* (emphasis added)…" (Fergusson 1974: iv).

Interestingly, the controversy ended on a sort of compromising note. It appears that Fergusson finally conceded that "…though it is almost equally certain that stone was used in India as a building material for engineering purposes and for foundations, yet it is quite certain that nothing that can properly be called architecture is to be found there till considerably after Alexander's time" (as quoted by Mitra 1969c: v). Whatever be the truth, this dispute between Mitra and Fergusson is a landmark event in the Indological scholarship of the nineteenth century and represents an excellent example of the originality and fertility of indigenous scholarship.

II

When we turn to early Indological studies in the southern part of the country and the input of indigenous scholars, we notice a major development that has taken place during the last two decades. This concerns the recognition of the existence of a distinct school of Oriental studies called the Madras School of Orientalism (for a review essay, see Paddayya 2010). Thomas Trautmann coined this phrase in 1999 in order to give recognition to the distinctive nature of Indological studies that were being undertaken in this region in the early part of the nineteenth century. He elaborated upon this topic in his book *Languages and Nations* (2006). More recently, this theme has been explored in

greater depth in the various essays forming part of Trautmann's edited volume titled *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India* (2009b). Two of the topics dealt with by the Madras School are of outstanding importance, viz. a) Colin Mackenzie's multi-sided antiquarian investigations and b) recognition of the Dravidian languages as a distinct family. Indigenous scholarship played a notable part in both these projects.

First, the work of Colin Mackenzie. In respect of antiquarian researches in South India, he occupies a place comparable to that of Sir William in eastern India. He came to India in the same year (1783) but as a cadet in the Madras infantry and without any formal degree. Still he was fascinated by whatever he had read about India and, during his service career here, he wanted to acquire adequate material for writing a tracton" Hindu manners, geography and history" (for detailed accounts of Mackenzie's work, see Johnston 1834; Blake 1991; Dirks 2009).

For 15 long years nothing happened towards this end, partly because of the demanding nature of Mackenzie's work as a surveyor and also because he lacked support, institutional or private, to his proposed antiquarian pursuits. The change came only in 1796 when he had a chance meeting with the young Neogi Brahmin Kavali Venkata Borayya, the eldest of the famous (five) Kavali brothers. With Borayya as its core member, Mackenzie formed a small antiquarian party of native assistants and paid them from his personal funds. This antiquarian group was an unofficial adjunct to his cartographic team which covered an area of 40,000 square miles forming part of the present-day states of Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. In the next quarter-century (till his death in 1821) Mackenzie and his Indian assistants collected an enormous body of information about South India covering land and topography, people, antiquities, religion, culture, ethnic groups and many other aspects. This record was of monumental proportions and comprised 1568 literary manuscripts, 2070 local tracts, 8076 inscriptions, 215 translations, 79 plans, 2630 drawings, 6218 coins and 146 images. This is the famous Mackenzie Archive. Most of it is now part of the British Library in London and

some of it is housed in the libraries in Kolkata and Chennai. Identification of the first series of Neolithic sites and megalithic monuments in the country, discovery of the Amaravati stupa and recognition of Jainism as a distinct faith are some among the pioneering contributions made by the Mackenzie team. It is only sad that he passed away in 1821 before he could start using the rich material for realizing his desire of writing a book on ancient India. He expressed the hope that his "collected observations may be found useful, at least in directing the observation of those more highly gifted to matters of utility…" (Johnston 1934: 334). Regarded by some workers as a 'beached whale', the Mackenzie Archive has now attracted the attention of many Indian and foreign research workers.

Three of the Kavali brothers played a pivotal role in Mackenzie's antiquarian surveys and discoveries (for details, see Ramachandra Rao 2003; essays in Trautmann 2009). Borayya was the head interpreter and knew Telugu, Marathi, English, Sanskrit and Persian. He was held in high esteem by Mackenzie for his "quickest genius and disposition" and "conciliatory turn of mind". Four of Borayya's contributions to Mackenzie's historical surveys are worth noting. While camping at Ongole on the Andhra coast in 1792 or 1793 as part of his topographical surveys, Mackenzie had heard by word of mouth about the sculptured stone slabs that were being quarried away for construction purposes from the ancient mound at Amaravati and desired to visit the place for securing accurate information about the nature of the ancient site. This was not possible as he was soon sent out to Sri Lanka on some other assignment. The chance came in 1797. While camping at Ibrahimpatnam as part of his topographical survey of the left bank areas of the Krishna river, he planned to visit the Amaravati site. So he deputed Borayya and a small team to Amaravati for making prior preparations for his own visit. Borayya reached Amaravati on the previous day, held discussions with the inhabitants and collected information about the ancient site. He thus made all preparations for Mackenzie's visit on the following day. So the actual credit for discovering the ancient site at Amaravati goes to Borayya (Paddayya 2005). Two years later he visited Mahabalipuram and

prepared a six-page note titled "Account of the Ruins & Sculptures at Mahavellypooram". This paved the way for Mackenzie's further investigations at the site and preparation of a series of drawings.

A second noteworthy contribution is that Borayya and his team participated in Mackenzie's topographical surveys initiated in the territory of Mysore immediately after the fall of Tipu Sultan in 1799. Borayya visited the Anegondi(Hampi) region in the Krishna valley (Raichur and Bellary districts) of Karnataka in December 1800 and identified it with the Kishkinda forest of the *Ramayana*. He prepared a report on the inscriptions and recorded oral testimonies. Another remarkable event of the Mysore survey was the discovery of (Neolithic) ashmounds at Kudatini near Bellary and a few other places. These are the first regular mound-bearing archaeological sites discovered in South Asia (Paddayya 2019a: 1-4). The Mackenzie team also claims credit for discovering the first series of megalithic monuments in India (Paddayya 2018a).

The recognition of Jainism as a distinct faith is another aspect of Borayya's work. Based upon his interviews with the followers of this faith at Mysore, Mudgeri and other places about their ancient texts and customs, Borayya prepared an article titled "Account of the Jains" which was published posthumously (Borayya 1809). In the course of his field visits he also prepared short accounts of ethnic groups such as the Boyas or Bedars and this adds an ethnographic facet to his work.

There is yet another important input contributed by Borayya to Mackenzie's historical surveys and this is of considerable methodological importance. In 1802 he submitted a document to Mackenzie listing as many as 35 items or heads under which information may be obtained in the field for writing a history of the Karnataka region. The list covers various natural features of the landscape (hills, rivers, lakes, woods, etc.), climate, soils and seasons, religion, tribal groups and their habits and customs, history ranging from the Puranic accounts to colonial rule, village customs and manners, towns, religious centres and all kinds of ancient sites, trade and commerce, etc. This is what we now call the questionnaire method

in research methodology and Mackenzie employed it with remarkable results in his numerous surveys in the southern part of the country.

Borayya died on 7th January 1803 and Mackenzie highly valued his services.While recognizing the pivotal role played by Borayya in his antiquarian surveys, Mackenzie wrote: "The connection I then formed with one person, a native and a Brahman, was the first step of my introduction into the portal of Indian knowledge. Devoid of any knowledge of the languages myself, I owe to the happy genius of this individual the encouragement to pursue, and the means of obtaining, what I had so long sought…" (Johnston 1834: 335-6).(This reminds us of the compliment which Sir William paid to Radhakant Sarman.) In gratitude he bequeathed a share of his property to Borayya's family and also impressed upon the Company government to extend pensionary benefits to his family. After Borayya's untimely death, his brother Lakshmayya became Mackenize's chief interpreter and coordinated the work of other native assistants. He collected and translated a number of Telugu and Kannada inscriptions and manuscripts. He also prepared a report on land tenure. In 1803 Mackenzie sent him to Mahabalipuram for securing additional information about the ancient site. Based upon his visits to Mahabalipuram and nearby villages and information obtained from villagers, Lakshmayya prepared a detailed historical account of the site running to 24 handwritten pages. In 1816 a team of draftsmen deputed by Mackenzie prepared many drawings of the stone *Rathas,* Arjuna's penance panel and other features of the site (Howes 2009, 2010). After Mackenzie's death in 1821 Lakshmayya made an unsuccessful attempt to start a Hindu Literary Society.

Borayya's second brother, Venkata Ramaswami, also worked on the Mackenzie's team. Returning to Madras after Mackenzie's death, he pursued his studies for the next three decades independently of the Company's official support. Making use of the materials collected as part of Mackenzie's surveys and also based upon his personal knowledge arising from visits made to various places, he published some important writings on the geography, history and culture of the Deccan (for details, see Mitchell 2009). *In these writings the Deccan*

region emerges for the first time as a distinct geographical and culture-historical zone. Ramaswami broadened the scope of and brought to fruition Mackenzie's plan to "methodize and embody the geography of the Dekkhan." We will briefly take note of his writings.

Ramaswami is the first scholar to write about geography of the Deccan. For this purpose he conducted his own inquiries and even travelled up to Ahmadnagar in the north for collecting information. This information enabled Ramaswami to prepare in 1827 a map called *A New Map of the Ancient Divisions of the Deccan,* which is an important contribution to the study of historical geography of the region. As pointed out by Mitchell, this map is different from the maps prepared by the Survey of India. The latter showed geographical space as lifeless and treated it in a historical terms. While it may have some technical deficiencies in the depiction of courses of rivers and location of places, Ramaswami's map shows the location of principal ancient sites and geographical limits of historical dynasties. In the following year, in order to serve as a textual adjunct to this map, Ramaswami published an account titled *Historical Sketches of Cities and Places in the Dekkan.* He made use of inscriptional and other kinds of data forming part of the Mackenzie Archive for giving historical information about various places. This text also provides information about origin myths, genealogical history, rivers and important places.

Ramaswami's interests also covered literary, ethnological and cultural aspects of the Deccan. In 1829 he published his work *Biographical Sketches of the Dekkan Poets.* It gives a brief account of over one hundred literary figures in Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil and Marathi such as Sankaracharya, Nannaya, Tiruvallavar and Jnaneshwar. No less impressive is Ramaswami's interest in understanding the ethnic structure of the Indian society. He published two works on this topic, viz. *A Digest of the Different Castes of India, with Accounts of Them* (1837) and *A Digest of the Different Castes of the Southern Division of India, with Descriptions of their Habits, Customs, etc.* (1847). It is amazing that Ramaswami's writings covered even culinary and medical domains. He translated into English two Telugu texts, one dealing with medicinal herbs and the other with food items

of the contemporary society. These are titled *Moolika Sankulitum or Mingling of Herbs: A Work on Medicine translated from Teloogoo into English* (1835) and *Pakasastra, otherwise called Soopasastra*, or *the Modern Culinary Recipes of the Hindus* (1836).

Rama Sundari (2009: 147) sums up the contribution of the Kavali brothers to the Mackenzie project in these words: "Despite the hardships the three brothers faced, they managed to contribute a great deal toward expanding the scope of historical knowledge in early colonial Madras… The boldness of Ramaswami (as manifested in his published works), the confidence of Borayya's plans for histories, and finally the meticulousness of Lakshmayya's documentation of his own historical researches, may all have been the result of the expansive intellectual world to which the Kavali brothers had access, *initially through Mackenzie but later through their own persistent efforts*" (emphasis added).

The native scholars in South India played an equally significant part in the recognition of Dravidian languages as a distinct family. It may be recalled that in the Bengal Presidency Sanskrit scholars such as H.T.Colebrooke and the missionary W. Carey derived all Indian languages from Sanskrit. It was Robert Caldwell who in his book *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages* (1856) disproved this and established for certain the identity of Dravidian languages as a separate family. In fact this idea was first put forward in 1816 by R.W. Ellis, Madras District Collector and Superintendent of the College of Fort St. George. Ellis expressed this idea in his essay on "Dissertation on the Telugu language" which was originally meant for use by students of the College of Fort St. George. It appeared in print in 1816 as "Note to the Introduction" in A.D. Campbell's *Grammar of the Teloogoo Language.* In this connection we may note that the non-Sanskritic origin of Telugu was already mooted in 1811 by William Brown in his book *A Grammar of the Gentoo Language,* but its publication was delayed till 1817 due to some political problems.

The statement made by Ellis regarding the identity of Dravidian languages is worth quoting: "…neither the Tamil, the Telugu, nor

any of their cognate forms are derivations from the Sanskrit; that the latter, however it may contribute to their polish, is not necessary for their existence; and that they form a distinct family of languages, with which the Sanskrit has, in later times especially, intermixed, but with which it has no radical connection... The members, constituting the family of languages, which may be appropriately called the dialects of Southern India, are the high and low Tamil; the Telugu, grammatical and vulgar; Carnataca or Cannadi, ancient and modern; Malayala or Malayalam…" (Ellis 1954-55:2). Ellis also included under this family Tulu and Kodagu and further stated that the languages of neighbouring regions (Marathi, Oriya and Sinhalese) were to some extent influenced by the Dravidian languages. He further recognized the Malto language being spoken by the aboriginal groups of Rajmahal Hills of eastern India as a member of the Dravidian family. This statement of Ellis carried with it implications comparable to Sir William's recognition of similarities, in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, between Greek and Latin on the one hand and Sanskrit on the other, eventually leading to the birth of Indo-European family of languages. The recognition of the separate identity of Dravidian family of languages in turn exerted tremendous influence on studies dealing with South Indian history and culture. It is only sad that the bicentenary of the recognition of the Dravidian family of languages which fell in 2016 went totally unmarked and uncelebrated in linguistic, cultural and historical sciences in South India.

While Ellis rightly claims the credit for hoisting the Dravidian concept on the linguistic map of the world, the indigenous scholars had a major share in the collection or accumulation of basic data for this purpose (for details, see Venkateswarlu 2012). The Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam teachers, who were employed by the College of Fort St. George to teach rudiments of South Indian Languages and culture to the incoming British nationals recruited for various services in India, sat together and identified roots of words (*dhatu-pathas*) in the four languages. Ellis himself refers to the contributions of the English teacher WoodigheryVenkataramanayya, the Telugu and Sanskrit Pandit Pattabhirama Sastri and the Tamil scholar

Chidambaram Variar. Campbell's *Grammar of the Teloogoo Language* relied upon the Telugu dictionary called *Andhravali* written by Mamadi Venkayya and already published by the College of Fort St. George. It is the lists of *dhatu-pathas* made by the native teachers of the College which served as the real basis for Ellis's preparation of tables showing Tamil, Telgugu and Kannada equivalents of *desya* words in order to emphasize that they are cognate forms. This is how Ellis was emboldened to put forward his theory of the unity of South Indian languages and their non-Sanskritic origin.

The foregoing account of the contributions made by the native scholars of South India will remain incomplete without a reference to the short but brilliant account of the theoretical aspects of ancient Indian architecture titled *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus* published by Ram Raz in 1834. It is illustrated with 48 drawings comprising temple plans, elevations, pillar shafts, etc. Irked by the views linking the origins of ancient Indian architecture to Egyptian influences, Ram Raz studied the contemporary temple building practices and also made a detailed examination of *Manasara*, *Mayamata*, *Kasyapa* and other ancient Indian texts for reconstructing the conceptual basis of Hindu temples—various component elements (their meanings, measurements and respective spatial positions) and mode of construction. Ram Raz belonged to the judicial department of the East India Company and as such lacked specialist knowledge. So he was modest enough to admit the limitations of his pioneering study. He stated this in clear words: "…though I cannot promise that my performance will be such as to meet with the approbation of the Royal Asiatic Society, yet I trust it may not prove altogether unacceptable to that learned body of men, inasmuch as it may tend to draw attention to this important subject, connected as it is with the state of arts and sciences in India in early days" (Ram Raz 1834: xii-xiii). A major study along these lines appeared in the next century with the publication of Stella Kramrisch's two - volume work titled *The Hindu Temple* (Kramrisch 1946).

III

Surely important developments were taking place in western India too. Organized efforts in Indological studies began with the establishment of the Literary Society of Bombay in 1804; it was renamed as the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of London in 1826. Here too indigenous scholarship made important contributions. One name that immediately comes to mind is Dr. Bhau Daji Lad (1821-1874). By profession Bhau Daji was a medical practitioner but acquired proficiency in Sanskrit scholarship as well as epigraphy and Indian numerical system (Jamkhedkar 2010: 144-67). He was the first Indian to be elected as the Vice President of the Asiatic Society of Bombay. More importantly, Bhau Daji envisaged comprehensive project for documenting all known archaeological sites in the country. Unfortunately, due to his untimely death, this project which was to match Cunningham's work in north India could not achieve much progress.

But one person whom Bhau Daji enlisted for work in this project undertook detailed field studies subsequently. This is the venerable figure Bhagawanlal Indraji (1839-1888) who died at the age of less than fifty but he had already achieved fame as an outstanding Indologist of the country. Like Rajendralala Mitra, Indraji lacked formal training in Indology but showed his acumen and skills in every branch of Indological scholarship. Dharamsey (2012) has published a book-length biography of Indraji, so a few brief remarks will suffice here. Indraji's interest in heritage commenced with his childhood fascination for and visits to the Girnar rock edicts of Asoka. He not only visited but made his own field notes about practically all important archaeological sites in western, central and northern India including Nepal. These include Naneghat, Ajanta, Sanchi, Vidisha and Bodh Gaya. He also carried out excavations at Sopara. These fields studies are a native Indian counterpart to Cunningham's famous annual surveys for about two decades in North India; Indraji's work won acclaim from Cunningham himself. For this reason he is called the first Indian archaeologist. No less important is Indraji's realization of the comprehensive nature of the country's heritage and need for a

multi-sided approach, including oral traditions, for studying it. His own contributions to history, chronology, epigraphy and palaeography, sculpture, iconography and architecture, numismatics and religion are of considerable importance.

Finally, we come to the legendary figure Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar (1837-1925). In terms of originality of his Indologial contributions and their broad coverage as well as in respect of his views about the relevance of human studies in promoting the unity and welfare of humankind, Bhandarkar closely reminds us of Sir William Jones. His scholarship covered Sanskrit literature and philology, political, religious and social history, epigraphy, coins and antiquities. While the efforts of most of the earlier workers in India were aimed at collection and classification of various kinds of source materials, it was Bhandarkar who initiated the preparation of writings of synthesis. His writings display extraordinary skills and abilities in handling source materials at different stages of inquiry – their collection, cataloguing and classification, critical scrutiny, description, synthesis and, finally, interpretation. In other words, Indological research *sensustricto* commenced in western India with Bhandarkar (for general reviews, see Dandekar 1976; Paddayya 2019b).

Bhandarkar's writings are based on the judicious use of materials drawn from literary sources, coins, inscriptions and accounts of foreign writers. *Early History of the Deccan down to the Mahomedan Conquest* appeared in 1884. Here he argued that "well-organized communities and kingdoms" existed in the southern territories even before the expansion of Aryan culture into the area. Driven by "a desire to be acquainted with the ancient history of his own country, to know by whom and how that country was governed in ancient times, or how its social and religious institutions have grown up", he published the essay *A Reep into the Early History of India* in 1900, five years before Vincent Smith published his *The Early History of India. Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems,* originally published in Germany in 1913, is the first major historical account of the country's religious and philosophical thought. It was written by him in his advanced age with failing eye-sight. Coming to philology, Bhandarkar's seven Wilson

Philological Lectures delivered in 1877 gave an excellent account of how Sanskrit and its variants, Pali and Prakrit, eventually gave rise to various regional languages of North India. His essay on "Social History of India," originally published in 1901(Bhandarkar 1928a), and some other writings deal with the history of various social institutions. I want to draw your attention to two or three general aspects of Bhandarkar's contributions which are of importance even now. First, as mentioned above, he tapped a variety of sources for preparing his syntheses. These covered literary writings, epigraphical and numismatic records, and also the writings left behind by foreign travellers. The use of these varied sources has imparted true comprehensiveness to his interpretations.

The second and more important aspect which separates his writings from those of his Indian contemporaries concerns the application of a critical and objective approach. "The Critical, Comparative and Historical Method of Inquiry, as applied to Sanskrit Scholarship, and Philology and Indian Archaeology" is the classic essay which Bhandarkar published on this topic in 1888 (Bhandarkar 1933a). It arose from a lecture which he delivered earlier that year under the auspices of the Free Church College Literary Society of Bombay. This essay runs to 30 pages and, as far as my knowledge extends, represents the first ever call given by an Indian researcher for the application of what is now called the scientific method or theory of inquiry not merely in Indological studies but in the entire domain of academic research in the country. He pursued this theme further in several of his later writings, e.g. "The Ends and Aims of College Education" (1893) (Bhandarkar 1933b); "The Ideal of an Indian Scholar" (1893) (Bhandarkar 1933c); and "Lines for Fresh Research in Sanskrit Literature and Antiquities" (1905) (Bhandarkar 1933d).

It is important to realize that the application of the method of inquiry was not a freak idea which crossed Bhandarkar's mind. Rather it was a well-studied application of the inductive method that had already gained acceptance in Europe. Thanks to his exposure to English education at both school and college levels, Bhandarkar gained proficiency in mathematics, history, English literature, and logic and

empiricist philosophy. He was familiar too with the major nineteenth-century advances in sciences. Emphasizing the role played by the inductive method in these disciplines, he writes: "…The inductive method began to be used in Europe about the end of the sixteenth century, and since that time very great progress has been made in the discovery of laws of the physical world. The critical, comparative and historical method began to be well understood and employed about the end of the eighteenth century, and within a hundred years since that time, an equally amazing progress has been made in other departments of knowledge; and geology, palaeontology, comparative philology or the science of language, comparative mythology, evolution and the origin of species, scientific history, comparative jurisprudence, archaeology, sound scholarship, and even comparative religion are the grand results…" (Bhandarkar 1933a: 363).

As suggested by the title of his 1888 essay mentioned earlier, Bhandarkar's scientific approach has three components. At the first level a situation or occurrence is critically examined to ascertain its level of credibility. At the next level the situation or occurrence is compared with similar ones for ascertaining the existence of an underlying law or generalization. At the third level one seeks to know if some historical parallels exist. In his 1893 essay he held that the true aim of education is directed at the acquisition of clear ideas (meaning testable propositions or hypotheses), inculcation of the habits of observation, comparison and criticism, and freeing of the mind from prejudices or what Francis Bacon called Idols of the Mind. Coming to the areas of application, Bhandarkar brought various writings in Sanskrit literature within the purview of the method of inquiry – Vedic hymns, the two epics, the Puranas and oral traditions, and various *Charitas*. He emphasized the need to ascertain the historicity of events, episodes and persons referred to in the two epics and the Puranas. It is this faith in the efficacy of the scientific method which made Bhandarkar deplore the tendency common among the Indians to glorify their past and take all events and situations as historical facts.

What is equally important to remember is that Bhandarkar's employment of the scientific approach was not confined to the

academic domain but it extended to social and religious spheres too. He strongly believed that India's exposure to Western civilization exposed the strong points as well as weaknesses of its own culture. Inspired as he was by the work of reformists such as Raja Rammohun Roy in eastern India and Bal Shastri Jambhekar in western India itself, Bhandarkar gave his own interpretations of ancient Indian texts to oppose social practices such as the caste system and child marriage and lent his support to practices like widow remarriage. He adopted an anthropological approach to the origin of caste system and refuted its divine origin (Bhandarkar 1928b). He attributed its origin due to the operation of practices such as connubium, endogamy and ban on intergroup dining over a long period of time. These practices, coupled with geographical isolation, formation of trade guilds and emergence of new religious sects, led to the growth of numerous castes. He also drew attention to the resilience of the Indian society and its ability to absorb into its fold even the foreign groups which intruded through the northwestern routes (Bhandarkar 1928c). We now know that the same interpretation holds good in the case of absorption of many hunter-gatherer groups of the terminal stage of Stone Age. It is worth noting that Bhandarkar stuck to his views about the need for social reforms despite opposition from senior leaders such as Lokmanya Tilak, as in the case of abolition of child marriage. As regards the methods to be adopted for bringing about social transformation, Bhandarkar disbelieved in revolution and advocated reformation through education.

Bhandarkar's views about the need for reforms in Hindu religion are equally radical. He was a prominent member of the PrarthanaSamaj which was formed in 1867 and promoted its ideas by delivering talks and lectures on numerous occasions and at various places (Bhandarkar 1911). Adopting once again comparative and anthropological approaches, Bhandarkar pointed out that religious feelings arise in man from a belief in some higher and unseen force and morality is the basis of all religious thought. He pleaded for the replacement of mechanical forms of worship by a spiritual mode where God is viewed as a supreme force present everywhere (Bhandarkar 1928d, e).

Summing up his strong and unrepentant views opposing blind and uncritical opinions and attitudes about our ancient customs and traditions, Bhandarkar boldly stated in his essay of 1888: "… And here I feel myself in duty bound, even at the risk of displeasing some of you, to make a passing allusion to the most uncritical spirit that has come over us of praising ourselves and our ancestors indiscriminately, seeing nothing but good in our institutions and in our literature, asserting that the ancient Hindus had made very great progress in all the sciences, physical, moral and social, and the arts – greater even by far than Europe had made hitherto – and denying even the most obvious deficiencies in our literature, such as the absence of satisfactory historical records, and our most obvious defects…" (Bhandarkar 1933a: 392).

The critical approach advocated by Bhandarkar was also adopted by some of his contemporaries in western India such as Lokamanya Tilak (1856-1920) in dealing with the topic of age and original home of the Aryans (Paddayya 2018b) and V.K. Rajwade (1898) in the collection and interpretation of source materials of Maratha history (Kantak 1990). I am happy to add that this critical attitude was continued by their twentieth-century successors. At the Bhandarkar Institute itself a critical edition of the *Mahabharata* was completed under the editorship of V. S. Sukthankar. Likewise, the Oriental Institute in Vadodara prepared a critical edition of the *Ramayana*. At the Deccan College in Pune S.M. Katre brought out his well-known book titled *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism* (1941) to serve as a guide for critical examination of ancient Indian texts. He also initiated the preparation of an encyclopaedic dictionary of Sanskrit on historical principles, of which eleven volumes have already been published. Bhandarkar's exhortation to subject the events and situations referred to in the two Indian epics to critical historical inquiry has also been taken up seriously. H.D. Sankalia undertook a critical examination of the events and places associated with the *Ramayana* in the light of archaeological and historical evidence (1973, 1982). Irawati Karve's *Yuganta: The End of an Epoch* (1969) is an irreverent reinterpretation of the personality traits of the major figures in *Mahabharata*. Gouri Lad

(1983) attempted a correlation between the *Mahabharata* story and evidence from archaeological excavations.

IV

Oriental researches have a regular history of well over two centuries and a quarter. In this long story a major stir was created in the sphere of historiography with the publication of Edward Said's book *Orientalism* in 1978. This book was an indictment of the colonial scholarship of the Oriental lands, particularly of the Arab-speaking regions. Influenced as he was by Deconstruction set in motion by Foucault, Said treated Orientalism essentially as a tool devised by the colonial powers for furthering their hegemonic interests. He called it a corporate institution for "dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient".

Said's book did create some ripples among the Western scholars specializing in Indian studies (e.g. Inden 1990). There was scope for a large-scale response from Indian scholars too but, regrettably, it has been negligible, either due to our dimmed interest in historiography or because Said's conclusions were not found to be sufficiently provocative. The contributions of native workers was one item that would have deserved attention, particularly because these already commenced in the initial stage of organized studies in the country and in some cases were of a fundamental nature. My lecture is a small effort to create fresh interest in this neglected branch of Indological studies. As implied in the title itself, I believe that we could derive some benefit in both academic and social domains from such historiographical forays.

Concern is often expressed about the declining quality of higher education in the country and it is lamented that we get only a marginal place in the world rankings of institutions of higher learning. It is probably true that from the 1970s onwards both research and teaching began to experience a downward trend. This is reflected in the nature of topics or themes chosen for research as well as in the methodological approaches adopted for this purpose. Indological studies are no exception to this trend. In archaeology which is my specialization,

undue importance is attached to aspects like a few early dates and new ceramic or stone tool forms for drawing sensation-making conclusions about origins of cultures and for announcing the birth of new cultures. In this process truly important topics like the investigation of organizational identities of cultures using processual perspectives are neglected. The comment that 'Research is knowing more and more about less and less' has also come true. Inevitably, abilities to prepare writings of synthesis have suffered. Another worrying aspect is that site histories are regarded as synonymous with reconstructions of whole cultures. Difficulties also arise in the teaching domain. Visual aids, while these are no doubt useful in their own way, have made teaching a routine matter. Explanatory powers of teachers suffer due to excessive use of PPTs. It is not uncommon that teaching and seminar presentations are reduced to showing slides and reading inscriptions that accompany them, including "Thank you".

The work of our early masters can serve as a rich source of inspiration and brighten the situation. First, one must admire Pandit Radhakanta Sarman's remarkable survey of the vast Puranic and epic texts and his use of the power of discretion to compose a concise tract about the Hindu view of creation, cycles of time or *Yugas* and lists of kings of the historical period. We have noted how the composition *Puranarthaprakasa* spurred Sir William to take up ancient Indian chronology as a regular topic for detailed investigation.The writings of Rajendralala Mitra and Bhandarkar are particularly relevant in this context. For the systematic way in which evidences from various sources are gathered and put together and for the wonderful information they contain about ancient India, Rajendralala Mirtra's essays on various aspects of cultural history make amazing reading even today. This is equally true of Bhandarkar's various works of synthesis. As I have mentioned earlier, all these writings are characterized by the identification of what Bhandarkar called "clear ideas" or meaningful themes for investigation, willingness to go to even remote and diverse sources for acquiring data and ability to scan it with a critical eye and, finally, to knit it together for drawing unbiased inferences that throw fresh light on the topic chosen for

investigation. In other words, we already see in the work of Mitra and Bhandarkar the application of two of the cardinal principles of modern research methodology, viz. a) recognizing that 'a problem well set or understood, is half solved' and b) comprehensiveness or the attitude of not mistaking trees for the forest. Also remarkable are the sharpness of mind, courage of conviction and quick repartee which Mitra showed in his debate with James Fergusson about the antiquity of stone architecture in India. This debate should motivate younger workers to rise above the level of preparing descriptive accounts and attempt critical assessment of diverse forms of evidence and different views. Also we must not forget the comparative method adopted in the preparation of lists of *dhatu-pathas* by the language teachers of the College of Fort St. George and their role in the recognition of the identity of Dravidian family of languages. Noteworthy too is the success which Kavali Ramaswami achieved in the identification of the Deccan region as a distinct zone in both geographical and culture historical terms. Equally striking are the pioneering discoveries of archaeological sites of various kinds in the country by Borayya and other assistants of Colin Mackenzie. No less laudable is the study of theoretical aspects of Hindu temple architecture initiated by Ram Raz.

Another disturbing trend that one notices today is that the Indological scholarship is arrayed in the form of different schools. Historical studies, particularly in Upper India, are divided into rival leftist and rightist approaches. While the diversity of opinions is to be welcomed and constitutes the true spirit of research, the difficulty arises when these perspectives assume rigid and doctrinaire forms, treating one another as an untouchable. Another distressing trend is that exaggerated notions of the greatness of our past, a trend which was already identified and warned about by Bhandarkar, have come to surface once again in recent times. Several research papers were presented at the Indian Science Congress held in Mumbai in 2015 which maintained that aeronautical engineering and Pythagorus theorem were known in ancient India. In its session that took place in Chandigarh in 2019 a university vice-chancellor repeated that aeroplanes and airports were known in the Ramayana period. This nationalist upsurge has also percolated writings in archaeology. Long ago Sir John

Marshall identified one of the figures on the Harappan seals as Proto-Shiva. A female companion has now been found for this deity with the identification of the bronze 'dancing girl' from Mohenjo-daro as Parvati (Varma 2016). Also contrived efforts are being made to connect the sublime, thought-filled Vedic culture and Sanskrit language with the business-minded Harappan civilization. One can cite many such instances.

My intention in citing these interpretations is not to dispute the place for various opinions but only to emphasize the need for adopting objective approaches in the study of our past. It is precisely here the critical, comparative and historical method advocated by Bhandarkar assumes importance. It is important to realize that Bhandarkar not only formulated this scientific approach but in fact adopted it in his own writings. His essay of 1888 as well as Kavali Borayya's questionnaire method were far ahead of their age and deserve to be made essential readings in research methodology courses which we conduct in our universities.

Quite apart from its importance in dealing with the uncertainties and doubts plaguing the academic world, Bhandarkar's eclectic methodology is also useful in tackling social and religious issues. There is an ongoing identity crisis in the country in both these domains, leading to misleading interpretations of caste distinctions, religious diversity and pluralistic nature of our society. In the wake of narrow interpretations of social diversity and bazaar-based and exhibitionist religious practices, core traditions of our ancient and medieval religious and philosophical thought are unfortunately receding into background. Bhandarkar's analysis of the origins and nature of social diversity and his views about the spiritual basis of religions are doubly relevant now. His emphasis on the need for an objective approach found echo in independent India in Pandit Nehru's advocacy of the importance of scientific temper of mind.

Finally, the relevance of the comparative approach which Sir William and Bhandarkar adopted in the study of world's cultures and peoples. While highlighting the individuality of each area and each culture zone, this approach brings to the fore the oneness and common aspects of mankind.This universalist attitude is the saving

grace of modern world which is currently experiencing antagonisms of various kinds. This attitude by no means implies that we forsake our nationalist, religious, ethnic or other identities. These are complementary and not mutually exclusive. As warned by the Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen in his book *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny*, "The neglect of the plurality of our affiliations and of the need for choice and reasoning obscure the world in which we live." (Sen 2006: xiv).

References

Bhandarkar, R.G. 1911. *Dharampar Lekhva Vyakhyane* (Speeches in Marathi) edited by D.G. Vaidya. Bombay: Karnatak Printing Press.

_____ 1928a. "Social History of India", in *The Collected Works of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar,* Volume II (N.B. Utgikar ed.), pp. 442-470. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

_____ 1928b. "The Indian Caste System", *Ibid.*, pp. 471-486.

_____ 1928c. "The Incorporation of pre-Mohemadan Foreigners into the Hindu Social Organization", *Ibid.,* pp. 624-638.

_____ 1928d. "The Position of the Prarthana Samaj in the Religious World", *Ibid.,* pp. 617-623.

_____ 1928e. "Basis of Theism, and its Relation to the so-called Revealed Religions", *Ibid.*, pp. 603-616.

_____ 1933a. "The Critical, Comparative and Historical Method of Inquiry, as applied to Sanskrit Scholarship, and Philology and Indian Archaeology", in *The Collected Works of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar,* Volume I (N.B. Utgikar and V.G. Paranjape eds.), pp. 362-393. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

_____ 1933b. "The Ends and Aims of College Education", *Ibid.,* pp. 461-475.

_____ 1933c. "The Ideal of an Indian Scholar", *Ibid.,* pp. 476-479.

_____ 1933d. "Lines for fresh Research in Sanskrit Literature and Indian Antiquities", *Ibid.,* pp. 394-415.

Blake, D.M. 1991. "Colin Mackenzie: Collector Extraordinary", *The British Library Journal* 17(2): 128-140.

Borayya, K.V. 1809. "Account of the Jains, Collected from a Priest of this Sect at Mudgeri", Translated for Colin Mackenzie, *Asiatick Researches* 9: 244-271.

Caldwell, R. 1956. *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages* (J.L. Wyatt and T. Ramakrishna Pillai eds.), Madras: Madras University Press. Originally published in 1856.

Campbell, A.D. 1816. *A Grammar of Teloogoo Language.* Madras : College of Fort St. George Press.

Cannon, Garland (ed.) 1970. *The Letters of Sir William Jones,* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Carey, W. 1814. *A Grammar of the Telangana Language,* Serampore, Mission Press.

Dandekar, R.N. (ed.). 1976. *Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar as an Indologist: A Symposium,* Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Dharamsey, Virchand 2012. *Bhagawanlal Indraji – The First Indian Archaeologist: Multidisciplinary Approaches to the Study of the Past,* Vadodara : Darshak Itihas Nidhi.

Dirks, Nicholas B. 2009. "Colonel Mackenzie: Autobiography of an Archive", in *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South Asia* (Thomas R. Trautmann ed.), pp. 29-47. New Delhi : Oxford University Press.

Ellis, R. W. 1954-55 (1816). "Dissertation on the Telugu Language", in Ellis's Dissertation on the Telugu Language by N. Venkata Rao published in *Annals of the Oriental Research Institute of the University of Madras* 12: 7-35. Originally published in 1816 as *Note to the Introduction* in A.D. Campbell's *A Grammar of Teloogoo Language,* Madras: College of Fort St. George.

Fergusson, James 1845. *Illustrations of the Rock-cut Temples of India,* London: John Weale.

— 1876. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,* London: John Murray.

— 1974.*Archaeology in India with Special Reference to the Work of Babu Rajendralala Mitra,* New Delhi: K.B. Publications. Originally published in 1884.

Howes, J. 2009. "Colin Mackenzie, the Madras School of Orientalism and Investigations at Mahabalipuram", in *Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India.* (ThomasTrautmann ed.), 74-109. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

— 2010. *Illustrating India: The Early Colonial Investigations of Colin Mackenzie (1784-1821),* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Inden, R. 1990. *Imagining India,* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Jamkhedkar, A. 2010.*Samajdhureen Dr. Bhau Daji Lad* (in Marathi), Pune: Sri Gandharva-Ved Prakashan.

Johnston, A. 1834. "Biographical Sketch of the Literary Career of the Late Colin Mackenzie, Surveyor-General of India", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* 1: 333-360.

Jones, William 1807a. "A Discourse on the Institution of a Society for Inquiring into the History, Civil and Natural, the Antiquities, Arts, Sciences and Literature of Asia. "in *The Collected Works of Sir William James,* Volume III (Lord Teignmouth ed.), pp. 1-9. London: John Stockdale and John Walker. Reprinted in 1993 by Curzon Press, London, with an Introduction by Garland Cannon.

— 1807b. "The Third Anniversary Discourse – On the Hindus", in *Ibid.,*Volume III, pp. 24-46.

— 1807c. "The Preface to a Grammar of the Persian Language", in *Ibid.,*Volume V, pp. 165-183.

— 1807d. "On the Chronology of the Hindus", in *Ibid.,* Volume IV, pp. 1-47.

Kantak, M.R. (ed.). 1990. *Rajwade and his Thoughts,* Pune: Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal.

Karve, Irawati 1969. *Yuganta: The End of an Epoch,* Pune: Deshmuk Prakashan.

Katre, S.M. 1941. *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism,* Poona: Deccan College.

Kramrisch, Stella 1946. *The Hindu Temple* (2 Volumes), Calcutta: Calcutta University.

Lad, Gouri 1983. *Mahabharata and Archaeological Evidence*, Poona: Deccan College.

Majumdar, R. C. et. al., 1978, (Reprint 2019). *Remembering Rajendralala Mitra*, The Asiatic Society.

Max Müller, F. 1919. *India: What can it teach us?* London: Longmans, Green and Co. Originally published in 1883.

Mitchell, L. 2009. "Enquiries, Points, and Poets in the Construction of Knowledge and Power in Early-Nineteenth-Century Southern India", in *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India* (Thomas R. Trautmann ed.,), pp. 151-182. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Mitra, Raja Rajendralala 1875 and 1880. *The Antiquities of Orissa,* Two Volumes. Calcutta: Bengal Government.

— 1878. *Buddha Gaya : The Hermitage of Sakyamuni,* Calcutta: Bengal Government.

— 1969. *Indo-Aryans : Contributions Towards the Elucidation of their Ancient and Mediaeval History,* Two Volumes (A and B) containing collected essays. Delhi and Varanasi: Indological Book House. Originally published in 1881.

— 1969a. "Beef in Ancient India", in *Ibid.* (1969A), pp. 354-388.

— 1969b. "The Primitive Aryans", in *Ibid.* (1969B), pp. 427-460.

— 1969c. "Preface. In *Ibid",* (1969A), pp. i-vii.

— 1969d. "Origins of Indian Architecture", in *Ibid.* (1969A), pp. 1-50.

— 1969e. "Principles of Indian Architecture", in *Ibid.* (1969A), pp. 51-92.

Mukherji, Abhijit 1985. "European Jones and Asiatic Pandits", *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 28 (1): 43-56.

Paddayya, K. 2005. "Colonel Colin Mackenzie and the Discovery of the Amaravati Site", *Deccan Studies* 3(1): 28-32.

— 2010. "The Madras School and its Place in Nineteenth-century Colonial Orientalism", *Puratattva* 40: 164-187.

— 2018a. "Colonel Colin Mackenzie and the Discovery of Iron Age Megalithic Sites in South India", *Indian Archaeology and Heritage Education*, pp. 44-58. New Delhi: Aryan Books International.

— 2018b. "LokamanyaTilak, Prehistory and the Scientific Method", *Man and Environment* 43(2) : 33-41.

— 2019a. *The Neolithic Ashmounds of the Deccan: Their Place in the Archaeology Peninsular India,* New Delhi: Aryan Books International.

— 2019b. "Resurrecting Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar's Indological Thought and Method", *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Vadodara) 67 (1-4) for 2017 and 2018: 177-209.

Pargiter, F. E. 1922. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition,* Oxford : Oxford University Press.

Pathak, V. S. 1966. *Ancient Historians of India: A Study in Historical Biographies.* Bombay: Asia Publishing House.

Rajwade, V.K. 1898. *Marathanchya Itihasachi Sadhane*(in Marathi) (1850-1861), Volume 1. Wai: Modavritta Printing Press.

Ram Raz 1834. *Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus*, London: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Ramachandra Rao, C.V. 2003. *The Kavali Brothers, Col. Colin Mackenzie and the Reconstruction of South Indian History and Cultural Resurgence in South India,* Nellore: Manasa Publication.

Rama Sundari, Mantena 2009. "The Kavali Brothers: Intellectual Life in Early Colonial Madras", in *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge*

in Colonial South India (Thomas R. Trautmann ed.), pp. 126-150. New Delhi : Oxford University Press.

Rocher, R. 1990. "The Career of Radhakanta Tarkavagisa, an Eighteenth-century Pandit in British Employ", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 109(4): 627-633.

Rocher, L. and R. Rocher 1996. "The Puranarthaprakasa: Jones's Primary Source on Indian Chronology", *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* 54-55 (1994-95): 47-71.

Sankalia, H.D. 1973. *Ramayana: Myth or Reality,* New Delhi: People's Publishing House.

— 1982. *The Ramayana in Historical Perspective,* Delhi: Macmillan India.

Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism,* New York : Pantheon Books.

Schwab, R. 1984. *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East 1680-1880,* New York: Columbia University Press. Translated from the French.

Sen, Amartya 2006. *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Destiny*, New Delhi: Penguin Books.

Sengupta, Gautam 2011. "Rajendralala Mitra and the Formative Years of Indian Art History", in *Indian Art History: Changing Perspectives* (Parul Pandya Dhar ed.), pp. 59-68. Delhi: D.K. Printworld and National.

Sharma, Arvind 2003. *Hinduism and its Sense of History,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Shore, John 1807. "A Discourse delivered at a Meeting of the Asiatick Society, in Calcutta, on the Twenty-Second of May, 1794", in *The Collected Works of Sir William Jones* (Lord Teignmouth ed.), Volume III, pp. i-xxi. London: John Stockdale and John Walker. Reprinted in 1993 by Curzon Press, London, with an Introduction by Garland Cannon.

Thapar, Romila 1991. "Genealogical Patterns as Perceptions of the Past", *Studies in History* 7: 1-36.

— 1992. *Interpreting Early India.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Trautmann, Thomas R. 1999. "Inventing the History of South India", in *Invoking the Past: The Uses of History in South Asia* (Daud Ali ed.), pp. 36-54. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

— 2006. *Languages and Nations: The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras.* Delhi: Yoda Press.

— 2009a. *The Clash of Chronologies: Ancient India and the Modern World.* New Delhi: Yoda Press.

— (ed.) 2009b. *The Madras School of Orientalism : Producing Knowledge in Colonial South Asia,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Varma, T. P. 2016. "Vaidik Sabhyataka Puratattva" (in Hindi), *Itihas* 2(1):11-46

Venkateswarlu, K. 2012. *Colonialism, Orientalism and the Dravidian Languages.* New Delhi: Routledge.

Warder, A. K. 1970. *An Introduction to Ancient Indian Historiography,* Bombay: Popular Book House.

SABYASACHI BHATTACHARYA: IN MEMORIAM

AMIYA KUMAR BAGCHI

It is difficult to talk about the late Professor Sabyasachi Bhattacharya's scholarly work without feeling daunted by its sheer variety and depth. He had written about the finances of the Raj, the variegated nature of India's colonial economy, the field of education, the history of colonial labour, the history of representation of different interest groups under the British Raj, the defining moments of Bengal's history in the twentieth century, the chequered history of Bande Mataram as a nationalist anthem, Rabindranath Tagore as a creative writer, and the relation of the Mahatma and the Poet as revealed through their letters.

In his very first book, *The Financial Foundations of the British Raj: Ideas and Interests in the Reconstruction of Indian Public Finance*, published in 1971 by Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, Sabyasachi signalled his focus on the representation of various 'interests' in the sense of say, V. O. Key, by the British government –landlords, businessmen, officials, in the parlours of policy-making, whether those interests were given a real voice or not. This focus resurfaced later in many different forms. Before we turn to a discussion of his books, I want to take up some key papers to indicate the direction of his thinking or what Schumpeter would have called his 'vision'.

In his paper, 'Laissez faire in India', published in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, January 1965, he contested the then prevalent view that British rule was characterized by laissez faire. Some historians thought that all of British rule was characterized by laissez faire and it was a night-watchman state. Some thought that laissez faire came to play when the Crown took over rule over India. (The three historians quoted by Sabyasachi were D. R. Gadgil, B. B. Misra and Morris David Morris). Sabyasachi pointed out that John Stuart Mill in his *Principles of Political Economy* had stated that in a poor country, and especially one in which there was a great distance in 'civilization' between

government and the people, it ruled over, the former would have to provide docks, roads, works of irrigation, schools, hospitals, colleges and so on.

Under earlier, pre-British regimes, the government played a role in many of the areas of public works Mill mentioned. Karl Marx had pointed out in his articles on India written in 1853 that the Company's government did not have any department of public works until 1854. But by then, the government had already begun to intervene massively in the economy. It had acquired vast tracts of land for the construction of railways. Railway construction proceeded apace throughout the nineteenth century, the government providing a guarantee for a minimum rate of profit for some years. In 1857 it established universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. It had already established some colleges and madrasas. From the 1860s it spent large sums of money on 'productive' (that is, those on which there would be surplus from water rates after paying off the interest on the invested capital). The government invested in docks, set up improvement trusts for the cities of Calcutta and Bombay. It is surprising that historians should have believed in the theory of unadulterated laissez faire in British India, even after reading John Strachey and Richard Strachey, *Finances and Public Works in India from 1869 to 1881*, published in 1882, in which they claimed that the British Indian government was following a policy of socialism in India!

I consider Sabyasachi's *The Colonial State: Theory and Practice* (New Delhi: Primus Books, 2014) to be his most mature work. A first indication of the trend of his thinking is available in his paper, 'Colonial power and micro-social interactions – nineteenth century India' (*Economic and Political Weekly*, 1 June 1991). To quote his summary of the paper:

Theorising and historical narrativising have concentrated on the apparatuses and activities of the colonial Indian government and on the 'state derivation' question in terms of the mode of production and the world capitalist system. This paper contends that analysis of the architecture of colonial power will remain incomplete unless it is sensitised to the process of its constitution at the micro-social level, in everyday life and the mundane actions of ordinary people, below the

over-arching framework of the colonial state. An associated question that arises relates to how an agenda of micro-social investigation articulates with the study of the macro-structure'.

This was further developed in his General President's Address to the Indian History Congress of 2004. According to him :

It is a paradox in the development of Indian historiography that although the State was the chief instrument for the creation of colonialism, the theory of the colonial state has remained in the margins of scholarly attention. The economic historians have been exploring the other site of colonial transaction, namely, the market. Those specialized in political history focused attention on administrative history earlier on and in recent decades on the nationalist movement. A few historians of ideas have touched upon the British Indian theory of governance, Physiocracy, Utilitarianism and the like. Thus some of the important constitutive elements of colonialism have been studied, but there remains a question that needs to be addressed. What are the historical specificities of the 'colonial' state as distinct from other state forms?

The construction of legitimacy, especially by the criteria of international law, was an inseparable part of building the colonial state. Such a construction was intermittently attempted in the eighteenth century - it was attempted because pretensions to some legal right naturally accompanied territorial expansion by the East India Company, but it was intermittent because the authorities in England were wary of the tendency on the part of overbearing proconsuls of the Company to talk big. It was easy to talk to big because there was no one in late eighteenth century India to talk back, except those prepared to pay a high price for it. After some dithering, by the early nineteenth century, however, the idea of royal sovereign right over parts of India under Company's control was formed. The sovereignty of the British Crown over parts of India under the control of the East India Company was statutorily declared in the Charter Act of 1813 and internationally recognized in the Treaty of Paris of 1814. This is the story of the 'development of sovereignty' written by H.H. Dodwell in 1929, in a language more appropriate to the grand theme than mine, in the volume,

on 'British India', in the Cambridge History of India. It was perhaps because it was an important theme that the editor took it upon himself to write this chapter…''

Perhaps it is not generally known that 'civilization' as a concept entered the language of law of nations in the 19th century, along with the expansion of European domination in Asia and Africa. A legal discrimination between the 'civilized' and the 'uncivilized' theoretically allowed European Powers to deny some rights and privileges under international law to non-European sovereign and semi-sovereign political entities. Secondly, there was also a fundamental change in the 19th century in Europe in the replacement of the paradigm of Natural Law, associated with Grotius and Bodin, with a Positivist outlook (it was in part the cause and in part the consequence practice vis-a-vis non-European colonized and semi-colonnized countries in Asia and Africa. The third development, the growth of the theory and practice of extra territoriality, needs to be considered in the light of the above trends. British political practice in relation to 'country powers' and the Indian states or what remained of them, is to be read with reference to European mainstream tradition of legal and political thought.

G.F. de Martens, for example, writing in 1801, considered the de facto existence of Asian states a ground for their de jure status, irrespective of their formal recognition by European states. This tradition of universality of international law and membership of all sovereign states in the 'family of nations' went very far back to Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). He denied the right of Christians to "deprive infidels of their civil power and sovereignty merely on the ground that they are infidels". He also recognized that in the East Indies governments and legal systems existed and thus there was no "legal vacuum as far as the law of nations is concerned". To the end of the 18th century this was the predominant view in Europe. In contrast, consider these view at the end of the 19th century: John Westlake, making a distinction between "fully sovereign states of the white society" and "semi-sovereign oriental or protected states", points out that the international society to which international law applied comprised of European and American states and a few Christian states in other parts of the world. "Our international society

exercises the right of admitting outside states (e.g. Japan or China) to parts of its international law without necessarily admitting them to the whole of it". Westlake's successor in the Chair in International Law at Cambridge, L. Oppenheim, in a treatise (1905) which remained a standard textbook for at least sixty years, laid it down that a state to be admitted to international society "must, first, be a civilized state which is in constant intercourse with members of the Family of Nations". States may be excluded from such membership, partly or wholly, "because their civilization, if any, does not enable them and their subjects to act in conformity with the principles of international law". In the last two decades of the 19th century, Gerrit W. Gong points out, other major exponents of international law put forward similar views.

While on the one hand an ethnocentric notion of Christian or European civilization was thus elevated into a juridical criterion 19th century international law, legal Positivism worked in the same direction. The foundation of 'natural law' expounded in the 17th century by Hugo Grotius (1583-1695), and Jean Bodin (1530-96) were being questioned in the late 18th and 19th centuries. John Austin (1790-1859) pushed forward a species of Positivism which would look away from justice or rights conceived in terms of 'natural law' and focus exclusively upon the actual legal system, i.e., the commands of the sovereign, independent of natural law criteria. In the realm of international law a term coined in 1780 by Bentham, also a legal "positivist" - this approach implied that treaties, engagements, etc. entered into by sovereign states and certain customs and conventions observed by them voluntarily, made the law between nations; hence 'natural law' notions of universal norms became irrelevant. Thus law would be derived by positivists solely from the practice of the states, in fact a small number of European states within the range of observation of international lawyers; hence the abandonment of the classical 17th century natural philosophy associated with Grotius and Bodin. This tendency was especially strong after the Congress of Vienna.

Asian and African peoples "who for centuries had been considered members of the family of nations found themselves in an ad hoc legal vacuum which reduced them from the status of international personality to the status of candidates competing for such personality"....

"Extraterritoriality under capitulary arrangements was one of the oldest features of European relations with Asian states. It was known in the Ottoman Empire from at least the fourteenth century. In India from early 17th century capitulary arrangements existed - usually established by a firman of the Mughal or the local ruler or by treaty arrangements - allowing the foreign merchant companies jurisdiction over their own nationals in the Companies' settlements. Alexanderowicz has shown in his study of such capitulary arrangements in the 17th and 18th centuries that "the East India Companies and the local rulers seem to have generally agreed on the formula 'actor sequitur forum rei'. Its adoption meant in practice that each contracting party would dry its own nationals (subjects) for offences committed in the territory of the Ruler within which the company had a settlement or other establishments".

Delegitimation of Pre-Colonial Authority

The legitimation of colonial state's authority was accompanied by the delegitimation of pre-colonial authority at levels ranging from the pre-colonial claimants to sovereignty to lower levels such as the 'native princes', chiefs and the like. This was accomplished by (a) the denial of pre-existing sovereignty in constitutional law or statutory definition of sovereignty, (b) critique or denigration of pre-colonial authority in the representation of the past, i.e. in historiography, (c) the manipulation of political rituals to represent superior colonial authority and (d) the practice of 'protectorate' arrangements which were, incidentally, later extended outside of the Indian empire to Britain's African possessions.

Some of these trends are illustrated in the colonial state's dealing with the Mughal Emperor in the 19th century. Let us begin at the end. The process of de-legitimation reached its climacteric moment at the trial of Bahadur Shah II, the eleventh successor to the throne after Emperor Aurangzeb. Let us recall the fact that after the uprising of 1857 Bahadur Shah was charged with treason: "he being a subject to the British Government in India, and not regarding the duty of his allegiance, did at Delhi on the 11th May 1857 or thereabouts, act as a false traitor against the State, proclaim and declare himself the reigning King and Sovereign of India... and as such false traitor treasonably

conspire ..." etc. The proceedings of the court, ...show that the Prosecutor's case depended mainly on the fact that Bahadur Shah had accepted "the allegiance and services" of mutinous soldiers and had received 180 petitions submitted to him as "the adopted sovereign". The prosecution's view was that from 1803 the "Kings of Delhi became the pensioned subject of the British".

Symbolic Delegitimation

The climax of the trial of the successor to the Moghuls on grounds of treason against the States was the end product of a long process of symbolic delegitimation. Till the early years of the 19th century the British did not interfere with the symbols of kingship of the Mughal dynasty. For example on the death of Shah Alam, the Resident at Delhi reports, the Khutba was read in the presence of the Company's troops and the Resident in 1806. Acknowledgement of Mughal suzerainty was, however nominally, included in the inscription of coins till 1835; its discontinuance evoked protests which were brushed aside.' The highest gun salute was routinely offered till it was terminated in 1837, according to the Notification regarding Royal Salute of 1837. Certain other symbolic acts were, however, the subjects of contention. Thus the Governor-General wrote in 1825 to the Court of Directors: "Considering it particularly desirable to seize every opportunity of discontinuing these observations which imply recognition of sovereignty of the Crown of Delhi over the Hon. Company's possessions in India", it was desirable to stop paying the Nazi. Later in 1844 the Governor-General reported that in 1830 Amherst had converted the Nazr to one lump-sum payment each year and in 1843 Ellenborough made that a part of the 'Royal stipend' since the Nazr was a "token of feudal submission". As regard the Khilat, the robe of honour, and titles conferred by the Mughals, General Lake accepted that without making any fuss about sovereignty in 1803. From 1813, after the statutory declaration of the British Crown's sovereignty in India, the British were unwilling to accept these honours; 'theoretical' objections were cited, which was but natural since the crown in England was the fountain of honour. The British Indian States became the fountain of honour in India. The British were unwilling to "uphold

the phantom of supremacy" in the Kingship in Delhi, wrote the Persian Secretary of the Governor-General in 1814.

Protection and Protectorates

The concept of 'protection' was important in colonial bureaucratic discourse because, it was deeply rooted in Indian political tradition as indeed it was in many other societies feudal policy - and, on the other hand, the Janus-faced concept of 'protection' had an European aspect, legitimizing the European Powers' relations with Asian and African lands. The latter aspect was important in respect of India because of this reason: India could not be categorized as a country totally without civilization and government; therefore India could not be under European sovereignty established on the ground of discovery of terra nullius. Thus European sovereignty had to be legally grounded either on right of conquest or on sovereignty derived from previous regimes. If the latter, either cession of sovereignty could be cited (of which there are a few instances in Indo-British treaties) or an intermediate status between complete and qualified sovereignty could be established under the guise of 'protection' arrangements with local regimes. Around the beginning of the 19th century 'protection' arrangements, established through a series of treaties between the Company and various Indian princely states, were described by the author of the system, Governor-General Wellesley, as unmolested exercise of its separate authority by every such state under the general protection of the British power. The system which came to be known as subsidiary alliance enlisted in quick succession Hyderabad (1798), the Peshwa (1802), the Bhonsle and the Scindia (1803) Jaipur (1803, the Gaekwad (1805), Travancore (1805), Cochin (1807), Kota (1817), Jodhpur (1818), Bikaner (1828) - in fact all the major states by the 1820's, excepting of course Punjab and Sind states who came in later. The essence of this system was the assurance of British protection which the Native State paid for by one or more of the following means: (a) cost of maintaining a contingent of Company's troops in cash, (b) cession of part of the state's territory to the company, (c) the partial or complete demilitarization of the state, (d) restrictions on relation with foreign powers, and abstention from warfare without

the Company's approval, (e) acceptance of the Company's Resident at the Court to offer advice and instructions.

These points were further developed in Sabyasachi's (2014) book mentioned earlier. To the subjects mentioned in his Presidential Address to the Indian History Congress, he added three themes, 'A view from below: colonial power in everyday life', 'the domination effect in the economy', and 'The colonial state and interest representation'. These were pre-figured in his earlier work: the first in his 1991 paper in the *Economic and Political Weekly*, the second in his considerable work on Indian economic history, and the third in his first book, *Financial Foundations of the British Raj*. But he has added a completely new theme 'Colonial domination and a countervailing hegemony'. The final chapter, 'Historiography and the imperial theme' draws the threads together. In his *Oupanibeshik Bharater Arthaniti 1850-1947* (Calcutta: Ananda, 1987), he would give an account of the roles of landlords, officials, both at the highest level and at the levels of petty officials dealing with the public on a daily basis, moneylenders , merchants and farmers in a broad brush, but he would then delve into the details of peasant differentiation under colonial rule. The most mature expression of this interest would be, as I noted before, his presidential address to the Indian History Congress in 2004, 'The colonial state: Theory and practice', which would be morphed into his formidable monograph, *The Colonial State: Theory and Practice*, New Delhi: Primus Books, 2016. I found that he was treading a very similar trajectory as I had done in my 2005 book. The difference was, of course, that he had focused his whole attention on the nature of the state, and that while I had begun my story from the sixteenth century, and characterized the subsequent era as the rise of capitalism, with colonial conquests as its necessary accompaniment, Sabyasachi had a more nuanced understanding of the state formation. But there were also similarities. He and I had both focused on a civilizational mission as a justification for conquering non-European peoples and keeping them under subjugation. Both of us had seen the role of racism and Social Darwinism as playing a critical role in keeping non-Europeans at a distance and below Europeans. But Sabyasachi had brought his enviable command of the sources of history to delineate the working of

colonialism as a quotidian experience, and de-legitimation of earlier power groups in order to elevate the new rulers. For example, following the earlier Indian practice, the British rulers compelled them to take off their headgear and shoes in the presence of themselves, but would not extend the same courtesy to the Native Princes when they visited them.

Further development of the Theory of the Colonial State

I quote or paraphrase some passages from Bhattacharya (2014) '...in the colonial context, there co-exist two (at least two, there may be more) sets of signifiers, those pre-colonial in origin, and those which the British bring with them. We can imagine them as two separate circles, and in course of India's colonization they intersect with each other....At this *colonial hermeneutic intersection*, as I propose to call it, there develops a stock of signifiers interpreted, indeed reinterpreted, in a manner common to both the colonial rulers and the natives who are ruled.That is what brought the colonial state within the perception of the vast majority of the natives under colonial rule ' (Bhattacharya 2014, p. 45).

In the 1830s an old civil servant in the North-west Provinces and Central Provinces, thought nothing of taking off shoes as a gesture of respect; he thought it was like taking off one's hat. Even Sir Richard Temple used to take off his boots when visiting the Nizam of Hyderabad. But from the middle of the nineteenth century, British officers began to forsake this mode of showing respect to Indian dignitaries. In 1869, C. B. Saunders refused to take off his shoes in the presence of the Nizam, who was a minor (Ibid, p. 48-9).

By the end of the nineteenth century, Indians attending a durbar were expected to wear western-style footwear and western-style dress (Ibid, p.51). Europeans were also forbidden to marry a native woman, and if there was a liaison with a native woman, it had to be kept secret(Ibid, p. 50).

Actually, in many cases, Indians were expected to go off the road when not only a British official or a planter or just a British civilian was riding past. Transgression often invited a severe thrashing.

Chapter 3 of Sabyasachi's 2014 treats 'Sovereignty and civilization in international law', a theme that he had already touched upon in his Presidential address. Actually the notion of 'civilization' that

characterizes a gentleman was already developed by Baldassare Castiglione, an Italian courtier, who published his *Book of the Courtier* in 1528 (Castiglione 1976 [1528]). In England also books of etiquette were being written for 'gentlemen'. Apart from table manners and manners in public, an essential qualification of a gentleman is that he should be able to ride a horse, and furthermore, that he should be a fighting man: 'The fundamental idea of "gentry", symbolised in this grant of a coat of armour, had come to be that of the essential superiority of the fighting man, and, as Selden points out (page 707), the fiction was usually maintained in the granting of arms "to an ennobled person though of the long Robe wherein he hath little use of them as they mean a shield." At the last, the wearing of a sword on all occasions was the outward and visible sign of a gentleman; the custom survives in the sword worn with court dress' (Phillips. 1911;; see also Edwards. 2007). By extension this implied that persons who did not fulfil these requirements, such as inhabitants of Asia and America and native Americans were not civilized and therefore meted a different kind of treatment. This civilizational arrogance was part of the ruling ideology behind European conquests of Africa, the Americas and parts of Asia from the sixteenth century (Elias, 1978 [1939] and 1982 [1939]; Bagchi 2005, pp.69-71). Thus while Westlake might have given a legal carapace to the differential (mis)-treatment of non-Europeans, the practice was there from the beginning of Europe's conquest of the globe. But since Sabyasachi fixed his attention on the Indian colonial state and since British rule did not become firmly established until the defeat of the Peshwa in the battle of Kirkee in 1818, he is justified in confining his attention to the nineteenth century.

Sabyasachi gives too much credit to the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius for his universalism (Bhattacharya 2014, p. 85, 88). In fact, Grotius was prepared to violate all the canons of his Law of Peace and War to justify Dutch expansion (Van Ittersum. 2010). Grotius's universalism was considered to be inapplicable to non-European powers by the European powers, with the possible exception of Ottoman Turkey, but that also changed when Turkey was considered the 'sick man of Europe'.

Interest representation

'In the first ten years, every Indian member nominated by the government to the Indian Legislative Council from 1862 to 1872 represented landed interests and the majority belonged to the native aristocracy [such as Patiala, Jaipur, Rampur] and others had titles of Raja or Maharaja'. (Bhattacharya 2014, p. 118). The bias in favour of the landed aristocracy, big zamindars and ruling princes of Native States was severely criticised in the Indian press, which wanted representation of the educated classes. But the bureaucrats maintained that the educated classes did not reflect the view of the ordinary people. However, by the turn of the century, non-officials nominated to the Council represented various 'interests', ranging from religious communities to municipalities, chambers of commerce, etc. (Ibid, p.120). 'This peculiar system of interest representation in the colonial Indian state was further elaborated in the 1920s until the passing of the Government of India Act of 1935' (Ibid, p. 122-3).

I now turn to Sabyasachi's chapter on 'The domination effect in the economy'. He borrowed the term from Perroux (1960, p.188) who defined it thus: 'An economic unit exerting this effect does through the combination of three elements: its relative dimensions… its bargaining power which is the power which it can apply to fixing the conditions of exchange, and its place in the whole scheme or the nature of its operations'. 'My argument will be that in the era of free trade in the first half of the nineteenth century political power played no less a role than it did in the last half of the nineteenth century, since collusion between the servants of the East India Company and the Free Merchants, representing fractions of private British capital, formed a collective monopoly which formed the basis of a domination effect to bring to that interest group, certain business advantages from manipulation, and not the free operation of market forces'. (Bhattacharya 2014, p. 98).

'What made it possible to form a collective monopoly? …The number of Agency Houses was quite large : 29 in 1803, 20 in 1811, 24 in 1818 and 28 in 1828. But there was a high concentration of business in a few hands. Out of the 28 Houses, according to the Court of Directors of the East India Company in 1828, only 6 accounted for 'the principal part of

the trade of Calcutta, at least in the important trade of indigo'. … in 1829-30, these 6 houses handled 74 per cent of the indigo business. In 1830, the top 6 owned or managed 65 per cent of the vessels belonging to the port of Calcutta, all the big dockyards, and the only colliery and textile mill in Bengal. [Within this oligopoly, the bigger ones also received the lion's share of loans from the EIC]. Governor-General Hastings pointed out that the big Agency Houses had "as complete a monopoly of the floating money of the country as that possessed of the revenues by the East India Company itself".....

'The big Agency Houses in Calcutta were connected with London East India Agency Houses which numbered about 20 by 1820. Individually each House in London acted as the protector of the interests of its Indian counterpart. Fairlie Fergusson & Co. of Calcutta was linked with David Scott & Co. and later Fairlie Bonham & Co. in London; Palmer & Co. of Calcutta was linked with Palmer-Mackillop, London; Mackintosh, Calcutta with Rickards-Mackintosh, London; Alexander & Co. with Fletcher Alexander & Co., London. Collectively the London Houses managed to have their constituents represented in the Court of Directors of EIC. They bought shares of the EIC and the profits were remitted by merchants and civil servants in England, and "the votes thereby obtained were usually put at the service of the Agency Houses who used them, especially in the election of Directors, to increase the strength of Private Trade and city interests" (quoting C. H. Philips. 1961. *The East India Company1784-1834*, London, p. 243), (Bhattacharya 2014, p. 99-100).

I will only add that the government helped the Agency Houses in other ways. The Bank of Bengal, in which the government held a share, and which had a board that had three officials as directors, of whom one was always on the board was a principal lender the Agency Houses. It continued to lend heavily even after first Palmer & Co. and then Alexander & Co. failed, followed by practically all the major Agency Houses, except Mackintosh & Co., with the argument that it had no alternative to shore up the credit of its major borrowers, otherwise there would be a meltdown in the money market. Almost certainly anticipating the Agency House crisis in a falling indigo market, the

backers of the Agency Houses in London persuaded the Parliament to pass the Insolvent Debtors Act for Europeans in India. This meant that the partners of the Agency Houses got off lightly, and came back into business. The price of the Agency House crisis of 1830-32 was paid mainly by their Indian partners who had no protection and whose property was attached by the Bank of Bengal (Bagchi, 1987, Chapter 6).

Now I turn to the penultimate chapter of Bhattacharya (2014). The chapter has the title, 'Colonial domination and a countervailing hegemony'. Here Sabyasachi argues that the colonial state was external to Indian civil society, and that its ultimate basis was coercion. Then he argues: '(c) there develops a *challenge to the domination of the colonial state by a countervailing hegemony* of the national bourgeoisie, the claimant to power in the successor state...; (d) under that countervailing hegemony, *inter-class conflicts within colonial society and ideologically consciously subordinated to a "supra-class" contradiction between imperialism and projected "national interests" in an ideology that objectively serves the interests of the indigenous industrial bourgeoisie and supports capitalist growth in general*. The bourgeois economy is objectively constrained by the multi-structural character of the colonial economy, i.e., *the synchronic existence of more than one mode of production.'* (Ibid, p. 137). Sabyasachi contests the claims of historians and sociologists like B. B. Misra, John Broomfiled and Edward Shils that the Indian intelligentsia as a whole had an independent political interest. He mainly relies upon Gandhi's non-class ideology of politics, largely followed by Jawaharlal Nehru for his argument (Ibid, pp. 156-64).

Now I turn to the final chapter with the title 'Historiography and the imperial theme' in Bhattacharya (2014). Here Sabyasachi primarily surveys colonialist historiography from James Mill through Vincent Smith and the *Gazetteers* to Thompson and Garratt. With the exception of E. P. Thompson and G.T. Garratt's *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, published in 1834, all the other books were generally dismissive of achievements of Indians. Sabyasachi sums up their general trend of argument with his usual caution and fairness: 'While it would be incorrect to lump together all of British historical writings on India, given the fact that different approaches and interpretative frameworks

developed within the colonial school in the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a consistent characteristic of colonialist historiography was to promote the idea of the superiority of western civilization and what Edward Said has described as the "Orientalist" representation of the East.' (Bhattacharya 2014, p. 187).

Economic History

Now I turn to his major article on economic history, his chapter on the economic history of Bengal and Bihar under British rule 'Eastern India' in Kumar and Desai 1983, pp. 270-295. Although it is not stated explicitly, the chapter primarily is concerned with artisanal industry roughly up to the end of the nineteenth century. Here he touched upon the geography of the region, pointing how a drastic move of the Tista eastward and the loss of importance of the Atrai had affected the ports along the Mahananda and Atrai. He also pointed to the turning of western Bengal into a malarial swamp with the silting up of its major rivers, including the Bhagirathi in its upper channels, and the blocking of drainage channels with the coming of the railways. He has used his command of Bengali literature to vividly portray the famine of 1769-70 as described in Bankimchandra's *Anandamath*, which had in its turn drawn upon Hunter's recently published *Annals of Rural Bengal*. As to the fate of the common man under British rule, he again refers to Bankim's Rama Kaibarta and Paran Mandal. Whoever might have benefited neither Rama nor Paran had benefited. He agrees with Bankim that the beneficiaries were Babus: the munsifs, the darogas, vakils, schoolmasters, petty clerks, peshkars, and so on. Apart from their salaries, most of them took bribes. He used Buchanan Hamilton's family budgets to show how the proportion of expenditure on food increased from the great landholders through officials serving them and the government, and rich merchants, through petty native officers, small landholders, clerks and accountants, down to share-croppers, common labourers and artisans. 'The effective internal demand for articles long-distance trade was limited to the rich few High-value goods like Dacca muslin, Murshidabad silk textiles, and Bhagalpur perfumes, which allowed a sufficient margin of profit belong to this category. Secondly,

there were some other items of medium and long-distance trade: grain, salt, and some goods for city consumption. The Murshidabad city, for instance, in the 1770s and 1780s imported saltpetre from Purnea and Patna for the Nawab's forces, timber from Purnea forests, limestone for construction from Sylhet, salt from Midnapore, lac for craft industry from Goalpara, and foodgrains…. These commodities except for grain and salt were again mainly for the affluent in the towns.

He also pointed out that the concentration of land in landlords' hands was very great at the end of the eighteenth century. The sunset law led to the break-up of some big Zamindaries, like that of Rajshahi, but the concentration did not decrease much, because the buyers were generally rich merchants who were diverting their capital to land.

He also analysed how indigenous capital was subordinated to the government under the East India Company and to private European traders. Indigenous merchants served as Banians to either the covenanted servants of the Company or to private British traders, and many of them were ruined in the two major agency house crises of 1829-32 and 1846-48. Two of the few merchants who saved their property were Dwarakanath Tagore and Motilal Seal, the one by investing most of his wealth in landed property, and making it debottar and the other by taking personal guarantees rather than worthless collaterals of the Europeans. To quote from the article: 'The subordination of indigenous banking and moneylending capital to British capital in the early decades of the twentieth century, was the outcome of the monopolistic power… exercised by a section of private foreign capitalists, especially in export-oriented industries and foreign trade and the non-market pressures exerted by the government' (Bhattacharya 1983, p. 293).

Then Sabyasachi takes on the process of severe de-industrialization that overtook Bengal and Bihar in the nineteenth century. He refers to Charles Trevelyan's report of 1835 on inland customs and town duties of Bengal. Trevelyan pointed out that from 1813 English goods, excepting liquor, were imported at 2.5 per cent duty (metals were tax-free). But Indian textiles paid a higher duty than English goods. Moreover, Indian goods had to pay further duties as they travelled across any distance. Thus not only the arrival of machine-made yarn and cloth in Manchester

but the East India Company's policy also were responsible for the ruin of India's indigenous manufactures. The coming of the railways did not change the situation, because the railway lines were laid primarily between the hinterland, producing raw materials such as cotton, jute or indigo or food grains like rice and wheat and the tariffs were levied to favour transport to seaports over inland destinations.

Sabyasachi here again uses the concept of 'domination effect' as formulated by Perroux. 'In the industrial field the means by which the Company acquired "domination" were of three sorts: (1) Domination of the market as the biggest single buyer. (2) Extra-market means whereby supply of export goods, and terms on which such goods were obtained were controlled. Restrictions were imposed, informal or formal, on the freedom of the producers. (3) In order to reinforce the above controls, machinery for the procurement of export goods was so devised as to either subjugate or exclude Indian trading capital from spheres chosen by the Company'. (Ibid, p. 287). Further, 'Whether it was the indentured tanti (weaver) or the nunia (saltpetre maker) or the nacaud (silk winder) or the molungi (salt worker) the concomitant of the progress towards monopsony was the deterioration of their income and living standards. Between 1792-93-1796-97 and 1818/19 -1822/23 available data show that while spinners' wages in Malda and eight other residencies remained stagnant at Rs. 2.5 per month, the average price of raw cotton went up from Rs. 12.8 to 16.5 per maund and that of rice from Rs. 0.62 to Rs. 1.02 per maund. … The Resident at Dacca calculated that weavers were incurring a loss of about 10 to 30 per cent because of the difference between the Company's purchase price and raw material and labour input costs (actual material price plus an assumed Rs. 2 monthly wage for labour).' (Ibid, p. 288-89).

Now I turn to his Bengali book, *Oupanibeshik bharater arthaniti 1850-1947 (*1987), which still remains the best short introduction to the economic history of British India since 1850.

There he uses the data given by Sivasubramonian and Nirmal Chandra to demonstrate that there was hardly any growth in per capita income over the whole period. George Blyn's data on agricultural

production from 1891-92 shows that while there was some growth in per capita production of commercial crops such as cotton, jute, groundnuts, tea and coffee, per capita output of food grains declined over the period. Sabyasachi also defended the calculations of nationalists like Dadabhoy Nowrojee, who compared the nutrition and health of ordinary Indians with those of prisoners and citizens of Britain. He also thought that excluding services from the national income of an underdeveloped country like India was the right way to proceed.

Sabyasachi gives us an analysis of the rural class structure on the basis of Surendra Patel's work. At the bottom of the pyramid was (on the basis of 1931 census), landless agricultural labourers, 37.8 per cent of rural population; then comes small peasants owning less than 5 acres of land forming 9 per cent of the agricultural population; insecure tenants and share-croppers formed 24.3 per cent of the same population. Then come peasants owning more than 5 acres of land and secure tenants, forming 25.3 per cent of the agricultural population. On top were the rentiers, the zamindars forming 3.6 per cent.

Sabyasachi then discusses the fall and subsequent rise of the Indian business class. The rise occurred first in Bombay and Ahmedabad where Cowasjee Davar and Ghanashyamdas Ranchhordas respectively established cotton mills. The rise in Bengal came much later when Ghanashyamdas Birla and Seth Hukumchand opened their first jute mills. This was followed by the sugar mills in Bihar and the United Provinces. The rise of modern industries, however, could not compensate for the decline in employment in India's traditional industries. De-industrialization in the sense of a decline in the proportion of employment generated by industries as proportion of the workforce continued to take place down to 1931.

A chapter is also devoted to 'Poverty, starvation and famine'. Sabyasachi starts with the report of the committee appointed by the government to analyse the course of the Bengal famine of 1943. Even that report put the number dying of starvation at 6 million. Later, of course, Sir John Woodhead reduced the figure drastically to between 1 and 2 million. Sabyasachi uses Amartya Sen's concept of 'Entitlement

failure' to analyse the causes of famine. Sen pointed out that in 1943 the supply of food grains was only 5 per cent less than the five-year average up to 1942 and was 13 per cent higher than in 1942. But the purchasing power of agricultural labourers, small farmers and so on had been squeezed by the war-time inflation. Moreover, the government's decision to sequester food grains so that the Japanese could not get hold of it and its decision to destroy large numbers of boats also made the limited supply inaccessible to many people. Sen put the number dying of the famine at 3 million. Of course, the famine brought out some of the worst instincts of human survival,— husbands abandoning their wives, grown-up sons abandoning their parents, and produced pathetic pictures of a child trying to suck the nipples of a dead mother, as portrayed by Somnath Hore, Chittaprasad and Jainal Abedin. Lakhs of people crowded the streets of towns and cities begging for rice, and even gruel, and died without any protest. Some organizations and charities came forward to feed them, but the unofficial effort could not cope with the scale of the disaster.

Re-definition of Bengal's life and mind from the 1920s to the1940s

Sabyasachi had too much a breadth of mind to be a mere Bengali. But there is no doubt that he had a special love for Bengal and Bengali culture. This is evidenced by his book on Vande Mataram and his essays and book on Rabindranath Tagore. This love is shown in a crystallized form in one of his last books, Bhattacharya (2014a). The blurb of that book describes the content thus: 'The work explores some of the constituent elements in the life and mind of Bengal in the twentieth century. The author asks some frequently unasked questions about the history of modern Bengal. In what way twentieth-century-Bengal was different from 'Renaissance' Bengal of the late-nineteenth century? How was a regional identity consciousness redefined? Did the lineaments of Bengal differ from those in the rest of India? What social experiences drove the Muslim community's identity perception? How did Bengal cope with crises such as World War II, the famine of 1943, and the communal clashes that climaxed in the Calcutta riots of 1946?'

Sabyasachi then proceeds assiduously to deal with each of the issues raised. On p. 1 he writes: 'It is one of the arguments of the book that in

the 1920s there began a redefinition of Bengal's identity. To this process can be traced the major themes that dominated Bengal's history through the twentieth century. It involved, first, rethinking on Indian nationalism and the growth of a new 'Bengali patriotism'. Political leaders articulated a new regional identity – not necessarily incompatible with loyalty to the Indian nation – while intellectuals gave a certain 'body' to their construal of Bengal's history, language, and cultural traditions. Bengal's political marginalization in the all-India political arena, or a perception of that sort, added strength to this regional identity consciousness. Secondly, the 1920s also witnessed a trend which may be called the vernacularization of politics. [It was not just the use of Bengali in place of English as the medium of political discourse]. It also meant an indigenization of the idiom and style of expression and action in the entire public sphere'.

In chapter 2 Sabyasachi takes up 'The gender question and the New Bhadramahila'. The notion of s*ateetwa*, or woman's chastity was contested by Ashrumati Devi at the Conference of Youth held in Jessore in 1929. She wrote: "The heavy weight of s*ateetwa* has been sitting on the chest of society…. This rotten corpse of a custom must be put forthwith on the funeral pyre….*Sateetwa* is inherent in a woman who is noble and strong in spirit. From this viewpoint, to have a husband or none or many is not the essence of it". She also said that the garbage of s*ateetwa* did not bring into the world Veda-Vyasa, Karna, Arjuna, or Yudhisthira. (Bhattacharya 2014a, p. 47-48). As Sabyasachi points out, the argument was not cast in a western idiom or by appealing to modernity, but invoking Indian tradition and simple common sense of equality between men and women. A popular newspaper, unable to cope with Ashrumati's argument descended to statements like 'free sex and lax morals, 'brainless enervated perversions', etc. Many manuals were also published about how a woman should hold household.

More interesting was how the issue of women's education was treated. Some of the women in the nineteenth century learned to read and write despite the frowning of their menfolk. Women of the Tagore household were some of the pioneers of women's education. Still opposition to women's education continued in the first half of the

twentieth century both by men (probably the majority) and by conservative women, complaining often that educated women do not relate to the so-called Hindu tradition (or for that matter to Muslim tradition in the case of Muslim women). Even Jadunath Sarkar, the historian speaking to students of Bethune College in 1927, said that a woman's place is in the home and the family. The *Anandabazar Patrika* endorsed this view (Ibid, p. 54).

Despite such opposition, the figures of 1931 showed that a community of educated women developed among the upper castes.

'The All India Women's Conference (AIWC) met in Calcutta in 1929. … [Its secretary, Lady] Abala Bose, having been denied admission to Calcutta Medical College, was trained in the Madras Medical College in 1882-86; She founded in 1919 the Naree Shiksha Samiti in Calcutta and about two hundred girls' schools in rural areas, and was one of the initiators of the intervention made by AIWC in support of the Sarda Bill.' (Ibid p. 61).

Another great pioneer of women's education was Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain. 'She founded one of the earliest schools for women in 1911, and a Muslim women's association, Anjuman-e-Khawatin-e- Islam, in 1916'. She fought for the idea that Muslim women's education in Zenana, that is behind Purdah must be replaced by regular institutional education.

Chapter 3 deals with 'Affinity and denial: Caste and communal identities'. Sabyasachi mainly utilises the data of Census 1931, which was apparently 'the most thorough going enquiry in Bengal until the Census of 1931' (Ibid, p. 78). A. E. Porter, directing the operations told the enumerators not to club together Jains, Sikhs, and Brahmos as Hindus. In the case of tribal religions he stated:

'There is... a natural tendency for Mundas, Oraons, Santals and similar primitive people to adopt Hindu practices.... and among both the Oraons and the Santals recent movements of religious reform professedly tribal in character have shown the influence of Hinduism' (quoted in ibid, p. 78)..

'... there continued to be an admixture of the cultures of the two communities (i.e., Hindus and Muslims) at "lower" levels... The Satya-dharma or Bhagwania sect had recruits from Hindus and Muslims who

did not intermarry but dined together; those formerly Hindu gave up *ahnik* and *sandhya* devotions, those formerly Muslim gave up the *namaz* and the Ramzan as well as circumcision, and declared themselves Hindu or Muslim as they pleased in the census; both observed some Vaishnava rites and ceremonies and buried their dead. The Nagarchis of Bakarganj included people who read *kalma* at marriage and performed *jonacha* at death, but bore Hindu names, ate no food forbidden to Hindus, and worshipped Hindu gods. The Kirtaniyas of Pabna and Mymensingh, commonly regarded as Muslims, reportedly observed practices of orthodox Hinduism. The Chitrakars or Patuas of West Bengal held a similar ambiguous position' (Ibid, p. 79).

Sabyasachi cites the memoir of Bhuban Chandra Sinha, the last Maharaja of Susang in Mymensingh (Sinha, 1965) and Nirmal Kumar Bose's view of the structure of Hindu society (Bose, 1949) to build up a view of the Hindu social order.

According to Sinha, Hindu tenants would come and ask after the health of the prince (Rajkumar) in the name of *Dashabhuja*, the family deity, and the Muslim tenants would come and ask for his health in the name of *Allah* and the prince would reply invoking the name of *Dashabhuja* or the *Allah* as the case might be. During the Diwali, Hajong boys would come in a masquerade and the doors of the palace would be opened to them (Was it an acknowledgement that it was from their land the Susang Zamindari had been carved? The case is similar to that of the Madigas of Andhra Pradesh who had to be invited to the marriage ceremonies of caste Hindus). 'A hunt or shikar was almost a weekly affair for the family. After each shikar, the venison of the male deer would be kept for the Raj Bari, priests of *Dashabhuja* temple, Brahman officers of the estate, and *kulin* and other respectable Brahmans and Kayasthas. The does that had their throats cut according to Mohammedan custom were distributed to the Muslim *mahuts* (elephant keepers) and other Muslim employees. Boars were distributed first to the *Shudra* servants and then among *dhobis, malis, majhis* (Santals), Hajongs, Banais, Hodies and Garoes; (Sinha, 1965, p.21, as quoted in ibid, p. 81).

According to Bose (1949), the tribal groups had been for centuries absorbed into the Brahmanical, 'Aryan' social order (Bhattacharya,

2014a, p. 82-83). Bose's view was disputed by his contemporary, Tarak Chandra Das, who with his larger empirical base showed that many tribes preserved their own customs and rituals, resisting Hindu intrusions (Guha, 2018).

Rabindranath Tagore put forward his own view of the method of integration of all peoples into an integrated Bharatvarsha:

'Bharatvarsha has endeavoured to tie up diversities in a relationship. If there be genuine differences, it is possible to accommodate in its appropriate place such differences. You cannot legislate unity into existence. Elements which cannot assimilate need to be recognized and put in their appropriate separate places... Bharatvarsha limited the conflict between opposing and competing elements in society by keeping them separate and at the same time engaged in a common task that brought diverse elements together' (Tagore, 1902, p. 10-11, quoted in Bhattacharya 2014a, p. 84).)

But this integrative culture kept festering with large areas of exclusion. Ordinary Muslims were called *neres* (I believe that this was a term originally used for shaven-headed Buddhists, many of whom had converted to more egalitarian Islam rather than embrace a newly resurgent Brahmanism), a term of opprobrium, and addressed as *tui*, the most negligent term of address. Lower-caste Hindus were also addressed in a similar fashion, and people would lose caste if they dined with even a lower-caste Raja. There were strict rules about who could give water to upper-caste persons, about seating arrangements in a *Baitahkkhana* (drawing room) and about who could be offered a hookah in an upper-caste gathering. There were also differences among Muslims between Ashraf (respectable) and Ajlaf or Atraf (people of lower order). Hindus would address Ashrafs respectfully, offer them good seats in their *Baithakkhana,* but would have separate hookahs for them and would not dine with them or accept water from them. Segregation between Hindus and Muslims, between Hindus of different castes was also maintained in schools and colleges. Such discrimination rankled not only with the Muslims but also with the *Namashudras,* a large 'untouchable caste'. *Namashudras* generally did not participate in Gandhian movements because they saw them as being dominated by

caste Hindus, from whom they had nothing to gain. Many of them became followers of Harichand and Guruchand, whose slogan was *'Mukhe naam, hate kaam'* (God's name in mouth, work at hand). (Bhattacharya 2014a, pp. 94-103).

Chapter 4 of Bhattacharya (2014a) deals with 'The logic of fission: Muslim identity and its consciousness'. Some of the prejudices and discriminatory behaviour by caste Hindus and even lower caste Hindus have already been mentioned earlier. In 1917 the well-known Bengali Muslim poet Siraji wrote:

"From their childhood our children learn from their Hindu school teachers and textbooks that the Bengali Muslims are descendants of low castes and untouchable castes.... Having been taught thus, the inheritors of world famous and world-conquering races - the Arabs, the Iranians, Turks and Pathans ... are incapable of entertaining any thoughts of their national (Jatiya) glory" (quoted by Bhattacharya 2014a, p. 113). A few years later, the *Islam Pracharak* pointed out that the few Muslims who receive education see in all public spheres, Hindu Zamindar, Hindu magistrate, Hindu clerk, and so on. This creates a conviction that the Hindus are a superior people. This conviction soon led to resentment, because the educated Muslims found it difficult to find employment and a space for their newly acquired skills. The 1920s also saw an intensification of the purification movement of Islam, ridding it of what were thought to be blasphemous Hindu accretions, thus increasing the distance between the two communities. This was also a reaction against the purification movement of Arya Samaj.

'Muslim grievances finding expression in the newspapers were primarily middle class ones. Topmost was the disproportionately small number in government service.' (Bhattacharya 2014a, p.119).

To these resentments were added grievances about the depiction of history in, for instance, popular plays of D. L. Roy, where Muslims were often portrayed in a negative light. Leftists such as Kazi Nazrul Islam and Muzaffar Ahmed tried to bridge the rift, but they were fighting a tsunami. I would have added the discarding of the scheme under which C. R. Das was trying under the 'Bengal Pact to guarantee reservation of government posts'to the two communities in accordance with their

numerical strength. This was rejected at the Bengal Provincial Congress Conference on 13 June 1926, and Sarojini Naidu predicted the increased probability of the partition of Bengal. In 1928 an official motion was moved for giving *korfa raiyats* and Bargadars some security of tenure. The vast majority of Zamindars were Hindu and the majority of peasants were Muslim. This move was defeated because of the opposition of the Bengal Congress, dominated by Hindu Zamindars and lawyers. (Chattopadhyay, 1984).

Chapter 5 of Bhattacharya (2014a) treats 'Gandhian politics and its alternatives 1920-35'.

'Mahatma Gandhi carried all before him in most parts of India from 1920. *But in Bengal there were a number of alternatives to make the political tide run through many channels.* These alternatives ranged from revolutionary nationalism wedded to violent means, to the constitutionalism of the far right which questioned the boycott programme, not to speak of the Communist and other Leftist movements.

There was a difference in the outlook between Rabindranath Tagore about the objectives of Gandhi's Non-cooperation Movement. While he recognized that Gandhi could speak for the millions because he dressed like them and spoke their language, his noble concept of Satyagraha was being abused by his followers. Among other things, Tagore posed 'the question as to what was the rationale for boycotting of schools and colleges when there was no alternative educational system' (Ibid, p. 148). Tagore also questioned the economic viability of the *charkha* and the need to boycott all foreign cloth. "Tagore was apprehensive that an isolationist obscurantism might develop, if India obsessed with the 'sins' and shortcomings of Western civilization, failed to take a broader view of human civilization as a whole' (Ibid).

Gandhi defended himself by saying that he did not distinguish between economics and ethics and for him it was unethical to wear foreign cloth. He defended the boycott of existing schools and colleges because they made Indians 'godless and helpless'.

Nripendra Chandra Banerji, who was a middle-class college teacher joined the Congress in 1921, and began, along with some other Bengali Babus, organizing tea garden workers in Assam, workers of the British-

owned Burmah Oil Company in Chittagong. When tea garden workers in a mass went to Chandpur a steamer station, they were dispersed at the behest of the tea garden owners with baton and bayonet charges. When the news of the atrocity reached Chittagong, [Banerji] at once ordered a boycott of the law courts. (Banerji, quoted in Ibid, p. 154). To make the boycott effective the Congress volunteers monitored all the approaches to the city. A strike was also organized against the railways and steamer companies and the whole transport system was paralysed for some time. So these were initiatives independent of the Non-Cooperation Movement. In Medinipur, B.N. Sasmal led a highly successful tax boycott programme (Ibid, p. 155-57).

The Swarajist movement

C. R. Das wanted a deferral of the Non-Cooperation Movement to take advantage of the space given for Indian representation in the Legislative Councils under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. But at first he and his young followers were mesmerised by Gandhi's promise of Swaraj within a year, and supported Non-Cooperation. Das had contacts with the revolutionary parties –Anusilan and Jugantar. He was able to get the Congress organized in almost every district in Bengal. He also established links with Muslim leaders in 24 Parganas, Tripura and Dinajpur. This was the beginning of what Bhattacharya would call the vernacularization of politics. After Gandhi had withdrawn the Non-Cooperation Movement because of Chaurichaura, at the Gaya Congress, Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das decided to contest elections to the Legislative Councils; Das resigned from the presidentship of the Congress and formed the Swaraj Party. Their strategy was to demand immediate Dominion status as victorious members of the Councils and try and wreck the system from within. In the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, he recruited Tulsi Goswami of the landlord lobby, Nalinranjan Sarkar, a prominent businessman, Bhupati Mazumdar, with his strong connection with Jugantar, Bidhan Chandra Ray, doyen of the medical profession, Sarat Chandra Bose, a leading advocate, and Maulana Akram Khan, a Khilafatist. At the end of 1923 this group was very successful in the elections to the Legislative Council. The group managed to pass a

resolution denying salaries to government ministers. But Das's great failure was to implement the Bengal Pact referred to earlier.

After Das's death the Congress was immobilized by faction fighting, and it failed to make civil disobedience movement a success in many sub-divisions of Bengal because of an organizational vacuum. Many Bengalis then thought that armed revolution was the alternative, because the British would listen to no reason. Many of the revolutionaries later moved towards the Communist Party. But many also did not. For instance, Rakhal Chandra Dey, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in the Andaman jail for his involvement in the Dakshineswar bomb case (1925) remained a fervent Hindu. Surya Sen who had later led the Chittagong Armoury raid had recruited him and Dey used to be involved in gun-running and bomb manufacture. In 1924, Gopimohan Saha tried to assassinate the chief of Calcutta police, Charles Teggart. But because of mistaken identity he killed an innocent man. At his trial he regretted that but insisted that his death would help liberate the country. A real revolutionary insurrection took place in April 1930 in the form of a raid on the Chittagong armoury under the leadership of Surya Sen (Master-da). The raiders failed to locate the ammunition but was able to cut off telephone lines, and cut the city off from the rest of India for a few days. The armoury raid was followed by a raid on the European Club in Jalalabad by armed women such as Pritilata Waddedar and Kalpana Datta. Surya Sen and some of his associates were arrested by the British and some were hanged, and many others were jailed for life. Several of them such as Ganesh Ghosh and Kalpana Datta (later Joshi) later joined the Communist Party.

Chapter 6 of Bhattacharya (2014a) has the title, 'The politics of exclusion: 1936-46'. If one looks at the pattern of politics of the decade before 1947 some features spring to the eye. First, the politics of mutual exclusion followed by the leaders of the Hindu and Muslim communities in all public spaces – not just in the state apparatus –but in every possible institution in civil society – tore apart the socio-economic fabric of Bengal. Second, the efforts on the part of the regional Bengal Leadership to exclude the central leadership and vice versa, as well as the other factions from any share of power created a conflict that diminished

effective action on the part of the Congress... Thirdly, politics in Bengal inevitably reflected a social situation verging on the breakdown of the moral order that had been the basis of civic and political relationships'(Ibid, p. 218). Bengal experienced unprecedented inflation and black-marketing during World War II, the Dhaka riots of 1941, millions dying of the 1943 famine on the streets of towns and cities with very little redress from the civil or political society and the horrendous riots of 1946, which took on the aspect of an ad hoc civil war. The rest of the chapter is an elaboration of each of these themes.

When a possible alliance between the Krishak Praja Party (KPP) led by Fazlul Huq and the Congress was negatived by the Congress High Command, Huq formed a ministry with the support of the Muslim League and Scheduled Caste members which lasted till 1941. But it did so by emasculating the KPP. Huq only managed to carry out some mild tenancy reform and alleviate rural indebtedness. But Huq still managed to form another ministry, supported by a so-called Progressive Coalition and some dissident Muslim Leaguers and Congressman and Syama Prasad Mookerjee, leader of Hindu Mahasabha. It shows that even in 1941, the Muslim League was not strong enough to defeat Huq on its own. In March 1943 Sir John Herbert, at the instigation of the European members of the Council forced Huq to resign. Khwaja Nazimuddin of the Muslim League was then asked to form his ministry. That lasted until March 1945; it was distinguished only by its abysmal failure to tackle the famine of 1943. H.S. Suhrawardy was then minister for Civil Supplies, so the responsibility for failing to tackle the famine must be laid at his door. In the general election to the Assembly the Muslim League, led by Suhrawardy won the majority of seats and formed the ministry. His main achievement was to preside over the Great Calcutta Killing and make the partition of Bengal inevitable (Ibid, pp. 219-36).

Another significant and only hopeful movement was the rise of the Tebhaga movement under the leadership of the Left. The Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha's (BPKS) membership rose to 50,000 by 1938-39.The Tebhaga Movement was launched in 1946, demanding that the share-croppers be given two-thirds of the share of the crop in place of the existing half or even less of the crop. The movement was swamped by the partition of Bengal, although in some parts such as Rajshahi and

Kakdwip in South 24 Parganas, it merged with the brief insurrectionary movement called by the Communist Party in 1948.

In the two remaining chapters of the book, 'The warning signals' and 'The edge of the volcano' Bhattacharya further develops the themes already touched, a notable addition being corruption in public life, as illustrated by efforts to dislodge each successive ministry from 1937 to 1945 by bribing legislators.

In his life, Sabyasachi performed many duties with distinction. Until his retirement, he was professor of history in the Jawaharlal Nehru University, and he was loved by his students who referred to him as Bappa, as his many other friends did. He was Vice-Chancellor of Viswabharati, and while there he edited the correspondence between Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore from 1915 to 1941 (Bhattacharya, 1997).He was chairman of the Indian Council of Historical Research, and in that capacity he saw the publication of the final volumes of *Towards Freedom* and revived the stalled project of publication of the documents relating to the economic conditions and quality of life under British rule from 1860 to 1900. He was a founding member of the Association of Indian Labour Historians and in that capacity he brought the study of the informal labour sector to the forefront, an area pioneered by Jan Breman, his students Neeladri Bhattacharya and Prabhu Mohapatra, and economists such as K. P. Kannan, Ravi Srivastava and C. P. Chandrasekhar and Jayati Ghosh. One fruit of his labours was the volume on workers in the informal sector he edited jointly with Jan Lucassen (Bhattacharya and Lucassen, 2005). He was chairman of the Governing Council of the Institute of Development Studies Kolkata and guided its destiny with his usual caution and wisdom.

References

Bagchi, A. K. 1987. *The Evolution of the State Bank of India, TheRoots 1806-1876 : Part I : The Early Years , 1860-1876*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press,

Bagchi, A. K. 2005. *Perilous Passage: Mankind and the Global Ascendancy of Capital*, Lanham, MD; Rowman and Littlefield.

Bhattacharya, Sabyasachi. 1983. "Eastern India", pp. 270-295 in Dharma Kumar and Meghnad Desai eds. *The Cambridge Economic History of India, Volume 2:c.1757-c. 1970*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bhattacharya, Sabyasachi. 1987. *Oupanibeshik Bharater Arthaniti 1850-1947,* Calcutta: Ananda.

Bhattacharya, Sabyasachi. 1991. "Colonial power and micro-social interactions – nineteenth century India", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1 June.

Bhattacharya, Sabyasachi. ed. 1997. *The Mahatma and the Poet: Letters and debates between Gandhi and Tagore*, New Delhi: National Book Trust.

Bhattacharya, Sabyasachi. 2004. "The colonial state: theory and practice, *General President's Address"*, Indian History Congress.

Bhattacharya, Sabyasachi. 2014. *The Colonial State: Theory and Practice,* New Delhi: Primus Books,

Bhattacharya, Sabyasachi. 2014a. *The Defining Moments in Bengal 1920-1947*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Bhattacharya, Sabyasachi and Jan Lcassen. eds. 2005. *Workers in the Informal Sector*, New Delhi.

Bose, Nirmal Kumar. 1949. *Hindu Samajer Gadan* (The Structure of Hindu Society), Calcutta.

Castiglione, B. 1976[1528]. *The Book of the Courtier*, translated from the Italian by G. Bull, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Chattopadhyay, Gautam. 1984. *Bengal Electoral Politics and Freedom Struggle 1862-1947*, New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research.

Edwards, Peter 2007. *Horse and Man in Early Modern England*, London: Hambledon Continuum.

Elias, Norbert. 1978[1939].*The Civilizing Process, Volume 1, Changes in the Code of Conduct and Feeling in Early Modern Times*, translated by E. Jephcott from the German, New York: Urizen Books.

Elias, Norbert. 1982 [1939]. *The Civilizing Process, Volume 2, State Formation and Civilization*, Oxford: Blackwell

Guha, Abhijit. 2018. "Scrutinising the Hindu method of tribal absorption", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 53 (17), 28 April.

Perroux, Franśois. 1950. "The domination effect and modern economic theory", *Social Research*, vol. XVII.

Phillips, Walter Alison. 1911. "Gentleman" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition, Edinburgh, Adam and Charles Black.

Sinha, Bhuban Chandra. 1965. *Changing Times*, Calcutta.

Tagore, Rabindranath. 1309 B. S. (1902). "Bharatvarsher Itihas" [The history of India], *Bangadarshan*.

Van Ittersum, Martine Julia. 2010. "Long goodbye: Hugo Grotius' justification of Dutch expansion overseas 1615-1645", *History of European Ideas*, 36(4): 386-411.

HUMANE JOURNEY INTO THE NATURE OF HUMAN CULTURE : A PERSONAL NARRATIVE*

S. B. CHAKRABARTI

Introduction

Throughout my professional life I have undertaken various kinds of field studies with an anthropological perspective over a varied and divergent field situations covering tribal communities — food gatherers to settled cultivators, rural non-tribal peasant communities — both in dry and wet cultivation areas, and urban communities — in the mainland as well as in the island situation. On the whole I will make a quick journey here across these broadly designed categories of human population, primarily in the form of a narrative as briefly as possible.

I

I had been to the Andaman Islands between 2002-03 and had the opportunity to visit the Jarawa tribe. They are one of the four negrito tribal groups living in the Andamans. The Jarawa are considered as one of the most backward primitive tribal groups in the country living in the west coast of south and middle Andamans. They are fully engaged in hunting and gathering of food from the available forest resource base. By and large, they are basically wandering groups of population without having any permanent settlement. They move around the jungles almost naked without cloths, but invariably with bow and arrows in hand. Their practice of archery starts from the early age. Around the time I visited there they were roughly estimated having a total of 250-300 heads. The scholars who studied them intimately found that they are apparently organised along a nuclear family at the root and then are integrated with the

* This is a modified version of the 2nd Gangumei Kamei Memorial Lecture delivered at the instance of Gangumei Kamei Foundation, at Manipur on January 6, 2019.

local and territorial groups. They recognise themselves as the 'Ang' and the outsiders as the 'Eenen'. They call their hut or settlement as the 'Chadda'. In spite of their virtual isolation in space and time they demonstrate quite remarkably certain markers of cultural excellence, creativity and wisdom. Their skill in using bow and arrow, their perception about the waves of the ocean and accuracy about navigability with the indigenously built canoes, their knowledge and efficiency about extraction of honey and other forest produce from the deep jungles, their workmanship in preparing the iron blade used in the arrow shaft, their method of preserving smoked meat taken out of the hunted wild pig, their memory of identifying a person immediately whom they had seen much earlier and so on have been the subjects of scientific investigation by the interested researchers for a long time. For a comparison they may be placed between the less known, less contacted and still hostile Sentinelese tribe on one side and more exposed and frequently contacted the Great Andamanese and the Onges on the other. The last two groups use some cloths provided by the agency of the Government mainly. These four negrito tribal groups of Andamans live at different levels of contact with the administration of the concerned department of the government. Three instances could be interesting in explaining this situation. The entire world received a message very recently that a foreign visitor who tried to reach close to the Sentinelese faced the hostile group and was killed with arrows. A few years back I met a Great Andamanese boy in full uniform at the Port Blair airport, who was flown to New Delhi for taking part in the Republic Day parade. The third instance took me by surprise. Two Great Andamanese ladies one day suddenly entered into my office room at Port Blair to demand for some job for them. I wanted to know from them the actual cause for such demand. They replied in Hindi that they were not being looked after well according to their need for sustenance of life. They expressed to me that their earlier wandering life in the jungles was rather better than this sedentary life provided to them by the government who failed to fulfil their expectation.

I am trying to bring a point home which needs some introspection and re-examination. At a given point of time, space and cultural milieu the four negrito primitive tribal groups of Andaman islands share a differential level of human existence. The last wo groups have marginal population strength, the Great Andamanese having 26 and the Onges having 100 approximately. Despite substantial funding by the Government for their welfare and development the result has been far from the desired or declared goal. At this stage let me bring another example of the Kadar, a food gathering tribe living in Kerala and Tamil Nadu states. They are found in the adjoining hill ranges of Palghat district in Kerala and Coimbatore district in Tamil Nadu in the Western Ghat region of South India. By physical appearance some of them closely resemble the physical characters of the negrito tribes of the Andamans. But there are some differences also which I observed during my visit to these areas during the year 1977. Based on 1971 Census population figures the Kadar numbered around 2000 spread over various hill ranges belonging to these two states. They were exposed to the external society as well as market network mainly through the introduction of plantation work and connectivity of road transport. A good number of them were engaged as plantation labourers under the private contractors from the plains. Unlike the classical hunter and food gatherer of the Andamans, the Kadar still remained substantially dependent on forest collection. They were sliding back and forth between a wandering and a semi settled life. Though some permanent settlements were provided by the government, they still preferred their leaf huts of temporary nature. After the contact with the outsiders they have accepted to use cloths and dress. They have been used to cooked food. So far the knowledge of forest ecology, including flora and fauna, is concerned they appear well acquainted with all these surrounding environ. They demonstrate excellent craftsmanship on various items made of bamboo. They create wonder with only simple cutting instrument in hand. They have also been subjected to systematic exploitation as the collector of minor forest produce. They have never been suitably paid back against their rich

volume of collection of honey, cardamom, cane, bamboo etc. They were even physically exploited by some outsiders in earlier generations which is now reflected from their phenotypical appearance.

I will now draw upon the example of a plains Scheduled tribe, namely the Santal, living in many areas basically belonging to the eastern regions of our country such as West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand and Odisha. They have also largely migrated in other parts of the country such as Assam and Andaman Islands. I will base my observations from some villages in the Burdwan district (now Bardhaman), West Bengal, where I had undertaken a study on Socio-cultural Context of Agricultural Farming during 1972-73. The Santal, among other cultivators of land, were a formidable tribal group to have engaged themselves fully in agricultural activities. Most of them were agricultural labourers, some of them were share-croppers and a few among them also owned very nominal amount of land. They were appreciated by all sections of the villagers as hardworking good cultivators as well as skilled agricultural labourers. Further, their way of community life including their collective participation in various rituals and festivals were also a point of reference to other sections of the village people. Their aesthetic sense as reflected in the colourful outer muddy wall of the thatched hut, their expressive dance and musical chores, melodious use of bamboo flute and indigenously made drum attract anybody's immediate attention. Coming down to the mundane level one could easily notice their poverty stricken condition in daily life. This was apparently linked with the endogenous modes of agricultural production which slowly accommodated the exogenous exploitative mechanisms with the emergent changes in the technology of agricultural production.

Let me now mention in a broad sweep my first hand exposure to human landscape in the hilly terrains in certain North-East India regions dominated by the practices of shifting cultivation (Mizoram), orchard cultivation (Meghalaya), terrace cultivation (Nagaland), settled cultivation in the valley regions (Manipur and Arunachal Pradesh). In all these instances I observed during the late 1980s to

early 1990s some kind of ordered response of the local tribal inhabitants to their immediate environmental milieu. They are variously integrated to their respective socio-economic traditional systems, cultural identity mechanisms and political control institutionalized by traditional self-governance. These elaborate societal processes have been gradually evolved over time and the participating people have adapted them through generations.

My narrative so far is based on limited observations made among the people mentioned or on the areas covered. They mainly present a tribal milieu. I noticed that the people engaged at their root of primary production have more often than not subjected to a common frame of the modern market network with the resultant negative impact on the primary producers. The various development programmes have been more pronounced than achieved as per the declared goal. The self sustained food hunters and gatherers of the Andaman Islands or the externally connected wandering Kadar of South Indian forests or the shifting cultivators of North-East Indian regions, or the cultivators in the valleys and plains, in spite of being differently placed in their respective life situations, have faced more or less a common fate of systemic economic deprivation.

In the backdrop of what has been said in the preceding paragraphs, it will perhaps not be out context to proceed with a discussion regarding the word 'tribe' and 'development'. There is no doubt that even now we carry uncritically the intellectual legacy of defining or refining these two important terms for a comprehensive understanding. The popular notion of tribe in fact emerged with the rise of colonialism during the late eighteenth century carrying a racist stereotype with reference to the people of Asia and Africa. Attempt was made during 1931 census operation to enlist the primitive tribes. The number of forest tribe in 1891 was 16 million. The number of tribe in 1931 became 22 million. These people were called as the backward tribes under the Government of India Act in 1935. Since then and till date it has taken a long journey to understand the problems of the tribal population of India, which present nearly eight percent of the total population. In some states of North-East

India, as you already know, the tribal population remain as the decisively dominant group in the percentage of the total population. By and large the question of intimate relationship of the tribes with forest needs to be discussed in a detailed analytical perspective. Since this issue itself is a broad topic for study and research, I will not take up that discussion here excepting a minimal reference to the point just mentioned. The symbiotic relation of the tribes with forest is well known. The Report of the Committee on Forest and Tribals in India prepared under the directive of the Ministry of Home Affairs in the early 1980s noted that, "this symbiotic relationship suffered a setback during the colonial rule when forest was looked upon only as a source of maximization of profit and not as a vital link between human habitat and the larger environment...There cannot be any development of forests without development of the forest dwelling tribal communities ... The scheduled tribes live mostly in forest areas ... Therefore, the two directive principles of the Constitution, namely Article 46 and Article 48A, which seek to protect the economic interest of the forest tribes remain mutually reinforcing".

Integrated development of the forests and tribes have been the major concern right from the Dhebar Commission of 1961, the National Commission on Agriculture of 1976, the Central Board of Forestry from time to time between 1950 to 1980, the National Forest Policy of 1988, the National Tribal Policy of late 1990s to the Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill of the early 2005. It is interesting and important to note here that while the British Forest Policy of 1894 recognised the rights and privileges of the tribes on forest resources, this became rights and concessions at a later phase. Subsequently, only concessions were granted to the forest dwellers. Now, in the latest Act, the earlier condition of granting right of the forest tribes on forest resource came back for serious re-consideration. Forest, specially in North-East India, has become a subject of prime importance in the backdrop of its rich bio-diversity on the one hand and systematic depletion of green cover on the other. Macro politico-economic forces are operative in a big way in the process of

manipulation towards the ruin of ecological balance. This has obviously become a great challenge for the local tribal communities to put up a formidable resistance against such destruction and to save themselves from the resultant economic exploitation and legal deprivation.

There are some important dimension when we discuss development in general and tribal development in particular. The meaning of development as such is highly relative in its content. Its actual message presupposes certain indicators that may be actualised in a specific situation. General emphasis is put on the economic aspect of the problem - both from indigenous and the induced point of views. There are other concomitant parameters like social, cultural, educational and even political which require to be considered with equal importance. There is a further distinction between the approaches of 'welfare' and 'sustainable development' so far the economic programmes are concerned. A cursory look into the tribal development programmes initiated since the first Five Year Plan till the eleventh Plan period would justify the point made above. This has invariably gone through various stages of experiment from the local to the national level, namely from sub-plan in the fifth Five Year Plan to Antyodaya under Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) in the 1980s. What is actually important to take into cognizance is the ratio of the total investment between the expenditure on the programme itself vis-a-vis the expenditure to maintain the infrastructure in order to carry out such programmes. This angle of interpretation will perhaps take us close to go for some alternative paradigm for tribal development which will keep pace with the national development perspective. This prelude will help understand the human culture in a larger canvas.

II

I will now enter into another domain of my field journey. This is the major livelihood activities of the largest section of population in the country, i.e. agricultural production. I will place my observations in brief based on my fieldwork in the peasant villages in West Bengal,

Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. My purpose in these studies primarily was to enquire into the socio-cultural context behind the major economic livelihood activities centering around the cultivation of soil. Since the agricultural production is organised covering a wide range of specific dimensions, such as techno-operational, organisational, notional or perceptional and ritual, it requires one to understand this huge universe mainly in terms of people's cognition, their technological operation from preparing the soil to the reaping of the harvest. These entire human activities are ultimately controlled to a large extent, visibly or invisibly, by the market forces and its designed network. Therefore, the dynamics of this whole agrarian situation warrants a close scrutiny, intimate understanding of the involved intricate processes and finally a logical interpretation of the total system of production, consumption and distribution. In studying this system of management of land and its produce, cultivators' knowledge about the climate, quality of land, livestock, varieties of seeds, agricultural implements, optimum condition of field operation are very important. Next comes the question of social organisation of production and management of labour. In each step one finds the involvement of a number of categories of people. There are absentee landlords, who own substantial amount of land but are not directly involved in the cultivation. There are land owners who live in the villages but only supervise their engaged labourers or share-croppers. Likewise we find a category of landowners who directly cultivate their lands. This is followed by other categories, such as small owners of land who combine their cultivation as the share-croppers of others' land; then there are share-croppers of small patches of land who also work as agricultural labourers; and finally, there are agricultural labourers of three kinds - (i) those who work for a land owner throughout the year, (ii) those who work as the migrant labourer against a specific contract, and (iii) those labourers who work on daily wage rate (cash, kind or both). This hierarchy of engagement of rural population in cultivation almost goes close with the existing social hierarchy in the villages - whether it is in eastern or southern Indian region as observed by me. Invariably the

upper layers of Hindu castes would belong to the landowning groups of people, while the people in the relatively lower rung in local social hierarchy would form the main force of the agricultural labourers. But in rural set up all of them were seen to share a kind of a common cultural canopy so far their understanding of the universe of agricultural activities, their beliefs and ritual engagements were concerned. That is why even after the pace of industrialisation and urbanisation, the majority of Indian rural population who are substantially engaged in the agricultural production share among themselves distinct cultural traits. They have somehow withstood the massive techno-economic onslaught emanating from the mechanisation of agriculture and commercialisation of its produce. They have managed to continue to a great extent their traditional agro-emotional living wading through various phases of experimental planning for rural development. The life of the rural cultivators (peasants of all categories) appear to be culturally articulated with everything that surrounds their immediate environment.

The cultivators' socio-economic and cultural domain may be captured in two settings - natural and super natural. Natural setting is composed of three elements - physiographic, organic and super organic. Physiographic elements include land, climate etc. The land is really the mother to a cultivator. They show moral and cultural obligations to land while cultivating their crops. Even during sale or purchase of a piece of land they perform many obligatory rituals. They have developed their own perceptions about climate, rainfall and other geographical eventualities based on generative knowledge and practical experiences accumulated through proverbs, folklore, myth, rhymes and oral tradition handed down to them through generations.

The organic elements include plants and animals as well as human being. They have developed a set of notions guiding their optimal operation for growing various crops from selection of seed to the harvest of produce. Similarly they have stored in their knowledge pool the ideas about milch animals and drought animals. They look

upon themselves significantly as a moral community vis-à-vis the outsiders, specially the urbanites so far their own cultural core of rural living is concerned.

The super organic elements have both endogenous and exogenous categories. The former includes micro socio-cultural parameters, such as traditional technological know-how for labour intensive production, self-consumption and internal redistribution. They show the capability of rationalising as to what to produce, when to produce, where to produce, how to produce and why to produce. This approach is equally applicable to their choice and decision regarding the pattern of self consumption and mode of internal redistribution of the produce. The latter i.e. the exogenous category includes macro politico-economic parameters, such as the management of modern techno-economic inputs for capital intensive production, surplus mobilisation and external commercialisation. Most of the average cultivators more often than not feel threatened by these emergent factors and forces slowly thrust upon them by the encroaching agents of the penetrative market network. This is somehow beyond their control to check. Therefore, they have no option practically other than to be subjected to such an unbearable condition from which they cannot even afford to withdraw themselves immediately. The internalization of the modern inputs of agricultural production (improved seed, fertilizers, pesticides etc) and the externalization of the output i.e. the produce (not only the surplus production, even the quantity kept for self consumption) take place through a chain gradually built into the operative system. The supernatural setting is composed of two types of elements namely, gross and subtle. The cultivators, by and large, participate in a number of observable ritual performances which are connected at each step of cultivation. These rituals are believed to have protective, prohibitive and promotional effects on the expectations of the cultivators for good harvest and well being of all kinds of livestock as well as safe human life. The gross element in super natural setting assumes all mundane aspects. The subtle element assumes supra-mundane aspects which are not immediately observable but based on a perennial belief system

transcended across the generations. There are specialists, priests or others, who mediate between the cultivators and the invisible outer domain through worship, prayer and so on.

The whole country has undergone a systematic adoption of agricultural development programmes since the first Five Year Plan period. Occasional shifts have been effected depending on the priority for improving a target group. Thus, for the improvement of production and income of the small and marginal farmers, agricultural labourers down to the specific poverty stricken rural families, lot of occasional programmes have been launched during each plan period. Conceptually, the use of 'appropriate technology', 'balanced growth', 'inclusive development' and so on have been the idealized emphasis in each induced programme. In spite of all these measures and efforts towards the desired target the neat observable result has been questioned and debated by the academics, administrators, planner and the social activists. I am not going into any technical details or statistically based assessment or counter assessment at the moment excepting making a mention that the question of poverty in India has basically a rural dimension. Therefore, in order to grapple with the ground reality we have to fall back upon the micro-level data base usually generated by the researchers in specific field situations. This approach in a sense help us understand how, despite the advance of technological development in agricultural production, a substantial number of the rural people engaged in cultivation have perpetually remained below the so called poverty line. Further, and interestingly enough, how all the possible constraints notwithstanding, the cultivators of different descriptions manage to maintain in a village situation the internal social relations and sharing of common cultural values embedded in the very structure of a particular mode of production. Once these grass root realities are retrieved with a dependable data base it will automatically drive us towards taking correct initiatives based on macro politico-economic considerations inherent in all major development programmes, specially in the agrarian sector, including a review of the various Land Reform measures and Tenancy Acts in different states of the country.

III

My narrative began with the journey among the so called backward primitive food gathering tribes. Eventually it passed through the villages of the settled cultivators - both in dry and wetland cultivation regions. Now the narrative will enter into my journey in the urban towns - one is situated in West Bengal and the other is the island town of Port Blair, Andaman. As a student of Anthropology we had to take course in human evolution. This included both biological and cultural evolution of mankind. One could perhaps notice that while the narrative proceeded through the sections as used in the preceding pages it has taken an evolutionary approach starting with food gathering communities, passing though the peasant communities, and landed into the urban communities. Our basic concern has been to understand human culture from the relatively simple stages of societal development that still exist. Then we have moved gradually to the complex stages. These stages are normally determined by the social organisations where the respective communities are encapsulated along the tradition that they inherit through the ages. In order to get into the root of human culture for a comprehensive understanding my task as a student of cultural anthropology has been to depend primarily on close and intimate observations on these communities as they express themselves through their performances in various activities - social, cultural, political and religious. In the process they combine or recombine their mutual interpersonal or intergroup relations. Perhaps this journey is not that easy into the human terrain, because it entails lot of complicated entry points. As a researcher in the field one has to evolve differential strategy during any field journey and adopt certain techniques in eliciting required information from the people. It is relatively easy to observe a Jarawa or a Kadar, but difficult to communicate with them. The constraint is not only of language but the nature of their movement in the jungles during day time. It is nearly impossible even now to stay close to them in a camp in the evening. The rural cultivators are rather accessible within reach but one has to care enough for all kinds of social and economic divides

that constitute the village life. In urban centres it requires a different strategy to capture the realities of life contextually diverse in nature.

The basic approach in taking up two different small urban centres was to pick up an immediately observable and directly accessible spatial unit. The manageable size of the population in such a given universe normally remains rooted in a common mode of social and economic interactions. The moot question that haunted us initially was what happens when a land space (cadastral unit) changes its character in terms of the basic modes of production. It is assumed that with the changes in land use pattern the concomitant social relations and cultural responses will be certainly affected. In view of this I led a team of cultural anthropologists and human geographers in a field work in Baruipur town under the district of 24 Parganas (south) in West Bengal. This small town is situated within easy access to Kolkata by road and rail transport being the hinterland of an encircling rural milieu. Originally an enlarged village, which stood by the side of an important stream (Adi Ganga) and a life line for trade and transport, Baruipur carries with it number of important historical events. It is known, from available records as well as from the peoples' responses to our queries, that Sri Chaitanya Mahapravu stayed here about 500 years ago. Baruipur area had the first municipality in 1869. The famous litterateur Bankim Chandra Chattopdhyay became the Deputy Magistrate in the local court here between 1864 to 1868. The historical Hindu Mela, known for its link with India's struggle for freedom, was organised here during the late nineteenth century. A high school was established here way back in 1858. Large scale migration of rural population had taken place for seeking opportunities in advanced education, various employments, business and so on. The place initially known for production of betel leafs, gradually turned into large scale plantation of different fruits, and finally turned into urban agglomeration with the establishment of modern buildings for dwelling and office accommodation of various institutions, extension of road and modern transport network and so on. The changes in the land use pattern was recorded from the Land Revenue and Settlement offices and

visibly reflected on the cartographic maps that were prepared based on 1932, 1962 Survey records and compared with the data collected during 1998-99.

It was reported that only 31% of the population of this urban centre are original settlers while the rest are migrants who came to the town at a later date. That is why the town initially having an area of 3.5 square miles and with five municipal wards rose to 17 wards during the field investigation. The population strength rose from 4,217 (1901 census) to 44,964 (2001 census) representing major religious groups, such as Hindu, Muslim and Christian. Among the migrants there is an apparent socio-economic divide. In the municipal town under reference here there are more than 35 ethnic groups of all social categories - high caste, medium level caste and so called low caste in the Hindu hierarchy, apart from the Muslim and Christian families. In the naming of the neighbourhoods one gets a clear reference of the traditional social ties and the modern secular trends. The same trend is also visible in the existence of varieties of religious and cultural institutions on the one hand and through the activities of the recent educational and literary institutions/associations on the other.

The growing town in a rural milieu thus reflects, as we have observed, a surviving feudal touch of the existing zamindar families in matters of social relations and cultural performances in the life of the urban people. The impact of Sri Chaitanya and his Bhakti movement is still continuing side by side with secular political activities among the town dwellers, both the earlier and migrant population, in their own respective areas. This has been a rich experience to observe how the people in the midst of a transformation handle their growing diversities in society, culture and polity and ultimately try to maintain a mutually re-enforcing moral community more of a rural nature than of an alienated urban characteristics. In case of the present study it was observed that the noisy scene of the whole day in the core of town life ultimately returns to a calm environ produced in the greenery around which presents the vestige of an encircling rural milieu.

Now, I will take up a brief review of my last leg of field survey in an island town i.e. Port Blair in Andaman Island. I had done a

quick survey there during 2000-2002. This only island town falls under the Union Territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands along the east coast of South Andaman Island. Port Blair stands at a distance of 1225 Km from Kolkata, 1190 Km from Chennai and 1200 Km from Vishakhapatnam. Historically, since its inception as a penal settlement during the colonial occupation, Port Blair has remained unique in its social character. Declared as a municipal town in 1951 it was basically peopled by the migrant population. Migration as a spatial, socio-cultural, politico-economic phenomena has already figured substantially in the academic research throughout the world. From a record it is seen that 1931 census enumerated 19223 population in Andamans. About 98% out of them were Indians. Among the Indians, 4704 persons out of 18845 were born in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The others migrated there from different parts of India rendering it a true reflex of cosmopolitan character. Immediately after independence lot of fresh batches of migrants came to Port Blair from mainland in search of job or fortune in business or miscellaneous economic activities. Thus the township with 7.8 sq. Km in 1971 expanded to 14.14 sq. Km in 1981 and 16.00 sq. Km in 1995 with the inclusion of more and more neighbouring village areas. It appears from a record that the number of population rose from 7789 in 1951 to 100186 in 2001. They came from various parts of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, West Bengal, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. The combined three southern states constitute about 73% of the total migrant population followed by Bihar (7.72%), West Bengal (6.46%) and Uttar Pradesh (5.73%). The major ethnic groups in the town of Port Blair and around initially were the locals, who were born out of the union among the convicted parents and known to be pre-1942 people. Most of them were the Moplahs (a mix of Arabs and Malayalees of Kerala), Bhatus (known in UP as the criminal tribes), the Ranchi people (mainly from Chotanagpur area). Among the Bengalees, Madrasees, Telengis etc. a number of various caste people from different regions of the respective states came gradually and got settled. Among the locals of pre-1942 and even among others who migrated later, the ethnic

identity was more apparent than real. A new breed of population dominated the social scenario in terms of their typical social aggregation and interaction which were not governed by the traditional caste hierarchy of the places of their origin. Over the years with the increasing availability of opportunities through education, job facilities, trade and commerce on the one hand and consolidation of community based social and cultural institutions along with diverse activities in the field of art, literature, performing arts and so on on the other the township of Port Blair accommodated elements of varieties in all fronts across all divides and thereby justifying it to be considered as mini India in all senses of the term.

IV

Now, I am on my last leg in this journey of a personal narrative, incidentally focussing on certain aspects of human culture as were observed in various field situations. It was part of my professional enquiry trying to understand the perceptions of people who created the self-cultivated meaning of life as they exist. The same set of people also confronted many adverse situations in course of this existence and tried out ways and means to get adjusted or adapted to the system. In the long journey of human civilization people also evolved or adopted newer mechanisms which were transcended down the generations. This is how a particular social formation takes its shape. Prof. Gangmumei Kamei throughout his professional life very seriously looked for studying the problems of social formation. As an eminent historian he was well aware of the importance of this subject. Naturally, he spent lot of his time studying it very minutely. I will cite only two instances, among others, which will justify my statement. He delivered the Presidential Address during the eighth annual session of the North East India History Association, held at Kohima, Nagaland in 1987. He talked on "State Formation: An Enquiry into the Process of the Emergence of States with Special Reference to North East India-A Review". He also delivered Professor H.K. Barpujari Endowment Lecture, 2009. His subject of talk was "From Tribalism to Feudalism: Evolution of the Meitei State in the

Pre-Colonial Period". In a sense these two very important discourses addressed essentially the question of social formation. On these two occasions Prof. Gangmumei Kamei made a nearly exhaustive discussions first on the theoretical backdrop bringing home almost all the much discussed conceptual imports contributed by the pioneering researchers of this country as well as abroad. Next he referred to the cases of state formations in North East India juxtaposing them with his own work on the Meitei of Manipur. Apart from the broad politico-economic framework he also looked for the regional social and cultural factors that facilitated these unique stages of social formations.

One may notice that I have so far consciously avoided getting into any theoretical discussion because my immediate purpose in the present narrative was to reflect back on my various field journeys from time to time covering almost a period of more than 30 years of engagement in research in cultural anthropology. I need not emphasise the important academic alliance between the historians and the anthropologists which is necessary while exploring the common grounds in the study of human society and culture. If by any chance, even minimally, any such context has emerged out of my narrative, so very loosely portrayed here, it came close to Prof. Kamei's life long engagement in giving a direction towards understanding these varied social, economic, cultural and political formations pointed out in the preceding pages. Perhaps this also opened the possibilities of application of this accummulated knowledge for a successful and meaningful social transformation.

References

Chakrabarti, S.B. 1982. "Strategy of Development for a Wandering Group: A case of the Kadar of Kerala", in *Nomads in India*, ed. by P.K. Misra and K.C. Malhotra, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta.

Chakrabarti, S.B. 2010. "Forest Economy and the Tribes of North-east India", *Journal of the Indian Anthropological Society*, Vol. 45, pp. 109-113.

Chakrabarti, S.B. 2012. "Agrarian Relations in Tribal Milieu", in *North-East India: A Hand Book of Anthropology*, ed. by T.B. Subba, Orient Blackswan Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, pp. 359-372.

Chakrabarti, S.B. 1991. "Antyodaya - The Revised Strategy for Rural Development: Some Perspectives", in *Rural Development in North-East India,* ed. by R.K. Samanta, Uppal Publishing House, New Delhi, pp. 275-293.

Chakrabarti, S.B. 1983. "Management of Land and Labour in a West Bengal Village: Some Observations", in *Human Science,* Vol. 32, pp. 248-265.

Chakrabarti, S.B. 1988. "Management of Land and Labour in Four South Indian Villages: Some Observations", in *Social Science and Social Concern,* dd. by S.B. Chakrabarti, Mittal Publications, Delhi, pp 147-166.

S.B. Chakrabarti and Kanchan Mukhopadhyay (Ed) 2013. *Tribal India: Agrarian Systems and Agrarian Laws,* Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata.

S.B. Chakrabarti 1986. *Around The Plough: Socio-cultural farming in an Indian Village,* Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta

S.B. Chakrabarti (et al) 2002. *A Town in the Rural Milieu, Baruipur, West Bengal,* Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata.

S.B. Chakrabarti 2012. "Migration and Development in an Island Town: A Note on Port Blair of Andaman Islands", in *The Journal of Indian Anthropological Society,* Vol. 43, pp. 217-221.

S.B. Chakrabarti 1989. "Tribal Development: Plea for Alternative Perspective" in *Alternative Tribal Development Perspective,* ed. by Sunil Sengupta and Dilip Mukhopadhyay, Centre for Studies in Economic Appraisal, Calcutta, pp. 102-109.

S.B. Chakrabarti 1986. "Role of Human Sciences in National Development: A Critical Appraisal", in *Human Science,* Vol. 35, pp. 88-93.

Kabui, Gangumei 1988. "Experimenting in Participatory Learning, Communication and Action", *Social Science and Social Concern,* ed. by S.B. Chakrabarti, Mittal Publications, Delhi, pp. 224-236

Kabui, Gangumei 1987. *Presidential Address* (An Enquiry into the Process of the Emergence of States with Special Reference to North East India - A Review) in *Proceedings of North East India History Association*, Eighth Session, Kohima, Nagaland.

Kamei, Gangumei 2010. "From Tribalism to Feudalism: Evolution of the Meitei State in the Pre-Colonial Period", *Professor HK. Barpujari Endowment Lecture,* North-East India History Association, Shillong.

K. Mukhopadhyay and B.N. Sarkar 2002. *Integrated Report on Study of the Jarawas* (Unpublished Compilation Report), Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata.

JALLIANWALA BAGH MASSACRE: A DEFINING MOMENT IN THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

AMIYA K. SAMANTA

I. Political Scenario in Colonial Punjab

In the aftermath of the Mutiny of 1857, Punjab gained on two counts: steady employment of certain sections of the people of Punjab, and reclamation of desert lands by digging a system of irrigation canals resulting in unprecedented agricultural production. In recognition of the services of the Sikh and Gorkha soldiers during the troubled days of 1857, the grateful government concocted a theory of 'martial race,'[1] and branded arbitrarily the Sikhs and the Gorkhas as martial races fit to be recruited in the army, while the rest were unfit. Strangely, the *Purbiya* soldiers, who conquered India for the British, defeating others including the Sikhs and the Gorkhas, were declared 'non-martial' and unfit for military service!

After annexation of Punjab in 1849 the Sikh religion lost its royal patronage and at the same time was exposed to the challenges from Christianity and a Hindu reformist sect known as *Arya Samaj*. The Christian Missionaries had a small centre at Ludhiana from before; but after the annexation, their activities increases and they converted some people of the lower castes[2]. In response to the proselytizing Christianity the Sikh religion took to internal reforms by marginalizing the caste and class differences in the practice of religion, the Sikh intellectuals went back to the roots of the religion to restore its pristine purity and organized "Singha Sabhas' to sustain its uniqueness . At the popular level, some sects and sub-sects, incorporating the low castes and poor people emerged and gained strength. One of the influential sects was *Namdhari*, which extolled the virtues of poverty and denounced the rich as godless. One of its sub-sect was known as *Kuka*, so named because they used to chant hymns loudly and often "emitted loud shrieks". Most of the members of the sect came from

poorer classes and lower castes of Hindu and Sikh communities. But their leader Ram Singh used to treat them as *sant Khalsa* while other upper castes, landowners, princes, money lenders etc. were unclean (*mlechchas*). His preaching often had political flavour as his dream was to revive the Sikh kingdom, driving out the *Firinghis*.[3] It was mandatory for the members to put on hand spun clothes and not to use foreign goods. Ram Singh arranged "training of young men in firearms and built up a paramilitary organization. They had their own postal service too. Such organizational network was indeed a pre-requisite for rebellious cause.

After the annexation, cow-slaughter went on increasing not merely for beef, but to meet the growing demand of leather in England.[4] Beef was selling in the markets of the towns including in the 'holy city' of Amritsar, where beef was previously prohibited. This caused resentment among the Sikhs and Hindus leading to sporadic communal clashes with the Muslims in the 1860s and 1870s. But the authority remained insensitive to the demand for ban of cow slaughter.[5] The *Kukas* took up the task of stopping cow slaughter by attacking the Muslims and the rich Sikh landowners. Between 1863 and 1872, in Ludhiana and adjoining districts such conflicts were frequent.

The nationalist historiography, however, place the movement in the broader mosaic of Indian nationalism for their radical reformist ideals had an underpinning of strong anti-British feeling, and the sect became an anathema to the colonial rulers. In January 1872 one group of *Kukas* made a plan "to attack Malerkotla, a Muslim state where cow slaughter was permitted."[6] En route Malerkotla, they attacked a Sikh landlord's house for firearms; but the resistance was so stiff that a couple of *Kukas* were killed and several injured. At Malodh in Patiala state in a skirmish with the state militia, 8 Kukas were killed and about 30 injured. The deputy commissioner, Ludhiana, J. L.Cowen, who was pursuing them, took 68 captured persons in his custody and wrote to his commissioner T.D. Forsythe, "The gang of rebels, for no other name will adequately characterize them, never numbered more than 125. . . . but 68 including 27 wounded have been captured in the Patiala state. . . . I propose blowing them away from

guns or hanging the prisoners to-morrow morning at day- break. Their offence is not an ordinary one. They have not committed mere murder and dacoity; they are open rebels, offering contumacious resistance to constituted authority, and to prevent spreading of the disease, it is absolutely necessary that the repressive measures should be prompt and stern. I am sensible of the great responsibility I incur; but I am satisfied that I act for the best and that this incipient insurrection must be stamped out at once." Cowen was true to his words. In the morning when he was prepared for the butchery, another letter came from Commissioner Forsythe, asking him to act according to law and to wait till he arrived. But Cowen remembered later on, "I put the note in my pocket and thought no more of it. . . . One man made a furious attack on me by seizing me by the beard."[7] He was cut to pieces. Of the remaining captives 28 were seriously injured and one of them died before he could be blown away. Cowen then blew away 66 persons from the mouths of cannons. Commissioner Forsythe arrived on 17th January determined not to ignore the due process of law. The fate of 16 other prisoners were decided by the 'tribunal' consisting of Forsythe himself and the British Agent of the Patiala state. Cowen was the Chief Prosecutor. All 16 accused persons were sentenced to death and were blown away from the mouths of cannons[8].

The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 declared, inter alia, that no life would be taken by the state except through the due process of law. In Jallianwala Bagh there was a fig leaf of legality in the shape of Dyer's proclamation and Irvin's order prohibiting assembly of five or more persons; but at Malerkotla both Cowen and Forsythe had no excuse for what they had done.

For such savagery practically no punishment was meted out to the colonial officers. Cowen was sacked, but was shown lots of sympathy by his countrymen in England as well as in India. Forsythe was transferred to Rajasthan where he went high up in the civil service ladder[9]. The *Kukas* did not target the foreigners nor the foreigners living in the Punjab were apprehensive of their safety. If the Mutiny had evoked any memory, it was the memory of savage retribution which the colonial officials faithfully followed. It was, in fact, a lesson

as to how they should deal with a rebellion or a rebellious situation in future so that the Empire remained safe. In Patiala Cowen called the Kukas "rebels" and so he got the authority to punish them in a manner that would create an impression on the people at large. Forty five years later O'Dwyer and Dyer had the same arguments in support of their killings in the Punjab.

The prosperity of the peasantry in western Punjab waned being hit by natural calamities like famine, heavy mortality of livestock as a result of successive draught, plague epidemic which carried off four millions people of the province. The result was widespread peasant indebtedness and consequent alienation of land to money lenders. In this context in 1907 large tracts of land irrigated by the newly dug Chenub canal were ready to be opened up and its vast command area ready for cultivation and colonization. The Government brought the Colonization Bill (1907) and as usual, further enhanced the land revenue. In the new bill the Government additionally reversed the basic concepts of land tenure by usurping the ownership of all lands jettisoning the age-old system of peasant proprietorship, i.e the cultivators were the owners of the land. So the peasants strongly resented the bill and a strident peasant movement engulfed the western Punjab in '1907[10] under the leadership of Lala Lajpat Rai, Sardar Ajiit Singh and Sardar Kishen Singh.[11] When violence broke out, Government arrested the leaders and deported Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh to Mandalay and Kishen Singh was jailed for rioting. The Government, however, was most reluctant to prolong the conflict as it would sour the relationship jeopardizing recruitment. So, Lajpat Rai, Arjun Singh and others detained without trial were released and the Colonization Bill was withdrawn.[12] Since the second half of the Nineteenth century the British policy in Punjab had veered round primarily two issues: first, to safeguard the most important recruiting center from any pernicious political influence and secondly to provide a reasonable level of contentment to the people of the martial race and to provide a strong administration so that they are not embroiled in the local conflicts of caste or creed.

II. Punjab under Michael O'dwyer

Nigel Collet, biographer of Reginald Dyer, has observed, "the circumstances of the time (in the Punjab) and the personality of the Lieutenant Governor Sir Michael O'Dwyer (1864-1940) combined in an explosive mix."[13] As a matter of fact, it was O'Dwyer who created much of the Punjab's explosive situation. O'Dwyer's racist mentality, arbitrary exercise of power for which he had the tacit approval of the Viceroy and the Home Government, and his underhand methods of side-tracking the 'due process of law', combined to create an ambience of unprecedented fear in the province. Since the Lt. Governor used to hate the educated classes and had no communication with them, he was virtually ignorant of the ground situation.

Born in an Irish landowning family one of whose ancestors fought against Cromwell and the Parliament[14], O'Dwyer had least sympathy for Indian aspiration for self-rule. He believed that Indians were still not worthy of the lofty ideals of democracy and not fit for democratic institutions. He was critical of Edwin Montague, Secretary of State for initiating a reform bill for progressive realization of self rule by the Indians.

After a few initial years in the Punjab as a civil servant, he was sent out of the provincial administration and was brought back after a long gap as Lt. Governor in 1913. He was said to be a tough administrator but his toughness was derived from his arbitrary actions which were often beyond the pale of legality. He was sometime unscrupulous in achieving his objective. Even his colleagues were skeptical about his success. Sir Harcourt Butler, Lt. Governor of Uttar Pradesh wrote at that time: "Sir Michael O'Dwyer has sown the wind and reaped the whirlwind. For sometime past it was evident that he was utterly out of touch with the educated classes. We shall see what the end shall be."[15]

In his memoirs[16] he has narrated an incident, which bares his arrogance and racist mentality even when he was just a green horn in the service. As a Settlement Officer in Shahpur district he was going to a village on foot accompanied by his orderly, when he found a *moulavi* coming with a few followers from the opposite direction.

Seeing O'Dwyer the *moulavi* told his followers, " Here is a *kafir* (non-believer) going." It was not meant for the ears of O'Dwyer, but he heard it and immediately faced the speaker and asked him to apologize by lying prostrate before him and touching O'Dwyer's shoes with his forehead. The orderly unsheathed his sword and held it on the throat of the *moulavi*, who had no alternative but to apologize the way he was dictated.[17]

Months before O'Dwyer took over as Lt. Governor, a bomb was thrown at Viceroy Hardinge at Delhi on December. 23, 1912, killing one attendant and injuring the Viceroy, and in following May, 1913, another bomb at Lahore, meant for another civil servant, had killed a *chaprashi* instead. After more than a year, several accused persons were arrested and put up for trial before the Delhi Sessions' court. Relying on the evidence of an approver three accused were sentenced to death, one to transportation for life in consideration of his young age and immaturity, and several others to different terms of imprisonment[18]. Approver was set at liberty as per law. The convicted persons appealed before the Chief Court of Punjab as there was no High Court for Delhi at that time.

O'Dwyer wrote in his memoirs, "After going through the papers, (the judgment and case records) I decided contrary to the opinion of my legal advisers that Government should file an appeal for enhancement of sentences. The Bengali because of young age and immature intellect was not given death sentence by the Session Court in Delhi."[19] So his Government appealed for revising the transportation to capital punishment, and to convict the Approver to transportation for life. The judges accepted the plea of the Government prosecutor and passed the desired sentences. This was blatantly unfair and illegal. The due process of law enjoins that it is not fair for the state to go up in appeal against acquittal or for enhancement of sentence, and sentencing the approver by the appellate court is against the law. O'Dwyer further writes, "The judges were quite friendly, co-operative and helpful"[20]. Instances of similar "co-operation" were plenty during his long tenure in the Punjab.

On 8th October, 1914 a Japanese ship (Tosha Maru) arrived at Calcutta Port with 173 residents of the Punjab, who were reported to be "violently seditious" members of the Ghadar party in North America. In O'Dwyer's own words, "I was on tour when this news came to me; contrary to the advice of the Inspector-General of Police and other advisers, I gave orders that the whole band were to be interned in the Central Jails of Montgomery and Mooltan. . . . After screening we released seventy-three on security and kept one hundred in jail. Of the seventy-three released as less dangerous, six were afterwards hanged and six transported for life for participation in seditious and violent acts and two became informers and helped us unravel the conspiracy"[21].

Sometimes usual criminal acts were projected as acts of sedition and rebellion and dealt with extraordinary harshness. The following incident narrated by O'Dwyer himself might as well be just preparation for committing a common crime like house dacoity as they had only two /three small arms, not sufficient for overpowering a treasury guard.

"On 27th November, 1914 a gang of fifteen Ghadar Sikhs at Ferozepur, while awaiting orders from headquarters for an attack on Ferozepur arsenal, decided to loot the Government treasury at Moga, which had only a small police guard. On their way they were stopped and challenged by a Sub-Inspector of Police and a Sikh Zaildar (rural notable). After a brief exchange of words, they shot both dead with revolvers. They then fled towards the jungle, hotly pursued by the Sikh villagers and a few policemen. Shots were exchanged, two of the fugitives were killed and seven were captured. Those seven were tried by the ordinary courts, convicted and hanged within two months of the outrage. The six who escaped were all, I think, arrested later and brought to justice, all getting capital punishment."[22]

Many of those who returned from America and Canada were prosecuted and punished. As a matter of fact, the returnees after their landing were shadowed from the port itself and after reaching the Punjab they had to register themselves and to undergo CID scrutiny. Altogether six thousand returnees had been kept under surveillance in their villages.

After the plan of an uprising in North India led by Rash Behari Bose had failed in February 1915, repression was let loose in Punjab and Bengal. In a sudden swoop the police arrested 168 people from Lahore and other cities of the Punjab and three Lahore conspiracy cases were registered and tried in accordance with the provisions of the Defence of India Act. Altogether 36 persons were sentenced to death, 102 to transportation for life, another 60 were to suffer various terms of imprisonment. A Punjab Regiment stationed at Lahore was suspected in the conspiracy, and 27 Sikh soldiers were court marshaled and shot[23]. The unprecedented spate of death sentence and harsh punishment silenced the people into "a dumb anguish of terror".[24]

Still more gruesome were the cases of those persons who were prosecuted in Martial Law courts for offences committed before 15th April when there was no Martial Law. On 15 April martial law was imposed on Amritsar and four other districts of the Punjab. O'Dwyer inveigled the Viceroy to backdate it to 30 March, in order "to deal appropriately with the local leaders whose speeches during the preceding fortnight did so much to inflame classes who have joined the disturbances".[25] This meant that Kitchlew and Satyapal, despite being in custody on 10 April, could still be tried under martial law regulations, which created summary courts under one or more military officers, and set up four martial-law commissions for more serious cases. The latter sat in camera, were not obliged to record evidence, and permitted only limited cross-examination. Choice of counsel was in any case severely restricted since outside lawyers were banned from the Punjab. Of the 852 accused, 581 were convicted; 108 were sentenced to death, and 264, including Kitchlew and Satyapal, convicted on the testimony of an "official approver"[26] to transportation for life. There was no appeal. Most of these martial-law commission sentences were modified after a regular judicial review. Thereafter, in December 1919 other sentences were commuted by the Royal Proclamation. But by that time 18 (eighteen) men had been publicly hanged. There was no redress for those who were subjected to flogging. In the summary courts public flogging was the normal punishment and innumerable number of people suffered this savage punishment[27].

The Hunter Committee comments on Martial Law proclamation is an elaborate exercise in hiding their collective embarrassment in irrelevant verbiage. According to Regulation X of 1804, discretion was given to the Governor-General in Council to proclaim Martial Law "when an open rebellion has broken out in part of the territory under his jurisdiction." The Hunter Committee then writes, "In our opinion the situation which had arisen in the Punjab was one of extreme gravity and the authorities were justified in declaring Martial Law."[28] But the Committee in the same report has stated that the situation that developed in the Punjab was not rebellion.

When Rowlett Committee was set up in December 1917, O'Dwyer, known for his strong handling of the Ghadar rebels, was a natural choice as an informal advisor. Charles Tegart, a Bengal Police officer with similar experience in Bengal, was called back from France, where he had gone for war duties, for assisting the Rowlatt Committee as official advisor. Both O'Dwyer and Tegart took leading part in drafting the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crime Bill, Part I and II, which completely negated the rule of law on the pretext of dealing with anarchical crimes. The civil servants in India had full support for the proposed act.

Recruitment in the Army during the war years became nightmarish to the people of the Punjab, notwithstanding their reputation as martial race. O'Dwyer's overzealousness in this regard, as he willingly took the responsibility of fulfilling the quota of recruitment from time to time and deployed the entire administrative machinery for the purpose. With Lt. Governor's approval pressure was brought to bear on officers of various departments including the judiciary to help in the recruitment drive. The judiciary was asked to discharge the young accused for recruitment. It, in fact, turned into a conscription which was accompanied with widespread oppression and corruption. Recruitment was another issue which kept the people in a state of constant fear. The Report of the Congress Party on Jallianwala Bagh massacre contains a chapter on O'Dwyer's administration of the Punjab. About recruitment it has been said, "The evidence that we have collected and the judicial records that we have read conclusively

prove that the methods adopted for securing the recruits, donation or loans travelled far beyond the lines of moral and social pressures nor were those methods unknown to Michael O'Dwyer."[29]

The province had a prosperous and educated middle class as in other provinces of India; but here the middle class was terribly disgruntled due to i) Super tax from 1st April,1917, ii) a new Income Tax from 1918 and iii) Excess Profit Duty Tax from April, 1919. All these taxes together led to a 30% increase in taxpayer's burden.

The most well-known Indian bank— the People's Bank of Lahore— crashed affecting many middle class families in the Punjab. They suspected, not without reason, that O'Dwyer's secret maneuverings with the agents of other foreign banks, were responsible for the crash. '"He was hated by old money and new learning alke."[30]He was never forgiven for the bankruptcy".

O'Dwyer used to hate the educated class, because they, according to him, used to talk politics, rights, law etc, and so he suspected them as disloyal. Often in his lectures before the soldiers and recruits he would praise their courage, obedience and loyalty, in comparison with the educated middle class. "He notoriously spoke of them as "grasshoppers under a fern who make the field ring with importunate cries."[31]

The Punjab was sealed off from outside world as a result of the censorship imposed under the Defense of India Act. "The outsiders, including the political leaders like Dr. Annie Bessant, B C Pal, B G Tilak, Madan Mohan Malaviya and lawyers like Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Banerji were not allowed to enter the province. Several news papers were prohibited entry into the Punjab and the Press Act had been put into operation more vigorously there than in any other province."[32] Even the Hunter Committee had no charitable word for Michael O'Dwyer.

III. Events Leading to the Massacre

When Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948) returned to India in January 1915, the Congress Party was in shambles; its two factions the Extremists and the Moderates, were in a state of hibernation.

Gandhi came back to India with the objective of leading the nationalist movement, in which he would be able to apply his newly invented weapon of *satyagraha.* " Since his return to India, Gandhi had been travelling extensively in North and South India (excepting the Punjab) and "interacted mostly with the town people."[33] Although he set up an *ashram* at Sabarmati, he refrained from teaching there the basic tenets of *satyagraha* or the application of truth and ahinsa in political conflict.

He, however, provided leadership to three local movements. The first was the Champaran peasant movement against the Indigo planters, who would advance money to the peasants in the lean period and then force them to cultivate indigo instead of food crop in their land leading to extreme distress of the peasantry. The Government was aware of this, but the planters being white men, they dragged their feet. Now that Gandhi appeared on the scene, they appointed a commission to go into the problem, and Gandhiji was made a member of it. Besides the indigo issue other problems in the life of the peasantry moved him to undertake the task of all-round improvement in rural life. Gandhiji was for the first time exposed to the miseries of rural life in India.

The second was the Ahmadabad Mill hands strike for wage increase. After prolonged negotiation the demand of the workers were met fully. The Kheda peasant movement was confined to a *taluka* and the demand was rent exemption for crop failure due to successive draughts. This was also substantially achieved. In all these movements his weapon of *satyagraha* was not tested and except in the third movement Government was not an adversary.

In 1917-18 at the request of Viceroy Chelmsford, Gandhi undertook the campaign for recruitment in the British Indian Army and travelled to several provinces in North and South India (except the Punjab) and exerted himself so much that in the middle of 1918 he fell seriously ill. When he regained his health at the end of 1918, the Rowlatt Bills were about to be passed.

The Anti-Rowlatt Bill agitation was Gandhi's first trial of strength with the Government. He, however, could not adequately use his

weapon of *satyagraha* as very little training and briefing could be imparted to the participants before the movement was launched. The pamphlets published periodically by the *satyagraha sabhas* in Bombay and Ahmadabad, explaining the principles of *satyagraha* and the manner of using the soul force against the adversaries, was rather inadequate for the participants. The written instructions, on a delicate and hitherto unknown subject, could not create much impact on the people. Besides it was not a small group of immigrants fighting for their rights, as in South Africa, but it was a struggle against the British Raj eventually for freedom of the country. That some training of the volunteers so that they could discipline their mind and behavior and imbibe certain values and ideals was essential as a preparatory step. Dr. Satyapal, a Punjab leader wrote to Gandhi whose reply was as follows: "I have received a letter from Dr. Satyapal from Amritsar saying that he had been trying to follow the *Satyagraha* movement, that he appreciated the thing and he liked it immensely; but he himself did not fully understand it, nor did the people." Dr Satyapal requested Gandhi to visit Amritsar to train them for the movement. "I told Dr. Satyapal that I should do so at the first opportunity that I had."[34]

Besides, the political situation varied from province to province and it would have been worthwhile to take into account the on-going movements before launching a new genre of anti-colonial struggle. But Gandhi appears to have paid scant attention to it. Since his arrival in India in January 1915 many revolutionaries were executed, many were sent to the Andamans, and still many more were incarcerated in jails. The impact of the revolutionary movement on the people at large was a factor which, it would have been worth while to take into consideration.[35] But in early 1919 finding the anti Rowlatt Act agitation, mainly under the leadership of the Home Rule League of Annie Besant gaining momentum, he was attracted to it and was prodded by them to take the leadership of the burgeoning agitation. He studied for the first time the proposed bills and their background and was stunned by the severity of the forthcoming enactments. After consulting Madan Mohan Malaviya and Rajagopalachari and decided to launch *satyagraha* movement against the Rowlatt Bills. Initially he fixed 30th March as

the day of *hartal* , but later shifted it to 6th April; but in the Punjab and Delhi on both the days *hartal* was observed as a day of fasting and prayer. After 6th April he had issued a number of leaflets wherein he explained the ideals and modalities of *satyagraha,* but such written instructions were incomprehensible to common man. Besides Gandhi himself was not perfectly aware of the ground situation in many of the provinces, particularly in the Punjab, which he had never visited. Nor did he meet any of the Punjab leaders who had received his *satyagraha* papers and owed allegiance to him. Gandhi's launching of the Rowlatt *satyagraha* was, therefore, a premature one, as the huge majority of the participants were not mentally prepared for such an ethically elevated mass struggle.

The *hartal* called on 30th March 1919 was successful both in Delhi and in the Punjab; additionally in the latter province both Hindus and Muslims joined hands under the leadership of two Congress leaders namely Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr Satyapal. The colonial officials were surprised at the turn of events; they read it as a sign of the authority over the people slipping out of their hands. On the other hand, the leaders were also worried seeing the people's misconception of *satyagraha* and police action at Delhi. Michael O'Dwyer thought cynically : "The knowledge that the situation in the Punjab was very critical, and that the people of the Punjab were not of a class to whom Mr. Gandhi's spiritual ideals would appeal and they would translate Passive Resistance into active resistance."[36] Government of India was apprehensive of a big mobilization against the Rowlatt Bills, but they explained the mobilization as manifestation of "a spirit of burgeoning nationalism", O'Dwyer's assessment was a lengthy and incoherent exhortation. "The ground had in the meantime been prepared by the manifesto of March 1st (1919) announcing his (Gandhi's) intention and formulating the pledge of passive resistance by the menacing speeches of several members of the Legislative Council threatening the authorities with an agitation of unprecedented violence, if the bill became law; by a series of most inflammatory articles in the Indian press generally, and by mobilization in a campaign against the Act, every political and semi-political

association—the Congress and Khilafat Committee, Indian Association, Hindu-Mohammedan Association, generally headed in the Punjab by extremist lawyers, journalists and members of the Arya Samaj."[37]

"This can only be described" writes Kim A. Wagner, "as a deeply paranoid statement of the situation completely misrepresenting the nature and scope of the Indian protest."[38]

The *hartal* on 6th April was spectacularly successful and passed off peacefully, though both the leaders were not allowed to address public meetings. The all-pervasive authority of the colonial rulers and their limitless arrogance received a rude jolt when the town was brought to a standstill. Their frustration and anger had been amply revealed in the letter dated 8th April, which Miles Irving, district magistrate, wrote to commissioner A.J.W Kitchin:

"We cannot go on indefinitely with the policy of keeping out of the way and congratulating ourselves that the mob has not forced us to interfere. Every time we do this the confidence of the mob increases, yet with the present force we have no alternative. I think we will have to stand up to our authority sooner or later by prohibiting some strike or some procession which endangers the public peace. But for this a really strong force had to be brought in and we shall have to be ready to try conclusions to the end to see who governs Amritsar."[39]

The letter reveals the colonial mind-set. Peaceful protest against Government measures was not a criminal offence or violation of law; rather, they were recognized as the right of the subject people. But such liberty to protest was considered as disobedience and disloyalty which the rulers' arrogance would not allow. By and large, the colonial bureaucracy imbued these qualities in good measure, though there were a few notable exceptions. It was unfortunate that in the Punjab at that time, almost all officers who mattered in the administration had similar mind-set. They were more than convinced that the natives had undermined the authority of the Government on 30th March and 6th April by observing *hartal* and taking out peaceful processions in the towns. The administration, however, interpreted such acts as defiance which, they would soon degenerate into 'disloyalty and sedition'.

This colonial mind-set had perpetually been in conflict with the law. The criminal law and procedures, introduced by the British after the savage retribution of the Mutiny, allowed some basic rights, such as none should be punished except through the due process of law, to the subject people. But the bureaucracy had always desired to rule tyrannically and they had realized that India could not be effectively ruled by the due process of law. The dichotomy, however, came to sharp focus when it became difficult to successfully prosecute the revolutionary terrorists primarily because evidence to prove the guilt to court's satisfaction could not be easily procured as the revolutionaries earned the sympathy of the people at large as patriots. The Defense of India Act, a war-time legislation, promulgated from March, 1915 onwards, substituted the existing laws, by introducing detention without trial, trial by tribunal of three judges selected by the government, simplification of the procedure of trial and the accused having no right of appeal to the High Court. Thereafter, incidents of terrorist violence sharply declined and by 1918 there was none. It was therefore a matter of grave concern to the colonial bureaucracy as to how they would face the challenge of revolutionary terrorism once the Defense of India Act lapsed after the war. In clever anticipation the Rowlatt Committee was set up in December,1917 to underscore the threat of the revolutionary movement and recommend a new law in the line of the Defense of India Act to deal with any recrudescence of the revolutionary terrorism. The result was the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crime Act, 1919, in two parts called in short "The Rowlatt Act".

The two *hartals,* one on 25th March and the other on 6th April, saw all cities in the Punjab including Amritsar completely shut down; but the huge procession on the Ram Navami day on the 9th witnessed an unprecedented show of Hindu–Muslim unity which caused much anxiety among the officials because they had so far been stoking the fire of disunity between the two communities. Now, therefore, was the time when they could fall back upon the gun to reclaim their power and authority.

In the morning of 10th April, Irving called Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal to his bungalow and promptly arrested them and sent them

to Dalhousie by car. By removing two trusted and popular leaders from the scene they had, in fact snapped the communication with the people. That was, however, of least concern to them as their objective was not to maintain peace through consensus but by the use of force. Only then they thought their authority would be restored.

The news of arrest and deportation spread like wild fire and a huge crowd gathered in the bazaar and marched to DM's office in the Civil Lines to submit a petition for their release. They did not have any weapon, not even a stick in their hands as they did not have any violent intention. The walled-city was connected with the Civil Lines by two bridges: one footbridge and the other for carriages. When they were crossing the foot bridge they were shouting slogans in the names of two leaders and "Gandhiji Ki Jay." They might have got the news of Gandhiji's arrest on 9th night. The British mounted guard stopped the crowd under D.M's order. An assistant commissioner named Beckett bravely faced the crowd and prevented the mounted guard from firing on the crowd which was unarmed and thumping their chests. Two lawyers namely Maqbool Mahmood and Gurdayal Singh Salaria were with the crowd to pacify them and to take them back.

But the mounted guard and Beckett's horse too started moving back due to pressure of the crowd. At this point the exasperated mounted guard suddenly fired a few shots without warning, killing at least three persons. The crowd stopped and fell backward but seeing the bullet-hit bodies became restless. At the town side end of the bridge there were heaps of broken bricks and stones which were showered on the picket by the mob and the situation worsened. The two lawyers were still trying to persuade the crowd to go back to the city. At this time a detachment of the Somerset Light Infantry came to strengthen the picket. Irving also rode up across the bridge from the Civil Line side and through the picket so that he was directly facing the crowd. He could not communicate due to din and bustle. Irving said before the Hunter Committee, "I found a very threatening crowd and so far as we could tried to make our voice heard in the noise and told them to disperse. I was rather reluctant to fire because

at that time two Indian gentlemen were endeavoring to disperse the crowd to go back. I was afraid of shooting them."

There was a man called Mahasha Rattan Chand , popularly called Ratto, was desperately shouting "Get back, don't get killed." Kim Wagnar attributes the firing to a misunderstanding by Irving. Irving knew Ratto as a local power broker who often used to mobilize people. Wagner writes, "Unfortunately Irving mistook Ratto's presence in front of the crowd as a sign that he was leading the imminent rush on the picket. . . .Irving decided it was time to act." Irving said before the Committee, "I suggested to the non-commissioned officer to take action. He opened fire."[40] Irving told further to the Committee, "I was holding fire until it got so eminently dangerous that I could not wait for a moment longer."

"Without warning the dozen men of the Somerset Light Infantry fired more than sixty shots at point blank range into the massed core of people."[41] After the first few rounds the crowd rushed back but the firing was continued even after the people were running away. Many of them were hit on the back, while a good number were hit of above belt and some were hit on the face or the head. No less than 25 people were killed and an unspecified number injured seriously. The crowd retreated to the walled city and in anger and frustration changed into a "vengeful and committed" mob.

As the order of firing on the crowd was given by the district magistrate, it was expected that the statutory requirements relating to it would be observed by him. But he even did not care to warn the crowd before opening fire, and he also failed to stop the firing when the crowd started running away. It is also surprising that Irving did not fully disperse the unlawful assembly on which he fired, and did not take charge of the injured and the dead bodies. According to law these were his duties. The Hunter Committee, besides justifying the order of firing did not comment on any other aspect of the ose of firearms in dispersal of a unlawful assembly of a civilian unarmed crowd. The Committee put the casualty figure at 10[42], though "the Somerset Light Infantry fired more than sixty shots at point-blank range into the massed crowd of people." [43] The casualty in the second firing would not less than 25.

The authorities expected that the removal of the leaders would dishearten the followers and bring the movement to a halt. But the firing on an unarmed crowd without any dialogue with them and without warning before firing laid bare the true threat of the Rowlatt Act, "which seemed to prove definitively that the British Government was bent on enforcing the Acts and crushing all hopes of s*waraj* among Indians."[44] Submission of petition in this manner has been a practice for long and never the situation took such an ugly turn. This was in fact for the first time in the living memory that the people were fired upon in Amritsar. The crowd, therefore, construed the firing as another instance of unjustified killing of innocent Indians and in consequence they became justifiably angry and vengeful.

Kim Wagner writes : "On 10th April the rioters were fighting back against each and every iniquity, they believed they had suffered under British rule. The actions of the crowd were thus implicitly justified, and after the firing at the bridges, there was no inhibition in terms of the level of violence that could be inflicted against Europeans with moral impunity."[45] Wagner has rightly read in the behaviour of the crowd a spirit of revenge and a streak of patriotism. They became violently anti-Englishmen, and at that point of time what occupied their mind was a racist revenge, because they had suffered racist hatred and torture for a pretty long time. The crowd which retreated to Hall Bazar being heavily mauled with at least 25/30 deaths and many grievously injured, now empowered by their number which rose to 10,000 or more, was a frenzied mob determined to choose their victims and found implicit justification in the spilling of British blood[46]. When the hideously mutilated bodies of the dead and the injured were taken through the crowd, and later on kept in the compound of a mosque their anger maddened them, and some of them called out, "Come brethren! They have killed innocent and unarmed brothers of ours, let us take *lathis* and avenge them."[47] So long the arbitrary detention and deportation of two leaders was their main grievance; but now they had the mutilated bodies of the martyrs before them. A protesting crowd turned into a frenzied and avenging mob.

The mob, then, resorted to reciprocal violence against Englishmen and their property.

A part of the mob while passing by the rail station, set fire to the station house which was partially gutted and the British station master was injured. Attack on the railway station was provoked by the memory of humiliation and insult of the Indians in the recent past. For several months platform tickets were not sold to the Indians as the European travelers found it disgusting to pass through the Indian crowd on the platform waiting to receive or see off their relatives and friends. To ease the discomfort of the European passengers, the Railway Authority stopped selling platform tickets to the Indians. The message was clear: the white men considered the Indians of inferior race and civilization, so close proximity to them was *infra dig* to them. A British railway guard, T.W. Robinson was found alone near the yard and was killed by blunt weapons. Similarly another white man, Sergeant T.A Rowlands, a Cantonment Electrician was killed by a mob with sticks near the power house.[48]

The attacks were plainly revengeful, racist, but not indiscriminate. Only the foreigners and their property were targeted. On the city side, branches of all three foreign banks were attacked. There is a back-story of the close down of the Bank of Lahore, which had been doing good business in the province. The foreign banks aided by Governor O'Dwyer sabotaged the business of the Indian bank leading to its collapse. The people of the city were not unaware of it; and the story provided a strong motivation for attack on the foreign banks.

The mob had started moving towards the heart of the city, and the imposing structure of the National Bank, a foreign establishment, caught their attention. It also reminded them that this business establishment had remained open on the *hartal* day on 6th April.[49] The bank was surrounded and they forced open the main iron gate. An Indian clerk tried to stop them; but due to brick batting he had to re-enter the building. It was known that the bank was managed by the Europeans. Inside the bank, Stewart, the manager and Scot, the accountant were in the office and the mob outside shouted, "*Sahib ko pakar lo, sahibko mar lo*". Stewart was found in his room standing at

his table with pistol in hand, but he did not fire as he might have lost his nerves. The mob fell on the sahib with heavy sticks and he fell down unconscious. Then someone struck his head with a hatchet and another stabbed him several times. Accountant Scot was in the next room where he was hiding behind a door. The mob fell on him and struck him with heavy sticks and whatever they had in their hands. "Furniture, folders and papers were then piled up on the top of the bodies of two men, and after being doused in kerosene, taken from the bazaar the grisly pyres were set on fire."[50] The fire spread in the entire interior of the building. A large stock of clothes at the back of the building was looted.

The crowd then moved towards the Town Hall and attacked Chartered Bank which was next to the Town Hall. The Indian clerks shouted that there was no sahib in the bank. The crowd then left shouting slogans on Hindu-Muslim unity, *Gandhiji ki Jay* and demanding release of Kitchlu and Satyapal.

Located in a corner near the bazaar, the Alliance Bank was not a prominent building. One G.M.Thompson was its manager with about a dozen Indian clerks working therein. One clerk locked the bank from outside to give an impression that the Bank was closed for the day. But when the mob broke open the door they found the clerks and looked for the *sahib.* Thompson was carrying a revolver that day and he fired a shot when some people rushed upstairs for him. A Sikh who was at the head of the mob was hit and his body went rolling down. The mob temporarily retreated to ransack the office down below. Thomson, slightly injured in the first attack, hid himself under a table. In the second attack, however, he was pulled out and was beaten with heavy *lathis* to death. The mob dragged the body to the balcony and threw it out into the bazaar.

The crowd had also moved to the Town Hall and the Chartered Bank both of which were next to Kotwali police station where about 80 armed police constables had been sitting idle as reserve under one Indian Deputy Superintendents and an Inspector of Police. But it had never been explained to them as to what was their duty. When the mob destroyed the furniture and portraits of the Town Hall and

thereafter started breaking the doors of the Chartered Bank, the Indian clerks desperately tried to save two European managers by hiding them upstairs. Since the Kotwali was within hearing distance, someone verbally called *Kotwali* Police for help. One Deputy Superintendent, Ahmed Jan, with 20 armed constables chased away the attackers and rescued two European managers. The Municipal Engineer, a British named Jarman was at the police station.

Earlier in the day an incident took place which had further embittered the minds of the young men against the British. Dr. Isabel Mary Easdon, a British lady was in- charge of the Municipal Female Hospital, located south of the Hall Gate. In front of the hospital just across the road was the dispensary of Dr Kedar Nath where on 10th April forenoon gathered an excited crowd in front of the dispensary as wounded and injured persons were brought on charpoys. Dr Easdon with another Anglo-Indian assistant surgeon named Nelly Benjamin had been watching the spectacle from the roof of the hospital. Dr Easdon asked, how the people had got bullet wounds. Being told that the English people had fired on them, she made some unkind remarks in reply. She said that the natives deserved it and it served them right. According to Dr. Benjamin she also called the Indian doctor a fool.[51] Dr. Kedar Nath had alleged that he had asked for dressing materials and medicines for treating the wounded; she, however, declined to give anything from the hospital.[52] All these conversations and comments were heard by a large number of the agitators who were on the road and in front of the dispensary. Initially they were indifferent to the lady doctor, though they knew she was an English woman. Now that she had come out in unmistakable racist color, a big crowd of about 200 collected in front of the hospital and asked for Dr Easdon.

They searched for her in the hospital; but the Indian employees and two Anglo Indian nurses concealed her successfully and then after the crowd had left, sent her to a neighboring house in *burkha*. The Indian house owner sent her to a safe place in the Civil Lines.

Another very despicable but well publicized incident of 10th April was murderous assault on Miss Maecela Sherwood, superintendent of a chain of Mission Schools for Girls in the city. On that day she

was going from one school to another on a bicycle through the lanes and alleys of Amritsar to close the school in view of the disturbances and to arrange to send the girls home safely. She had met groups of young men in different places, but though they looked unfriendly, they did not interfere with her. Miss Sherwood stated before the Committee, "I was attacked by one or two men coming from the opposite direction and by a number from the rear. I cannot say how many men were my assailants. I feel there was not a crowd. I was hit with stick on the head and I fell down. I got up and ran and was knocked down by further blows on the head and again felled. I was struck with sticks even when I was on the ground. I saw an open door and tried to enter the house; but it was shut in my face. I then fell down from exhaustion. I made one more effort to get up and did get up, but everything seemed to be getting dark and I thought I was getting blind."[53] Later on she was picked up by an Indian, treated by an Indian doctor and safely sent to the Fort for safety. This story in various exaggerated forms spread quickly in the Anglo-Indian circle highlighting the barbarity of the natives and lack of security of the foreigners. The lone incident made the Punjab disturbances comparable to the Mutiny of 1857.

The 10th of April, no doubt, had been a tumultuous day for Amritsar. Nigel Collet has written, "By the afternoon Amritsar city had passed out of the control of the civil authorities, though all of the cantonment area was still in the British hands."[54] This is not, in fact, a correct description of the actual situation. But the officers of the district administration should have known that long before the first firing, so far as the security was concerned, the city was almost abandoned to its fate. Only a contingent of 80 armed constables was kept as reserve without any instruction about their duties. When at about 11 p.m. Irving with Major Macdonald led a column of troops through the city they saw only the burnt bank buildings and none else in the city. As the political parties never thought on the line of armed struggle they had no such organization for taking over a territorial area. Even the musclemen and anti-socials had no such aspiration to step into a void. In fact it was lying unprotected and

uncared for after a frenzied mob committed some ghastly racist murders and arson after the unarmed crowd was fired upon without warning killing at least 25 innocent people and injuring many. But how the rampage of the frenzied mob was stopped? It was stopped by the state power, that is, a contingent of Kotwali reserve under a deputy superintendent chased away the mob without using firearms and rescued two European managers. After that there was no violence by the frenzied mob in the city of Amritsar on that day or even later.

The racist killings and lootings, therefore, were not in total defiance of the state authority, it was more due to the absence of the state authority. The order of the Government appointing the Hunter Committee asked the Committee , *inter alia*, to report on "the measures taken to cope with disorder."[55] The Committee had hardly dealt with this subject. The statements of the officers, however, reveal some aspects of the security arrangements in Amritsar. Irving's concern was the security of the Civil Lines where he promulgated prohibitory order under section 144 Cr. P.C, posted military pickets at the bridges and various other points. But there was no deployment in the city except keeping a reserved contingent of 80 armed constables, without any instruction at Kotwali. An imaginative and mixed deployment would have produced less disastrous results.

Another noticeable lapse was lack of communication between the officials and the crowd. Irving did not speak to the crowd although they were face to face for some time and they had gone to submit a memorandum to him for release of their leaders. He stated before the Committee that they were not coming to submit memorandum because they were not properly dressed for appearing before the DM![56] At least some senior Indian officers of the Police and civil administration could have been posted at the bridge so that they could talk to the aggrieved people in their language and assuage their high strung emotion for their leaders. In Irving's deployment there was no Indian officer or force at Civil Lines, and in the old city he did not deploy any security force at all, though three senior Indian officers and 80 armed constables were sitting idle as reserve. Irving's deployment of officers and the force was lackadaisical and marked by his strong colonial distrust of the natives.

The mob violence was frenzied but it was not indiscriminate.[57] In Municipal hospital the Anglo Indian Doctor (Dr Nelli, Assistant Surgeon) and nurses and even government employees were not harmed. Clearly the British and their properties were targeted.

That, on the part of the crowd, there was no preparation for violence was evident from the fact that those who joined the march to DM's office were carrying nothing with them. Subsequently "the nature of the violence," writes Kim Wagner, "was moreover contingent on the availability of the makeshift weapons.: bricks and stones found along the road, firewood from the municipal storage, the legs of charpoys looted from Railway stores. One of Ratto's *goondas* snatched a hatchet from a sugarcane stall in the bazaar and used it." Then there was fire, most destructive of all weapon in a violent movement. It consumed the dead bodies of the white people, as if to put an end to the hatred and torture of the *sahibs.*

Two power-brokers namely Mahasha Rattan Chand popularly called Ratto and Choudhury Bugga Mal, popularly called Bugga used to mobilize people for political processions and meetings and naturally both used to command a number of muscle men or *goondas*. The way they could turn firewood or legs of charpoys into weapons of murder or snatched sugarcane seller's hatchet indicated some experience behind such acts.

The slogan on Hindu-Muslim unity was frequently raised by the crowd during the rampage, conveying the message that something of great importance has been achieved, which would facilitate the attainment of *swaraj.* Not merely politically but even from the point of view of the safety and security of the communities and individuals, it was a matter of great relief to all. But the ruling class was worried, because strong Hindu-Muslim unity would herald the end of British rule in India.

IV. After Tenth April

When the day broke on 11th April, the limited number of Europeans in Amritsar were in a "paroxysm of panic"[58] for their

personal safety and security. A peaceful city like Amritsar which had not seen a police firing within half a century, had suddenly 25 killed in police firing and five Europeans in mob violence. But strangely, no European appeared to be concerned about the death of 25 natives except perhaps the Principal of the Khalsa College. Their only concern was the attack on the Europeans by Indians. Dr Esabel Mary Easdon was not alone who thought that the natives deserved it ; others of the community had similar feeling. Lt. Col.Dr Smith, Amritsar Civil Surgeon,"who had much of O'Dwyer's ear,"[59] warned that for each white man's life one thousand native lives would be taken.

Commissioner Kitchin had arrived at Amritsar from Lahore carrying a tale that Sikhs in large number were coming to Amritsar. He however, explained that he had heard it from a peasant, though he himself had not seen anyone coming. Like this many stories were in circulation. But the local officers should have known that this was the time for an annual cattle fair outside the city wall, and the *Baisakhi* was just two days away.

The troops had started arriving from the 10th evening onwards. On the 11th there were plenty of British troops who got excited seeing the mutilated bodies of their countrymen. There were machine guns and even war planes by the afternoon. The district magistrate announced, "The troops have orders to restore orders in Amritsar and use all force necessary." Irving called the two lawyers for giving wide publicity to his announcement in which he prohibited funeral procession and allowed only eight persons to accompany the dead body. They went out and came back after an hour and reported that the people would violate the order as they were arranging funeral procession.

The officials once again were huddled in consultation. A few Indian lawyers, who had gone to the temporary command headquarters for permission for procession were also in the meeting. One of them, Mohammad Sadiq Ali recalled, "As Europeans had been murdered their blood could not remain un-avenged, and if there be the least resistance or disobedience or any breach of the peace sufficient amount of force would be used and, if necessary, the city would be bombarded.

I, at once, protested against such measures. My words to them were, 'they had no right to adopt such measures as women, children and old men staying in the houses would suffer."[60] Sadiq Ali's companions supported him. In any case Irving modified his proclamation:

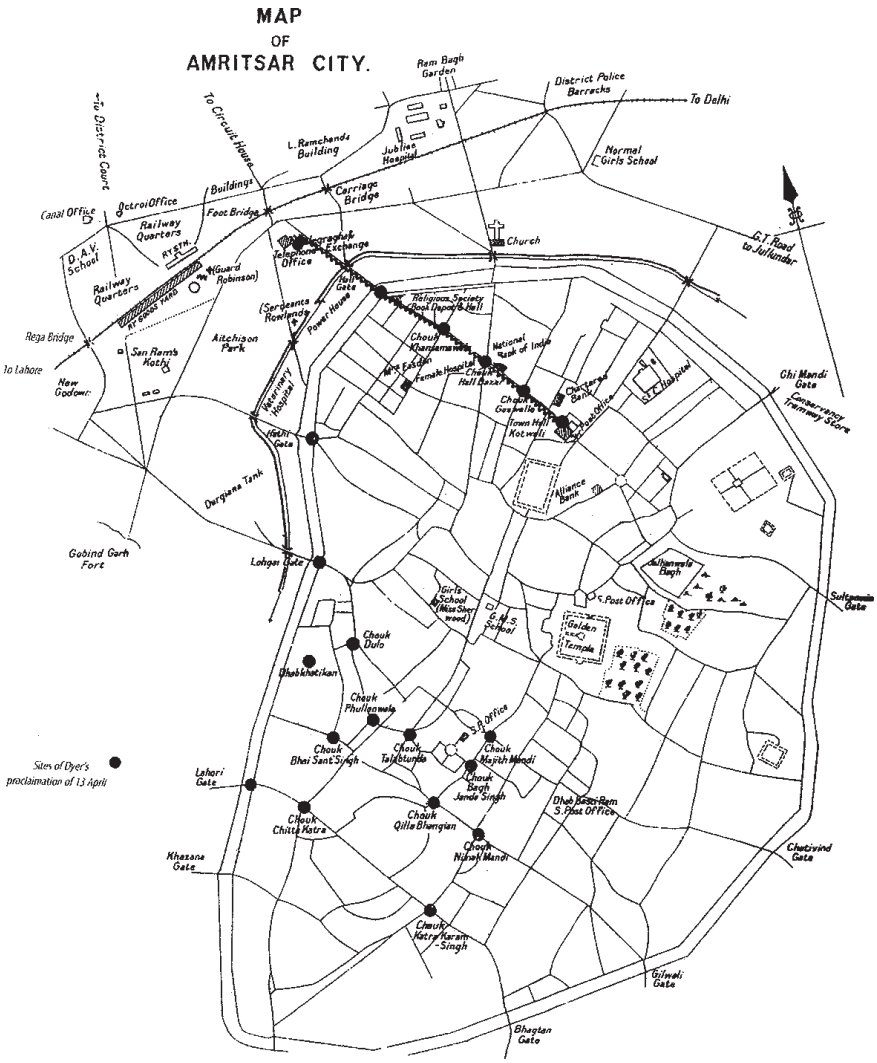
1. People will be permitted in the funeral procession in number around 2000. No Lathi
2. Only two gates (Chatiwind and Sultanwind)to be used
3. All over by 2 PM
4. After 15 minutes the crowd will be fired upon.

Funeral procession and burial and cremation ended peacefully within the scheduled time. In grief both the communities came much closer, Hindus and Sikhs digging graves for burial and Muslims collecting logs for cremation. Then they held prayer meeting together. Major Macdonald, commissioner Kitchin, and deputy commissioner Irving were present. Major Macdonald objected that the proclamation was not sufficiently known to the people. Kitchin wanted Macdonald to open fire, but Macdonald refused . He wanted the funeral to be over. Earlier interference would have been wholesale slaughter. Macdonald waited till all dispersed peacefully. Then he with his troops marched back to Kotwali.[61]

"Kitchin remained at the station overnight and began what was to be a continual goading of the military to take violent measures against the populace. He pressed upon Macdonald to use all military force to prevent further processions."[62] He even wired to Lt. Governor O'Dwyer who approved of Kitchin's plan and promised to send Air Force planes and armored cars. Kitchin also wrote to General Beynon.

"Major Macdonald had done nothing to quell the rebellion. Please send an officer who is not afraid to act." General chose Lt. Col. Morgan, who was Macdonald's commanding officer, and in general disposition was a good deal more fiery than that of his Second-in-Command, for Amritsar.

When in the evening of 11th April Lt. Col. Morgan reached Amritsar he found Brigadiar General Dyer had already taken over the responsibility of the troops at Amritsar. Dyer asked Morgan to stay and assist him and he agreed.



The sketch of Amritsar town was sumbitted by the District authority to the Hunter Committee.

Dyer had subsequently stated that on 11th April at about 2 P.M when the funerals were going on, he was asked by 16th Divisional Headquarters to proceed to Amritsar and take charge. Nigel Collet has claimed to have searched all probable military archives, but no written order asking Dyer to proceed to Amritsar and to take charge of the situation there has been traced. Why such a departure in the internal administration of the Army known for its strict compliance of rules? However, Amritsar falls within the military jurisdiction of Dyer's brigade, and so he could himself assume the charge. But Major General Beynon , Dyer's immediate boss and Lt.Governor O'Dwyer must have known about it and gave their tacit approval.[63].

Though several authors and a good numbers of members of Parliament had claimed that Dyer was a brilliant soldier, yet he had seen very little actual war. After his graduation from the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, he was sent to Ireland to fight against the Irish terrorists and then to Burma for colonial expansionist war. There were atrocities in abundance in both the places. In south Burma, where Dyer's battalion was also in the operation, the campaign was on a difficult terrain. When one British subaltern was killed by a sniper's bullet, the whole village of Pabengmay was set on fire and the villagers were beheaded and heads carried in baskets.[64] Villages were destroyed by bombardment from the gunboats on the river. In a village 12 innocent men were shot dead in cold blood to terrify other men. They were decapitated and their heads displayed on stakes to frighten the neighbouring villages. Few officers were really punished for such savagery on the Burmese. He had not only seen the operations but also read Commander in Chief General Robert's *"Instructions for General Officers Commanding Columns in Burma"* which advised the soldiers in short to deliver "a severe lesson promptly."[65]

Besides dealing with terrorism and internal insurgency in a colonial country for a short period early in his career, Dyer had almost all his life dealt with the North Western Border inroads in India. This was un-demarcated colonial border problem and there was no situation of war. It was keeping peace by stopping the depredation of the turbulent border tribes and taming them on either side of the border. Taming

used to be done not by sermons or worldly rewards but by canons and rifles, by rampant destruction of villages and lives. The objectives were to keep the land routes to Afghanistan and Iran through Baluchistan open, to protect the settled villages and town along the border. The government never used to bother about number of deaths and quantum of destruction in border operations so long as the routes remained safe primarily for commerce and border towns and villages were peaceful for revenue collection. So Dyer was well versed in the tactics of colonial border warfare where total destruction of dwellings and indiscriminate killings go by the names of 'exemplary punishment' or 'delivery of a severe lesson'. From a scrutiny of Dyer's career one may be justified in concluding that he would have fitted well in the role of a reckless colonial Border Police Officer than that of an Army Brigadier.[66]

From 10th April onward the city of Amritsar was without any normal policing for the authorities, as it happened during anti-government movements, could not rely on the native police, except, however, for investigation and arrest. In protest against the death of about 25 people in firing the markets remained closed on 11th, but there was no violent incident in the city. And from the records of available incidents it appears that the enforcing capabilities of the police had not been neutralized by the mood of defiance of the people. In fact, there was plenty of justifiable hatred against the European officers; but there was no spirit of all pervasive defiance of law in Amritsar even on 10th and on 11th, and 12th April.Yet the European officers in their obsession with "disloyalty", "rebellion" and "conspiracy" went on weaving stories such as the Manjha people were getting ready to join the Amritsar people in rebellion, a *danda fouj* would enter into Amritsar soon. Even Kitchin had also contributed one or two to the stock of rumours. Military pickets were posted in the Civil Lines, but the old town remained unprotected, though armed policemen were kept confined in the barrack. As a result in many localities the local responsible residents organized night-watch parties in which often muscle men performed night watch duties.[67]

The local leaders and the merchants held a meeting at the house of Bashir after the funeral on 11th. As the *hartal* had been continuing from 10th onward, common people could not make their daily purchases. The sellers of perishable goods had suffered a great loss. Eventually they agreed to keep the shops open for a few hours from the next day.

Kitchin remained at the Army's temporary station and began what was to be a continual goading of the military to take violent measures against the populace. He pressed upon Macdonald who was then in charge of the contingent, the use of all military force to prevent further procession and wired O'D'wyer at Lahore that, "We intend to prohibit and break up precessions with military force. I have informed officer commanding that he is in charge and can use all military force." O'Dwyer approved the policy and promised to send aeroplanes and armored cars.[68]

But in the afternoon of 11th Kichin changed his opinion about Major Macdonald, the local Commander, as he did not open fire on the assembly of mourners who came to cremate or to bury their deads. Irving had alredy ordered that cremation or burial should be over by 2 PM .The bodies were taken out in procession to the cremation ground outside the city accompanied by the military force under Major Macdonald, but he declined to fire on the procession or the assembled crowd outside the city unless they stay beyond 2 PM.

Kitchin returned to Lahore and wrote to General Beynon, "Macdonald had done nothing to quell the rebellion. Please send an officer who is not afraid to act." He asked for an officer who is not afraid to act.[69] Beynon selected Lt.Col. Morgan an aggressive Battillion Commander. Col. Morgan was to take charge at Amritsar that evening only.

Dyer reached Amritsar earlier than Morgan on the same evening at about 11p.m. and assumed command. Col. Morgan arrived half an hour later and stayed on in advisory capacity. Though Dyer had claimed that he had been sent by his Commander Geheral Beynon, yet his biographer could not trace any order to that effect.[70]

After his arrival at Amritsar in the evening of 11th Dyer, he later on said Irving "gave over charge to me" and Irving said "I should

regard myself as an advisor to the Military Commander, but of course carrying on a good number of duties,…."[71]

The legal position, however, remained as noted above; Irving as district magistrate was responsible for maintenance of law and order and Dyer was there to assist him. After the promulgation of martial law on 15th April, the position changed, Dyer as martial law administrator was responsible for law and order, though Irving retained his judicial power as a magistrate.

Dyer then after holding a meeting with the officers present, visited the *Kotwali,* saw the damages done by the mob on 10th, and returned to the station to hold another meeting with Asraf Ali, the city superintendent of police. Dyer asked the police to start investigation and to arrest the culprits and assured that they would be accompanied by military escorts. Intelligence however was meager. There was, in fact no positive information of conspiracy or preparation for rebellion.

Kitchin and Irving tried their best to make Dyer believe that it was a rebellion and he was in enemy territory and it needs an exemplary action which could be taken only by the army. He did not have any experience of army going in aid of the civil authority[72], though in the Staff Training College he had lessons on the subject.In Ireland, in Burma and even in the North Western Border areas he used to treat civilian population along the border as enemies and Amritsar was no exception.[73]

On 12th morning Dyer got information from the Air Force that during their reconnaissance over Amritsar they spotted a crowd near Sultanwind Gate. Dyer and Irving set out for the place with a strong contingent of force; but found that it was a funeral crowd. They did not open fire. With this instance both Dyer and Irving would make the Hunter Committee believe that they had been considerate in selecting the crowd for punishment. This was an insufficient evidence of their magnanimity. Dyer ordered snapping of power and water lines to the city as because one lady (Mrs Ashford) complained to Dyer that while they were huddled in a small place the natives were enjoying electric light and tap water!

On 12th Katchin remained at Amritsar. He and Irving tried to convince Dyer that what was going on in the Punjab was nothing but 'rebellion' with a big conspiracy behind it. The rebellion could be suppressed by the military might alone. On 13th morning another rout march at Amritsar when his proclamation was read out from different point of his rout in the city. Subsequently the Hunter committee made a study to find out how many of the citizens had heard the announcement and how many had understood the implication of it. According to the report not more than 10% of the total population of Amritsar had heard the announcement.

V. The Massacre

In the morning of 13th April, 1919 Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer was informed that telegraph and telephone wires around Amritsar had been snapped and at several places railway tracks had been tampered with. Communication with Lahore was being maintained by aero plane. In this context he told the Hunter Committee, "I thought they were trying to isolate me and my forces, everything pointed to the fact that it was a widespread movement, and that it was not confined to Amritsar alone. I looked upon those men as rebels who were trying to isolate my forces and cut me off from other supplies."[74]

Such reports corroborated the reports he had heard from Kitchin and Irving that what was going on was an organized rebellion. With a view to making a demonstration of his strength, he organized a route march in the city at the head of a column of 50 soldiers on foot started from his temporary headquarters at Ram Bagh. In front were two police officers on horseback, followed by *Naib-tahashildar* and the 'town-crier' with a drum. At the end in cars were Dyer, Irving, Rehil and Plomer.

At every halt the town-crier would beat the drum and the other man would loudly read Dyer's proclamation[75] in Urdu and Punjabi, and distribute printed copies. The march lasted for about four and a half hours and touched various places and at each point the proclamation was read out to the people collected. The convoy stopped at 19 points, but they had not gone anywhere near either the Golden

Temple or the Jallianwala Bagh, and thus large number of people at the Temple and at the Bagh on Baisakhi Day remained ignorant of the proclamation. The Hunter Committee estimated that by this exercise about 8ooo to 10000 people had heard the announcement, which was barely 10 per cent of the city's population. When Dyer returned to Ram Bagh, Rehil conveyed the intelligence report that in spite of the proclamation a meeting would be held at Jallianwala Bagh in the afternoon.

Kim Wagner has referred to a book by C.E.Callwell entitled *The Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice*. The book was published in London in the last decade of the 19th century, primarily to guide the colonial officers to fight the anti-colonialists in the extensive British colonies in Asia and Africa in those days. Callwell set forth a rule that, "Uncivilized people were not, as a rule rational political actors and accordingly could not be negotiated with: the only language "savages" understood was violence."[76]

At 16.15p.m. the district magistrate reported that a crowd of a few thousand strength had gathered at Jallianwala Bagh and the meeting had started.[77] Dyer had sent an air force plane over Amritsar for reconnaissance and to report about the gatherings; and they confirmed. Dyer, then, selected his officers and men carefully. He took 20 Gurkha soldiers with Enfield Mark IV rifles used in the First World War; another 20 Baluch soldiers similarly armed. Ten more Gurkhas he took with *kukri* only. Interestingly he did not take any British soldiers (except his two body guards) though they were available in good number at Amritsar. He selected armed men from the communities which were on the margin of Indian nationalism. In selecting officers too he deliberately left out young British officers and selected at random from various units. Lt. Col. Morgan was left behind for rescuing them in case they were in trouble, At the head of the column were two officers, an Inspector of Police and a civilian officer on horse-back, followed by the flag car of Brigadier General Dyer, sitting with him were Miles Irving, Captain Briggs, Dyer's Brigade Major. A second car was occupied by J.Rehil, Superintendent of Police, Captain Crompton and M.P.Plamer, D. S. P, Soldiers with their NCOs marched

behind the cars, followed by two armored cars mounted with machine guns. When they came half way through, district magistrate Irving took leave of Dyer on the plea of some urgent work at the fort. They soon came to the mouth of a narrow lane which would lead to the Bagh. It was difficult for three men to walk abreast along the lane. According to Captain Briggs, "coming to the end of the alley we saw an immense crowd of men." As soon as Dyer saw the crowd he made up his mind to fire; he later on told Chief Secretary Thompson that he took thirty seconds to decide. Before the Hunter Committee he said that he had made up his mind to open fire at the crowd for having assembled at all. Dyer arranged the troops with Gorkhas on the right and the Baluch Frontier Force on the left. Captain Briggs told Dyer that the crowed was about five thousand strong. Captain was wrong; there were about 20 to 25 thousand people, including old, women and children. From a raised platform someone was addressing the crowd. Seeing the military in strength the speaker stopped his speech and looked at them with bewilderment.

After the Gorkha and the Baluchis took the firing position, Dyer shouted the order to fire. He ordered to aim the places where the crowed was dense so that the firing had maximum effect. After the soldiers had emptied their first magazine, Dyer ordered reloading, asked the troops to fire at the people climbing the wall. People tried to escape the bullets by lying on the ground; the troops also took lying position so that they could take better aim. After a bit, Sergeant Anderson, General Dyer's personal bodyguard, 'noticed that Captain Briggs was drawing up his face as if in pain, and was plucking at the general's elbow. Plomer, the deputy superintendent of police, told the general during a lull that he had taught the crowd a lesson they would never forget. The general took no notice, and ordered fire to be resumed.' At one point, the general turned to one of his officers and said: 'Do you think they've had enough?' He then answered himself: 'No, we'll give them four rounds more.' It continued for ten minutes or so and by that time 1650 rounds had been fired and only sufficient ammunition was left to cover their return journey. Dyer then ordered the troops to

withdraw, he and other officers to walk back to the car. They then came back to their headquarters at Rambagh by 6 p.m.

Dyer wrote his report round about midnight. He gave details of his activities after his arrival at Amritsar on 11th night. About the firing he wrote, *inter alia*, "I entered Jallianwala Bagh by a very narrow lane, which necessitated my leaving the armored cars behind. On entering, I saw a dense crowd numbering about 5000; a man on the raised platform addressing the audience, and making gesticulations with his hands.I realized my force was small and to hesitate might induce attack. I immediately opened fire and dispersed the crowd. I estimated between 200 to 300 of the crowd were killed. My party fired 1650 rounds. I returned to my headquarters at about 18.00 hrs."[78] Dyer has carefully omitted the fact that no warning was given to the crowd, nor did he say anything about the sustained length of firing for 10 minutes by 40 soldiers, nor about what happened to the wounded who were left. In the report, however, he had introduced a new excuse: the fear of being overwhelmed by the crowd as the reason behind immediately opening fire. But this was false as none of the witnesses, namely Briggs, Rehil, Anderson, Plomer, accompanying Dyer had corroborated it.

Lt. Governor Michael O'Dwyer and General Beynon, Officer Commanding at Jullundur, accepted the report and they would continue to stick to the story of being overwhelmed by the crowd as the immediate cause of firing, even when Dyer changed his statement that there was no provocation from the crowd, and all evidence supporting it. General Beynon informed Dyer, "Your action correct and Lt. Governor approves."[79]

On 14th morning a contented Dyer sent a report to Major General Beynon. Omitting the routine part, the significant point is his attempt to make a 'self-defence' excuse. In his estimation the crowd was about 5000. He then stated "I realized that my force was small and to hesitate might induce attack. I immediately opened fire and dispersed the crowd." In his estimation 200 to 300 people were killed.

Dyer, after receiving the message, might have felt happy that he had done his duty. Counting the number of dead or taking care of the

wounded of the enemy side are not duties of battle commander. Dyer's mind was tuned to the image of a battle field where on the opposite there were only enemies. Amritsar was a rebellious city and its citizen's were rebels. So it was a battle field and he did not care to count the number of dead bodies on enemy's side, nor did he take care of the wounded. In reply to Hunter Committee's question about the wounded, his laconic reply, "Hospitals were open. And doctors were there"[80]. Peaceful protest by the subject people is construed as 'rebellion' and the rebels are enemies of the ruling power. The civil officers also did nothing about the dead and the wounded after the firing on 10th and also after the massacre. The conduct of both Irving on 10th and Dyer on 13th can be explained by their rigid adherence to the maxims of Callwell, noted above.

On 14th Dyer called a meeting of respectable and influential people of Amritsar at the Town Hall. About 150 people attended. He attended with Irving, Rehil, Plomer and his staff officer. He spoke standing and kept the audience standing. He spoke in Urdu:

"You people know well I am a soldier and a military man, you want war or peace? If you wish for war, the Government is prepared for war. If you want peace then obey my order, and open all your shops, else I will shoot. For me the battle field of France and Amritsar is the same. ...In case there is to be peace my order is to open all shops at once. You people talk about the Government and persons educated at Germany and Bengal talk sedition. I shall uproot these all." Dyer's crude threats were not much surprising; but Irving also held out crude threats in broken Punjabi. In any case the shops were open and the water supply was restored.

On 14th April Dyer ordered all the lawyers of the town (100) to be appointed as special constable. Even 75 years old Lala Kanhaialal a respectable lawyer of the town was not spared. They were put to all kinds of menial works. Irving's intervention gave some relief to them by way of easier duties.

On 19th April Dyer visited Miss Sherwood at the Fort. He later described "It seemed to me intolerable that some suitable punishment could not be meted out Civil law was at an end and I searched my

brain for some military punishment to meet the case." Whether the punishment of "crawling on all fours" was the result of Dyer's brain storming or the invention of one of his British soldiers may be a debatable point[81]; but it was "indisputably racialised regime of collective punishment."[82]Kucha Kaurianwala was the lane which was marked as the place where Miss Sherwood was reportedly assaulted. Dyer's order was that anyone passing through that lane should walk on his all fours. After the order was issued eleven persons arrested for not salaaming the officer were taken to the place and made to crawl the length of the lane. Irving approved of the punishment, but a few days later he suggested modification, instead of crawling they should go barefoot. Dyer ignored it. Ultimately it was stopped after protest against such open expression of racial hatred reached London.

Those who were living at Kucha Kaurianwala had to suffer more unspeakable insult and indignities from the British soldiers of two round-the-clock pickets on either end of the lane. The crawling order may remind one of the atrocities at Cawnpore in 1857 when the arrested rebel soldiers and the local people who were suspected of being in league with them were made to kneel on the floor where some days ago the British ladies and children were massacred and forced to lick the extant blood stains and thereafter they were blown away from the mouth of a canon. In Dyer's mind two images, one of a man licking blood stains on the ground and the image of a man crawling on the road dissolved into one, and it gave him immense satisfaction that he had upheld the colonial tradition of retribution. Eventually O'Dwyer stopped the racialised punishment on 24th April.

Public flogging after tying the victims with a flogging triangle was common and was not treated as serious punishment. People were given this punishment for various "offences" like not salaaming officers, for laughing at the troops, for walkin with chin up and spine straight etc. Dyer had first flogged 6 boys who were allegedly responsible for beating up Miss Sherwood. Each one was to 30 stripes. But long before 30 stripes were delivered each one of them used to be senseless and revived by sprinkling of water. After a few minutes time the flogging would continue. In the end they would be dragged

to jail. During martial law regime flogging was a common punishment for anything which the British officers considered as offence.

On 14th O'Dwyer ordered RAF planes to bomb Gujranwala. This was dutifully done by a Major who bombed a crowd of nearly 150 who were on the road. The Committee records only 9 people killed. The villages were subjected to machine gun fire. On 16th and 17th the RAF planes fired on the villages.

Setalbad asked Dyer in the Hunter Committee "You did not open fire with the machine gun simply by accident of armored cars not being able to get in?" Dyer answered, "The probability is that I would have opened fire with them."

Dyer also admitted before the Committee that he could have dispersed the crowd even without firing. But his appreciation of the situation was that it was a rebellion, and those who assembled violating the order were "rebels", he was going "to teach them a lesson" "to punish them," and" make a wide impression" and "to strike terror throughout Punjab". He also wanted to reduce the morale of the rebels. Dyer also said that 'it was no longer a question merely of dispersing the crowd; but one of producing a sufficient moral effect, from a military point of view, not only on those who were present but more specially throughout the Punjab.' In fact, he remarked: 'I think it quite possible that I could have dispersed the crowd without firing but they would have come back again and men laughed.'

Q. Did it not strike you that by doing an act like this you are doing a great disservice to the British Raj?

A. I thought it would be doing a jolly lot of good and they would realize that they were not to be wicked.

He did not care to inspect the destruction caused by the firing, nor did he care for the injured persons, not to speak of the dead bodies. Regarding the wounded, Dyer told the Hunter Committee when they asked about the measures he took for the relief of the wounded, "It was not my job. Hospitals were open and medical officers were there".

Dyer must have been taught at the Staff College as to what should be done after firing on a civilian crowd while aiding the civil authority. Neither he nor any other officer of the district followed the due process

of law. As a matter of fact no white officer visited the site even when they came to know that number of death would be touching 400. The Indians had never been treated as socially equal by the colonial rulers, the testimony of which were strewn all over India in the shape of cantonments, hill stations, clubs, swimming pools, hotels, roads etc. So the duty of counting the number of dead and wounded of 'other inferior people' could not be a compelling one. Nothing was done till 25th June, 1919, when someone asked Chief Secetary Thomson who in turn asked Miles Irving to find out the exact number of death. Irving took the help of a social service organization named Seva Samiti which traced that 482 were identified by name and 44 dead bodies could not be identified. So the total number cannot be less than 482 + 44 = 526. Irving made further enquiries and put the number of death at 379, and that of wounded at 1200. The Congress party's independent inquiry got a much higher figure of death and wounded.

VI. Martial Law Regime

Martial law was promulgated on 15th April, but O'Dwyer prevailed upon the Viceroy to back date martial law to 30th March, long before the violence began on 10th April, though retrospective legislation is not legal. Besides by15th Amritsar was almost a dead city.

But O'Dwyer presented before the Committee as many as nine grounds justifying the promulgation. The Hunter Committee considered all of them but did not consider any of them really tenable, but strangely they did not criticize the promulgation. During the Martial Law regime, the normal courts of justice will be substituted by the Martial Law courts for summary trial. The new special commissions and tribunals would pass greater sentences based on simplified rules of evidence. There would be no appeal as there would be no appellate establishment.

O'Dwyer's objective was to to rope in all political leaders involved in anti-Rowlatt Act agitation and forging Hindu-Muslim unity to the detriment of British rule. His memoirs reveal[83] Dr Kitchlu and Dr Satyapal were such enemies. Secondly, O'Dwyer had a personal motive to deal swiftly with his enemies for he was to leave his post within weeks. There were men who had been irritating perhaps even

dangerous, but had not broken any law[84]. He was bent on not leaving any critic or enemy behind.

From 15th April to 9th June Martial Law was in force in five districts of the Punjab and by all account this was a nightmarish period. Most serious was the brutal attempt to collect false evidence for prosecuting innocent people or those against whom no evidence was available. To prosecute Drs Kitchlu and Satyapal, Lala Hansraj, personal assistant of Kitchlu was won over and was used as official approver against many. On Hansraj's evidence both of them were sentenced to transportation for life. After the intervention of the Congress the sentence was reduced to 4 years imprisonment.

Moulavi Gholam Jilani participated in Ramnavami procession; he was asked to give evidence against the two leaders. Jilani was beaten and abused for several weeks before he was released on bail. He was never convicted of any crime[85]. Dr Easdon of Municipal Hospital was saved by the Indian nurses and a Muslim family across the road. She wrongly implicated a neighbour named Muhammad Amin. But none of the hospital had seen the gentleman in the mob. Plomer (an Anglo Indian Dy Sp) picked up Dr Neili Benjamin (Anglo Indian Assist. Surgeon), who working with others saved Dr Easdon. Dr Benjamin was asked to identify Amin as a culprit but she refused. She was offered rewards and then subjected to indignities, but eventually saved from extreme brutalities, Md. Amin and his son were tortured and then prosecuted in the case. The son was sentenced to death and Amin to long term imprisonment. Later on the son's sentence was commuted to four years and Amin's to two years[86]. There are many horrifying accounts of coercion and torture for giving false evidence. In fact volume V and VI of the Hunter committee contain eye witness account or personal experience of torture and other brutal punishments.[87] Gandhiji intervened in the case of Karamchand Khanna who was sentenced to death for waging war against the King. His father came to Gandhiji at Bombay where he was then confined. He was talking to his friends on a village road when he was arrested and after torture was given death sentence. At Gandhiji's intervention it was reduced to two years' jail.[88]

Most harrowing was judicial tyranny in the regime. Apart from courts for small crimes four martial-law commissions for more serious cases were set up. The latter sat in camera, were not obliged to record evidence, and permitted only limited cross-examination. Choice of counsel was in any case severely restricted since outside lawyers were banned from the Punjab. "Of the 852 accused, 581 were convicted; 108 were sentenced to death, and 264 (including Kitchlew and Satyapal, convicted on the testimony of an "official approver" to transportation for life. There was no appeal".[89] Most of these martial-law commission sentences were modified later by judicial review. Yet the doubt remains whether all capital punishments were on genuine ground or not.

In summary courts public flogging was a common punishment and the insult used to be hundred times more when the European spectators would urge the wielders of the cane to strike harder. A wedding party was flogged for being an unlawful assembly. A group of men were whipped in front of prostitutes for visiting brothels.

Collective punishment was extensively imposed in Amritsar. Apart from stopping electricity and water supply "there were indiscriminate commandeering of vehicles, bi-cycles at random. Even electric fans and other appliances were also taken away for the soldiers. The issue of third and intermediate-class rail tickets was suspended, effectively barring Indians from the railways. A strict curfew remained in force. In Lahore students were expelled from colleges, not on the basis of proven participation in the disturbances, but by quota. Students were also forced to march up to seventeen miles a day in the sun. Fancy punishments like skipping, reciting poems or touching the ground with nose were not really fancy, for the middle aged people in the sun. In two places at least the upper caste people were asked to do sweeper's job. Evidently many of the martial punishments were of humiliating character".[90]

When Montague, the Secretary of State for India learnt that aeroplanes, bombs and macine guns had been used to suppress the Punjab disturbances, he had realized that these actions would damage Government's reputation[91] and the rumours emanating from the Punjab had to be addressed. He, therefore,asked the Viceroy to set up

an inquiry committee to go into the disturbances in the Punjab. Chelmsford formally announced[92] a committee under the chairmanship of Lord Hunter, with four British and three Indian members. The bureaucracy in India including Harcourt Butler, Lloyd and many others like them objected to the committee on the ground of demoralizing the Army and the administration. Two days after the announcement of Hunter Committee the Indian National Congress also announced a committee to inquire into the disturbances in the Punjab alone.

VII. Jallianwala Bagh : Duty or Man-slaughter?

The concluding part of the report that Brigadier Dyer submitted to the Army Council on 25th August is primarily on duty as understood by him.

"The responsibility was very great. If I fired I must fire with good effect, a small amount of firing would be a criminal act of folly. I had the choice of carrying out a very distasteful and horrible duty or of neglecting to do my duty, of suppressing disorder or of becoming responsible for all future bloodshed. I fired and continued to fire until the crowd dispersed and I consider this the least amount of firing which would produce the necessary moral and widespread effect, it was my duty to produce, if I was to justify my action. If more troops had been at hand the casualties would have been greater in proportion. It was no longer a question of merely dispersing the crowd, but one of producing sufficient moral effect, from a military point of view, not only on those who were present, but more especially throughout the Punjab. There could be no question of undue severity."

It is a frank statement by a person, to put it in simple language, who had fired upon a peaceful assembly of men, women and children killing at least 379 persons and injuring 1250. But the man is undaunted. Before the Hunter Committee he admitted that if he could take the armoured cars inside, he would have fired from the machine guns. In this statement he added a new ground for his extravagant firing, that is, "for producing sufficient moral effect not only those who were present but specially on the Punjab."

The British public opinion, eminent persons in English society touted duty as the armor of Dyer against enemy attack." He did his

duty as he understood it." were the words of Rudyard Kipling and of many others like him.

In British historiography Jallianwala Bagh was an incident "which stands in singular and sinister isolation". Churchill called it "an episode . . . without precedent or parallel in the modern history of the British Empire . . . an extraordinary event, a monstrous event, an event which stands in singular and sinister isolation". Churchill had almost given a guideline to the future historians writing about Amritsar.

Herbert Asquith claimed "there has never been such an incident in the whole annals of Anglo-Indian history nor, I believe, in the history of our Empire from its very inception down to the present day . . . It is one of the worst outrages in the whole of our history". In some ways they were undoubtedly right. The British had put down armed uprisings in India and elsewhere in the past with exemplary brutality. But no previous use of military force, in the United Kingdom or colonies, against an unarmed and peaceable crowd had resulted in a remotely comparable loss of life. Such claims often do not stand scrutiny. While comparing one massacre with another there may be paradigmatic differences, but massacres in the sense of mass killing of innocent people have taken place in India and other colonial countries.. In India the suppression of the Santal Rebellion (1855) the Moplah Unrest (1920-21) resulted in the large-scale killing of the innocent.

The Amritsar massacre is not a sudden attack by a student on a congregation in the school it is more complex than that. A colonial power had ruled the province tyrannically, without caring for the due process of law engendering disaffection. The massacre has to be seen in the backdrop of a tyrannical colonial administration, a long tradition of brutality, racial hatred and colonial subversion of due process of law. True, there is no evidence that the Amritsar massacre was an act of deliberate policy. It would be disingenuous to do so; because on various pretext colonial administration could jettison even the norms of colonial democracy and turn it into a tyrannical state. It appears, on the face of it, a tragic aberration in British imperial history, and Dyer's individual responsibility alone. Perceptions of Amritsar's

singularity have dominated the English historiography. "One sign of this is just how little has been written, outside India, on what A. J. P. Taylor has called "the decisive moment when Indians were alienated from British rule". This stems from more than embarrassment in the face of one of the less glorious chapters in British history. "The construction of the Amritsar massacre from the start as "singular and sinister" marginalizes it. There has been no need felt to agonize over Amritsar as in any sense a national shame because it is aberrant, in a category by itself, not part of the national history at all. Those few English works that do exist on the topic have for the most part accepted this frame of reference. They assume, and then seek to explain, the exceptionality of Dyer's action."[93]

Dyer, it is said, was not mentally stable. Rupert Furneaux has suggested that Dyer's judgment was impaired by the arterio-sclerosis from which he suffered. Like others, he has also made much of this to lighten the burden on Dyer. Eventually this fact can be argued to its inevitable conclusion: No Dyer, no Amritsar Massacre.

About the massacre Indian responses are significantly different. Gandhiji from his non-violence standpoint said: "We do not want to punish Dyer. We have no desire for revenge. We want to change the system that produced Dyer". Apparently Gandhiji was targeting the colonial regime. He obviously wanted the heartless, senseless system to change. It may be remembered that Gandhi with extraordinary zeal brought out the whole story of repression in the Punjab. Dr V. N. Datta, who first brought Jallianwala Bagh within the ambit of academic discourses, writes that it was not an isolated phenomenon, but "an expression of a confrontation between ruler and ruled". In a recent interview he has stated that it was colonial rule which was responsible for the massacre. Derek Sayer quotes Helen Fein, an American sociologist, as saying that Jallianwala was "a prototypical instance of a repressive collective punishment practiced by the British in black and Asian colonies". Raja Ram claims that the massacre "was not the result of a decision taken by an individual (General Dyer) on the spur of the moment,but of a premeditated plan, carefully designed in

advance, and executed on the appointed day, by the British bureaucracy".[94]

An analytical study of certain facts already recorded may give us a definite clue to Dyer's performance of "horrible duty" with a view to create an air of frightfulness in the country.

Some facts which emerge from the reports and the evidence before both the Committees may be relevant in reaching some logical conclusions. It may be noted here two volumes of crucial evidence before the Hunter Committee were classified after the inquiry and so out of bounds to the scholars.

Situation in the Punjab was described as "revolutionary", rebellious, "insurrectionary" after Gandhi started circulating his *satyagraha* leaflets and two Punjab leaders attempted to explain *satyagraha* to their followers in small meetings. But the Hunter Commission and the Intelligence Bureau discounted the theory of conspiracy and rebellion.

The conduct of the officials are also important in this regard. Miles Irving, DM wanted to bring Amritsar to submission with the help of a big contingent of military.

Yet he left the entourage of Dyer midway on a totally false pretext. Nigel Collett writes that Irving was "absenting himself from an event he had no wish to see."[95] He therefore knew what was going to happen. He and his commissioner Kitchin who had been continuously prodding Army officers to fire on peaceful crowds, and got Major Macdonald transferred for not firing on a mourning crowd.

The people of Amritsar was never defiant even after the brutal firing on 10th. They obeyed authorities scrupulously.

The Hunter Committee have also discussed whether these events were in the nature of a rebellion as commonly understood that is a rising for the purpose of turning out the British Government and the result of an organized movement to that end. After referring to various opinions such as linkage with Bolshevism, with Egyptian revolutionaries, with Afghanistan etc. the Committee wrote, "The views were based on inferences from the natue of the occurrences themselves and no evidence of them is forthcoming." The committee then mentioned that the Chief Secretary of the Punjab had admitted in his statement before us that there was nothing more than conjectural

connection between the disturbances in the Punjab and the ferments in Egypt and Afghanistan or the Bolshevik influence."

The reaction of the officers were swift and clear. Immediately after the firing rebellion had vanished. Dyer claimed that his action at Jallianwala Bagh on 13th April had stopped insurrection in the Punjab. He was supported by O'Dwyer , who said, " I have no hesitation in saying that General Dyer's action that day was the decisive action in crushing the rebellion." Commissioner Kitchin was of opinion, "All independent opinion is united that the blow struck on 13th April at Amritsar saved the central Punjab from anarchy, loot and murder." Irving said "The effect of this was electric. The news ended all danger of further disturbances in the district." Lt. General Sir Havelock Hudson went a step further, "The result was that we had no more disturbances anywhere. The news of that was a very, very great factor in stopping disturbances all over India."

But neither of these high officials ever clarified why they called the incidents of 10th April, "insurrection", "rebellion" or "anarchy, loot or murder", when the Government of India called them disorder?

Yet terms such as "rebellion," "insurrection", "mutiny" and "war"had been frequently used with the objective of resurrecting the images of the Mutiny of 1857 and the terrible retribution that followed. As a matter of fact, the Home Government condoned the ghastly mass killings in the aftermath of the rebellion as, in their reckoning, such brutalities and massacres saved India for the British. Even subsequent to 1857 during the Kuka rebellion of 1877, the district magistrate ordered the slaughter of the captives without trial. No question was raised by anyone in the authority. On the same analogy it was presumed that the massacre and other acts of killing and humiliation would be approved and legitimized as they saved the Punjab for the Indian Empire. They could not have missed that the disorder had no ingredients of a rebellion or insurrection. C. R. Cleveland, the Director of Intelligence Bureau, by no means a dove among the bureaucrats, wrote unambiguously : "So far no traces of organized conspiracy have been found in the Punjab. There was organized agitation, and then in particular places the people went

mad." As regards the allegation of Bolshevism and linkages with Egyption revolutionaries, his comments were : "I have satisfied myself that they have no evidence worth the name to support the theory." And as such it was not the fear of Mutiny or rebellion which provoked the massacre. It was the colonial psyche of racial superiority and unbridled desire for total domination over the subject people who, in their biased reckoning, were unworthy of any democratic reform which the Home Government was contemplating to introduce soon. Suppression of their protest by brute force was the only way to retain India in the British Empire.

VIII. Nationalist Movement : A Defining Moment

While he was trying to reach the Punjab, Gandhi was arrested at Palwal, a border railway station in the night of 9-10 April under O'Dwyer's order and sent back to Bombay where he was confined in the city under order of the Government of India. On 18th April, 1919, a few days after the promulgation of Martial law in the Punjab, Gandhi announced, "It is not without sorrow that I feel compelled to advise the temporary suspension of Civil Disobedience. I give this advice not because I have less faith in its efficacy, but because, I have if possible greater faith than before. ...I am sorry that when I embarked upon a mass movement I underrated the forces of evil and I must now pause and consider how best to meet the situation."[96] He described his launching of the anti Rowlatt Bill movement as "Himalayan miscalculation."

The Indians outside the Punjab were in the dark about the nature and extent of the disorder on account of the censorship imposed by the O'Dwyer Government. While the mass killing at Jallianwala Bagh was vaguely known, the magnitude of the loss of life at Jallianwala Bagh, the news of other killings, insult, humiliation, torture etc were almost totally blacked out. Slowly however, the news of the massacre was trickling through the censorship net, with the casualty figure at Jallianwala Bagh being as large as one thousand. The nation was thunderstruck, though officially there was no confirmation.

Rabindranath was on tour to south India and Benares and returned to Santiniketan on 8th April, 1919.Before launching the Rowlatt Satyagraha Gandhi sought endorsement through the blessings and goodwishes from Dwijendranath Tagore and Rabindranath Tagore. Dwijendranath promptly sent his enthusiastic approval and gave his blessings. Gandhi asked his friend B. G. Horniman, editor of *Bombay Chronicle* to print the photocopy of Dwijendranath's letter with his photograph..

Although Rabindranath sent his blessings and best wishes for the movement, he, however, cautioned him. He wrote: "Dear Mahatmaji[97]. Power in all its forms is irrational; it is like the horse that drags the carriage blind-folded. The moral element in it is represented by the man who drives the carriage. Passive resistance is the force which is not moral in itself; it can be used against truth as well as for it. The danger inherent in all force grows stronger when it is likely to gain success; then it becomes temptation.

I know your teaching is to fight against the evil by the help of the good. But such a fight for heroes not for men led by impulses of the moment."[98]

The letter was given to the press from Tagore's side. Tagore with his foresight saw the pitfalls of the *satyagraha* movement.

He was also receiving information about the Punjab situation from various quarters. Barrister Eardly Norton was not allowed to enter the Punjab to defend Kalinath Roy, editor of *The Tribune* arrested under the Defence of India Act. Many eminent lawyers like Tej Bahadur Sapru were denied permission. Tagore moved Lord S.P.Sinha then Deputy to the Secretary of State[99]; his cables were received by Sinha but his efforts failed.

On return from south India with Rabindranath, Andrews spent a few days in Santiniketan; but the news of Punjab situation disturbed him and drew him to Delhi. Where he was briefed by his friend Principal S. K. Rudra of St. Stephen College and by the students from the Punjab. He wrote to Viceroy giving details of an eye-witness

account of flogging in Amritsar, and underscored "the loathing and the hatred against the oppressor that it engenders." He stated that "only the Viceroy could stop this horror." The same day (23rd April) the Viceroy dispatched a telegram to O'Dwyer and GOC, Lahore. That the whipping was having a bad effect on public opinion and "should be avoided as far as possible."[100] But it was not stopped; flogging as punishment under martial law continued.

Rabindranath was in correspondence with Andrews and was happy at the suspension of the Civil Disobedience movement in view of violence. He explained to Andrews in a letter (26th April) that what was needed was "fearlessness and Gandhi had lifted moral power above brute force. Gandhi's personality now shines before us with a greater glory than when his personality was blurred by the disturbances of his popularity."[101]

Andrews was determined to go to Punjab and see for himself what had happened. Six news paper editors applied to the Martial Law Administrator to admit Andrews as their representative. But he was not permitted. He then went up to Simla to see the Viceroy. But according to Andrews, Chelmsford remained "as cold as ice with me and full of racial bitterness."[102] About his visit to the Punjab Viceroy said that he had no objection; but it was subject to the permission of local authority. But at Amritsar station he was detained by police and though he saw the Martial Law Administrator and commissioner Katchin (a class fellow at Pembroke college) but compelled to return to Delhi. O'Dwyer informed Chelmsford, and wrote that a friend of Gandhi and a fervent admirer of Arya Samaj "could have a disturbing effect."[103]

In a letter to Andrews at Delhi, Rabindranath asked him to meet Gandhi with his proposal of offering *satyagraha* jointly by Gandhi and Tagore in the Punjab. Andrews met Gandhi and conveyed the request; but Gandhi did not agree. On return to Calcutta he conveyed Gandhi's reply to Rabindranath. "I do not want to embarrass the Government now." Rabindranath remained silent for sometime. In

the afternoon he went to C. R. Das with the request for convening a protest meeting. But Das, the clever barrister that he was, conveyed his unwillingness through a jugglery of semantics. Rabindranath then decided to protest in his own way. He wrote a letter to the Viceroy Chelmsford asking him to relieve him of the title of the Knighthood- a title given to him by the British Government. Before sending the letter he showed it, amongst others, to Charles Andrews, "who", according to Hugh Tinker,"urged him not to alter one syllable".Tinker has written: "Indeed its ringing tone still arouse awe when read today."[104]

It is needles to quote the letter as it is well-known and easily available. Its historical importance is undeniable. It was the first and the strongest indictment of the Government's diabolical actions in the Punjab. "It was a magnificent letter at a time when nobody was speaking."[105] It certainly instilled courage in the hearts of millions. "It was a powerful statement, but failed to make much of an impact and in the imperial metropolis it went particularly unheeded at the time. It was only later with the benefit of hindsight that Tagore was proven to have been rather more prescient in the denouncement than most Indian nationalists."[106]

Gandhi was, however, somewhat unwholesome in his comment. He wrote to S. Srinivasa Shastri on 6th June: "The Punjab horrors have produced a burning letter from the Poet. I personally think it is premature. But he cannot be blamed for it."[107]

In fact, Rabindranath Tagore had cautioned Gandhi in a letter dated 12th April, 1919, in reply to Gandhi's request for a message from the Poet on the eve of launching the movement. What Tagore wrote with great prescient was, in course of time, proved to be correct. He said, "passive resistance is a force which is not necessarily moral in itself; it can be used against truth as well as for it. The danger inherent in all force grows stronger when it is likely to gain success, for then it becomes temptation."

Gandhi stated in his letter that he wanted to fight evil with the help of the good. Tagore warned that "such a fight is for heroes, and

not for men led by impulses of the moment." This aspect of turning men into good soldiers, if not heroes, by educating them in the crucial principles of *satyagraha* did not claim much attention of Gandhi before he gave a call for *satyagraha* all over India.

In any case Gandhi called off the *satyagraha* on 18th April, by announcing, "not because I have less faith now in its (*satyagraha*) efficacy, but I have if possible greater faith than before. ...I underrated the forces of evil, now I pause and consider how best to meet the situation." In a letter to the Secretary of State he confessed "I had not the vaguest notion of the deep-seated and widespread anger against the Government."

The Congress leaders justifiably lost faith in the Hunter Committee, consisting of seven members, four white and three Indians. Chamanlal Setalvad, an Indian member, underscored the racial divide in the committee, "On occasions heated arguments led to unpleasantness between Indian and white members. Once Hunter insolently said "You people (meaning Indian members) want to drive the British out of the country."Setalvad retorted, "It is perfectly legitimate for Indians to wish to be free from foreign rule. ...The driving out process will become necessary if the British are represented in this country by men as short sighted and intolerant as yourself." Thereafter the Indian members and Hunter never talked to each other. Indian members submitted a minority report.

On October 16, 1919, the ban on Gandhi was lifted and he hastened to Amritsar to join the Congress Inquiry Committee consisting of leaders like Motilal Nehru, C.R.Das, Swami Sraddhananda, and Jawaharlal Nehru, Purusottam Das Tandon and C. F. Andrews acted as workers. M. M. Malviya. Abbas Tayabji, M. M. Jayakar joined later on. On this occasion Gandhi came to know the important leaders closely. He in fact met C. R. Das for the first time. Gandhi alone stayed in Punjab at a stretch for two months in 1919, and then again in short spells in 1920 on several occasions. He personally interviewed a good number of total 1700 victims examined by the Committee. His

questioning and recording of statements were searching and meticulous. He avoided all lurid and unproven details and allowed only admissible evidence as in a court of law. His undiminished energy, intellectual alertness, depth of understanding and method of work drew admiration from fellow members and elevated him to the position of their leader. Gandhi was on his silent and peaceful way to capture the Congress.

Besides, the enquiry might be called a personal watershed for him as "it turned him from a loyal citizen to an opponent of all its work." ..."I came across tales of Govrnment's tyranny and the arbitrary despotism of its officers such as I was hardly prepared for, and they filled me with deep pain."

The evident racist nature of the Hunter (Majority) report was a shock to the nation. The Congress condemned the report for racial bias reflected in its condoning serious acts of omission and commission. Still more distressing was the conduct of the press and the British people who hailed Dyer as savior of the Empire, and in gratitude they floated a public fund. The debate in Parliament was a dismal affair. There was no unambiguous condemnation of Dyer's action. On the contrary Montague came under fire for criticizing Dyer and expressing sympathy for the Indians. Eventually his political career came to an end for this sin.

Indian reaction to the blatantly racist attitude was to shun the western way of life. Anglophile Motilal Nehru burnt his British furniture and western clothes and vowed never again to imitate the western way of life. Gandhi's contemplated programme of spinning got an impetus from such developments. Indian acceptance of western culture and British way of life, though not halted , yet it was definitely slowed especially in the political circle. Much to the satisfaction of Gandhi Congress meetings started looking more and more Indian as far as the sartorial linguistic and other outward aspects were concerned. Besides in the face of such naked exhibition of callousness and hatred for Indian subjects, racial animosity smeared the freedom movement of both violent and non-violent variety.

All these years Gandhi was an empire-loyalist. In 1915 he said in Madras, "I discovered that the British Empire has certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, and one of those ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope possible for his energy and honour and whatever he thinks due to his conscience."

In 1919 the same Gandhi wrote: "To my amazement and dismay I have discovered that the present representatives of the Empire have become dishonest and unscrupulous. They have no regard for the wishes of the people of India and they count Indian honour as of little consequence. I can no longer retain affection for a government so evilly minded as it is now-a-days."

After the Punjab experience Gandhi had discovered another evil, which he did not suspect earlier. He would soon call the colonial government a "satanic government".

A letter to the Viceroy signaled a new turn in the freedom movement which Gandhi was ready to lead. "Your Excellency's light hearted treatment of official crime, your exoneration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Mr Montague's despatches, and above all your shameful ignorance of the Punjab events and callous disregard of the feelings betrayed by the House of Lords have filled me with the greatest misgivings regarding the future of the Empire, have estranged me completely from the present government and disabled me from tendering, as I have hitherto tendered my loyal cooperation."

The parting of ways marked the beginning of the end of British rule in India.

Notes

[1] Khuswant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*; Vol. II, P. 114-115. As a matter of fact, those races which were on the margin of Indian nationalism were selected as 'martial race'.

[2] Ibid, P 137.

[3] M.M.Ahluwaliah, *Kukas-Thr Freedom Fighters of the Punjab,* Allied Publishers, 1964, p. 54.

[4] Ibid, p. 76.

[5] Ibid: p. 78.

[6] Khuswant Singh, op.cit, p. 132.
[7] Ahluwalia, op.cit; p. 90.
[8] Ibid, p. 89.
[9] Ibid, p. 98.
[10] Khushwant Singh, Op.Cit. pp. 154-157.
[11] Kishen Singh was the father and Arjun Singh an uncle of Bhagat Singh. Kishen Singh was converted to a revolutionary ideology by Jatindra Nath Banerji who was a member of Sri Aurobindo's group.
[12] Michael O'Dwyer, *India As I Know it*, pp. 156-157.
[13] Nigel Collett, *The Butcher of Amritsar*, Rupa & Co., 2005, p.222.
[14] Michael O'Dwyer, op.cit. p.1: "In the Great Rebellion a Colonel Robert O'Dwyer fought for the King against the Parliament and held out to the end against Cromwell".
[15] Harcourt Butler's Letter dated 14th April 1919 to his mother, reproduced by Brown in his book *Gandhi's Rise to power*.. These lines quoted by Nigel Collet, op.cit p. 223.
[16] Michael O'Dwyer, *India As I Know (1885-1925)*; Constable & Company, 1925.
[17] Ibid: p. 129.
[18] James Campbell Ker, *Political Trouble in India*, Calcutta, 1917, Pp 362-365. Three accused namely Amir Chand, Abodh Bihari and Balmukund were sentenced to death. Basanta Kumar Biswas given transportation for life on consideration of young age.
[19] Michael O'Dwyer, op.cit: p. 132.
[20] Ibid, pp. 76-78.
[21] Ibid, pp. 194 -196.
[22] Michael O'Dwyer, Op.Cit, p.198.
[23] J. C. Ker, op.cit. p. 321-323.
[24] Rabindranath's letter to the Viceroy renouncing the Knighthood.
[25] Letter from the Chief Secretary of the Punjab to the Home Secretary, Government of India. Quoted by Kim. A. Wagnar in *Jallianwalla Bagh*, P.121
[26] Lala Hansaraj was the official approver. It may be recalled that it was Lala Hansaraj who accompanied Kitchlew and Satyapal to DM's bunglow on the morning of 10th April. It was he who came back and announced to the people how the two leaders had been arrested and whisked away to an unknown destination. He was with the crowd going to the civil Lines for submitting a prayer to DM. He was with the mob when it attacked the banks. He also announced that there would be a public meeting at Jallianwala Bagh on 13th April at 4 P.M, and when the troops arrived he was seen assuring the crowd that they would not fire. Later on he was suborned by the District Special Branch. And became an approver.

[27] V. N. Datta, *Jallianwala Bagh*, Ludhiana Lyall Book Deport; 1969, p. 131.
[28] *Hunter Committee Report*: p. 118.
[29] *CWMG (Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi)*, Vol. 20, Chapter-II, p. 133.
[30] Nigel Collet: op.cit, p. 223.
[31] Ibid; p. 224.
[32] *Disorder Inquiry Committee Report* (1919-1920); pp. 132-133.
[33] Ram Chandra Guha, *The years that Changed the World*, Penguin's, 2018, p. 79.
[34] Kim A. Wagner, *Jallianwala Bagh*, Penguin, 2019. p. 62.
[35] It may be recalled that in 1909 only a few days before his arrival in London Sir Curzon Willie was shot dead dy Madan Lal Dhingra. Gandhi was shocked. He wrote strongly condemning the murder in his *Indian Opinion* published from South Africa. Gandhi wrote that Indians abhor violence.
[36] Ibid, p. 56.
[37] Quoted by Kim Wagner, op.cit, p. 58.
[38] Ibid, p. 59.
[39] Nigel Collett, op.cit, p. 231.
[40] Statement of Irving before the Hunter Committee; quoted by Kim Wagner, op.cit, p. 107.
[41] Ibid, p. 103.
[42] Report of the Disorder Inquiry Committee, Calcutta, 1920, p. 40.
[43] Captain Massey's evidence, p. 28. "A total of 73 shots were fired on 10th April at the bridges and this includes the earlier shooting by the mounted picket under Lt. Dickie, Quoted by Kim Wagner, p. 103.
[44] Kim Wagner, op.cit: p. 105.
[45] Ibid, p. 106.
[46] Ibid, p. 105.
[47] Statement of Pandit Swarup Narain; Quoted by Kim Wagner, op.cit, p. 107.
[48] Nigel Collet, op.cit. p.
[49] Kin Wagner, op.cit. p. 107.
[50] Ghulam Hossein, Statement before the police on 25th April, 1919. Judicial Department File; quoted by Kim Wagnar, op.cit; p. 108
[51] Statement of Nelie Benjamin, quoted by both Nigel Collet and Kim Wagner. Pages and 93 respectively.
[52] Times, 28th May, 1924; and Law Reports, 27th May,1919, High Court of Justice.
[53] Statement of Miss Sherwood, given on 26th April, 1919.
[54] Nigel Collet, op.cit, p. 334.
[55] Disorder Inquiry Committee Report , Calcutta, 1919, p. 2.
[56] Irving's statement before the Committee.
[57] Kim Wagner, p. 113.

[58] Kim Wagner : op.cit, p. 117.

[59] Nigel Collette, op.cit, p. 230.

[60] Kim Wagner, op.cit, p.

[61] Nigel Collet, op.cit, p. 239-240.

[62] Ibid, p. 237.

[63] On 11th April evening when General Beynon was asking Lt.Col Morgan to take charge of Amritsar, Brig. Dyer at Jullundur, briefed his son about the security of the house, met commissioner of Jullundur and left for Amritsar in his car.In his fictionalized history, *Jallianwala Bagh* has written that O'Dwyer phoned up Dyer at Jullundur and asked him to take charge of Amritsar. Dyer agreed to do so. The way O'Dwyer had defended Dyer throughout the latter's lifetime, it is obvious that he had been discharging some moral obligation to Dyer.

[64] Rudyard Kipling has immortalized the massacre in a bizarre poem "The Grave of the Hundred Heads."

[65] This in fact was the motto in all his operations along the North West Frontier.

[66] Dyer's career has been dealt with in detail by Nigel Collet though he has not drawn such a conclusion.

[67] One interesting thing may be noted here. The Hunter Committee held one Dy Sp and one Inspector responsible for not taking timely action to save the situation on 10th. But the fact they were only "reserve and had no orders for action on their own." Why the Humter Committee did not invoke the law to say that it was the responsibility of the District Magistrate to ensure total dispersal of the unlawful assembly, and not to stop after opening fire and killing 25 people?

[68] Nigel Collette, op.cit. p. 237.

[69] Nigel Collette, op.cit. p. 240.

[70] Ibid, p. 241.

[71] Statements of Dyer and Irving before the Hunter Committee. Nigel Collet, op.cit, p. 242-243.

[72] It may be noted that neither Irving nor Kitchin was conversant with the rules in this regard. It was not within their competence to surrender their powers to an army officer, unless of course the district was under martial law.

[73] *Hunter Report*, Vol. III, p. 129

Question: In other words you considered that the war was being waged against the Crown and that you had a right to anticipate the proclamation of martial law.

Ans: Yes, Sir.

[74] *Report of the Hunter Committee,* vol. iii, page 128; evidence of Brigadiar

General Dyer.

[75] The relevant paragraph of the proclamation was:
"No procession of any kind is permitted in the city or outside at any time. Any such procession or any gathering of four men will be looked upon and treated as an unlawful assembly and dispersed by force of arms if necessary.

[76] The quotations are taken from Kim Wagner, op.cit, p. 140-141.

[77] As a matter of fact the Jallianwala Bagh meeting was fully covered by the agents of the District Intelligence Branch."Plain cloth policemen including the CID Inspector Jawahar Lal mingled with the people, two of them were even seen talking with the organizers of the meeting. Three policemen set up an observation post, in a house overlooking the Bagh. Nigel Collet, op.cit. p. 254.

[78] Nigel Collet, op.cit, p. 266.

[79] Nigel Collet, op. cit, p. 267.

[80] Captain Mc Callum an officer of Dyer's regiment claimed that Dyer took the idea from a soldier who had forced a man to cross the lane on all fours.

[81] Kim Wagner, op.cit; p. 195.

[82] M. O'Dwyer, op.cit, p. 123.

[83] Nigel Collett, op.cit, p. 275-278.

[84] Kim Wagner, op.cit. p. 201.

[85] Ibid, p. 202.

[86] After the Inquiry these two volumes were treated as classified documents and as such not available to the public. Now however, they are in Simla Archives.

[87] *Young India* dated 20.8.1919 also see *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. 18, pp. 301-314.

[88] Derek Sayer, *British Reaction to Amritsar Massacre : 1919-1920*, Download from past.oxfordjournals.org

[89] Derek Sayer, *British Reaction to Amritsar Massacre : 1919-1920*, Download from past.oxfordjournals.org

[90] Kim Wagner, op.cit; p. 223.

[91] Ibid, p. 225.

[92] Derek Sayer, *British Reaction to Amritsar Massacre,* Website quoted above.

[93] Quoted by Derek Sayer.

[94] Nigel Collett: op.cit, p.

[95] Gandhi : Essential Writing: Ed. G.K.Gandhi, p. 209.

[96] This is for the first time that Gandhiji was addressed by another eminent person in public. In the Satyagraha leaflets he was often mentioned as Mahatma Gandhi but he was not well known as Mahatmaji or Mahatma Gandhi.

[97] The Mahatma and the Poet: Ed. Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, pp. 47-51.

[98] Prasanta K. Pal: RabiJibani, Vol, p.

[99] Hugh Tinker: The Ordeal of Love: C.F. Andrews and India, Oxford. 1979, p. 152-153.

[100] Ibid: p. 154.

[101] Ibid: p. 155.

[102] Ibid, p. 153.

[103] Ibid, p. 156. In Prasanta Pal's *Robi-Jibani* there is just the opposite version of the conversation. Amal Hom has written: "Mr. Andrews told me (Hom) on 30th May morning when Tagore showed him the letter then he asked Rabindranath to tone down the letter. At this the poet gave him such a look as I had not seen in the eyes of Gurudev before and after." In view of what Andrews had done for India during the Punjab disturbances, such a request could not have come from Andrews.This appears to be a canard. The conversation mentioned by Hugh Tinker is more in consonance with Andrews' attitude and character.

[104] Hugh Tinker: op.cit; p. 156.

[105] Kim Wagner: op.cit; p. 214.

[106] CWMG Vol. 19, pp. 28.

Journal of the Asiatic Society. Science.
Volume XVII, No. 1, 1951.

THE INDIAN ABORIGINES AND THEIR ADMINISTRATION[1]

By Dr. B. S. Guha, M.A., Ph.D. (Harvard), F.N.I., F.R.A.S.B.

Abstract

The aboriginal population of India may be divided into 3 distinct zones, namely a North-Eastern, a Central and a Southern Zone consisting roughly about 25 million population. The exact figure is uncertain as the 1941 Census estimates are not accurate. In the North-Eastern Zone are included the tribes living in the Sub-Himalayan region, the contiguous parts of Assam and the North-East Frontiers of India which stretched up to Bay of Bengal in undivided India. These tribes, again, can be divided into 3 distinct groups, namely those living in the Sub-Himalayan region like the Lepchas of Darjeeling district. Then there is a middle group inhabiting the Central Massif. The northern and eastern frontiers of Assam, comprise the Balipara, Sadiya, Abor, Tirap and the Naga administrative tracts. The Naga tribes are ethnically analogous and actually merge into the tribes living across the frontiers in the Hukwang Valley of Northern Burma, such as the Htangan, the Rangpan and the Haimi Nagas. Further below we have the Kukis, the Chins, the Lushais and the Hill Tipperahs. In the Central Zone the largest concentration of aboriginal tribes occurs, stretching across the country from the spurs and slopes of Vindhya, Satpura, Mahadeo-Maikal and the Ajanta lines, to the Eastern Ghats. Chief among these tribes are the Munda, the Gond, the Santal, etc. The Southern Zone which falls below latitude 16° north comprises such tribes as Chenchus, etc. These tribes are not only geographically separated but can be divided also on ethnical and linguistic grounds. In the Southern Zone their original language has been given up and they speak mostly broken forms of Tamil, Malayali and Telegu languages and are generally primitive, living on food gathering and hunting. There is an appreciable element of Negrito racial type among this group. In the Central Zone the tribes generally are Austro-Asiatic speaking, though in some cases they have adopted Dravidian and Aryan languages. Among these tribes, the communal life is better organized with village councils under a headman, and acculturation has proceeded very far. In the North-Eastern Zone the tribes show characteristic Mongoloid features and among many like those between the borders of Assam and Tibet, e.g. the Mishmis, the Abors, the tribal organization is almost in tact. The same is true of the Naga tribes, the Kuki-chin group, etc.

The administration of the aboriginal people is a very difficult problem, for on the one hand it is a mistake to keep them completely isolated, as isolation leads to stagnation and decay. On the other hand, indiscriminate contact is also harmful to the tribes, as is shown by the rapid depopulation of the primitive tribes in Australia, Melanesia and U.S.A. The correct policy of administration should safeguard the tribal integrity and social organization at the same time evolving ways and means of gradual adjustment of the tribal population to changed conditions and slow integration in the general life of the country without undue and hasty disruptions. The healthy, vigorous and colourful life of the aboriginal population should not be substituted for a life of emasculation and stagnation in the name of reform and progress.

Introduction

Among the people of India there are a number of tribes who still are in a very primitive state of existence, subsisting on hunting, fishing and forest produce or by simple forms of agriculture. The term 'aboriginal' was usually applied to them, but Prof. G. S. Ghurye[2] in a recent publication has questioned the correctness of the expression. In his opinion, 'the question as to who are the earliest settlers of India remains still open.

[1] This paper was prepared under the instructions of Mr. V. P. Menon, Secretary (Public) to His Excellency the Governor-General of India and submitted to the Government in 1946. The views expressed here are those of the author only and not of the Government.

[2] Ghurye, G. S., 'The Aborigines—"so called" and their future.' Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pub. No. 11, Poona, 1943.

Under the circumstances it is hardly right to speak of the tribes as aborigines.'[1] Again, 'science and history do not countenance the practice of calling these tribes aborigines.'[2]

It is true, as Prof. Ghurye remarks, that 'the internal movements' of all these tribes are not known, nor that all of them have been occupants of their present habitats. We know, for instance, that the Oraons and Mal Paharias of Chota Nagpur, migrated from southern parts in comparatively later years, and the penetration of the Kukis into the Assam hills has continued up to the present times.[3] But there is no evidence to show that their presence in the country as a whole is recent. On the contrary their distribution in marginal areas and inaccessible forests and mountain tracts suggest an ancient history on the analogy of the well-known zoological law that older forms of animals survive today in marginal regions. From ancient Sanskritic records it is also clear that when the Aryan speaking Vedic immigrants came to India, they encountered 'people of dwarfish stature with flattened features and complexion of a charred stake'—a description that fits them very closely—having as their abode 'hills and forests and the Vindhya mountains, such as the Nisadas, Kiratas Billas, Nahalakas, Bhramaras and Pulindas'.[4] Similarly there are references in old Tamil literature to the subjugation of nomadic wild tribes such as the Kurumbar by Karikal Chola, who found them in occupation of parts of the Tamilakan,[5] and of such tribes as the Villavar (Kanarese Billavar) and Minavar who lived in the hills and jungles and were considered to be the oldest known inhabitants of that area.[6]

The Oxford Dictionary gives the meaning of the word 'aborigines' as 'first inhabitants or those found in possession by colonists'. Even if there may be doubts about these tribes being the first inhabitants of India, there is no reason why the term should not be applied to them in the latter sense, as they were found already in occupation of the country when the Aryan and the Dravidian speaking peoples first came in contact with them.

The total number of aboriginal population as estimated in the Census of 1931, the first to take their Census since 1891, was 22,407,492 excluding those that are largely detribalized, e.g., the Kuruba of Mysore among whom only 12 thousand out of a total population of over 2½ lacs returned themselves as tribal, or nomadic tribes of the type of the Banjara or Kaikadi, who are not really primitive. This figure is only approximate, for due to close contiguity and contact a considerable portion of tribes like the Bhils, Kols and Gonds merge imperceptively into the Hindu community and are very difficult to separate. Of this grand total, a little over one-third, or roughly eight and a quarter millions conform to tribal institutions, more or less intact, and the rest show acculturation in varying degrees.

Distribution of Tribes

Broadly speaking there are three distinct zones in which the tribal people of India can be divided, namely: (1) a North-Eastern Zone, (2) a

---

[1] Ghurye, G. S., *op. cit.*, p. 13. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

[3] Hutton, J. H., 'Assam Origins in relations to Oceania.' Presi. Address, British Association, Section H, p. 176–77, Nov. 1937.

[4] Chanda, R. P., 'The Indo-Aryan Races', which gives an excellent summary of the accounts of these tribes in the Vedic and Pauranic literatures, pp. 4–6, Rajshahi, 1916.

[5] Kanakasabhai, V., 'The Tamils Eighteen Hundred years ago,' p. 67 and 28, Madras, 1904.

[6] *Loc. cit.*, p. 39.

Central Zone, and (3) a Southern Zone. In addition there are a few scattered tribes who have been isolated from the main bodies; and there are also groups in the high mountain tracts of North-Western Himalayas, such as the Chiangpa and Ladhaki of Kashmir and the Lahouli and Jaunsari to their south-east, who, though keeping their tribal institutions intact and retaining several archaic features, can by no means be called ethnically primitive. In the first or North-Eastern Zone there are roughly three million people comprising such tribes as the Gurung, Limbu, Lepcha, Aka, Dafla, Miri, Abor, Mishmi, Khamti, Singpho, Mikir, Rabha, Kachari, Khasi, Garo, the Naga tribes and the Kuki-Lushai, Lakher, Chakma, etc. These tribes are scattered over a very large area in the Sub-Himalayan region and the mountainous areas of Assam and North-Eastern India merging gradually into those of Burma and southern Yunnan, from which no strict line of demarcation either from the geographical or ethnical standpoints can be drawn. They form, on the whole, a compact block and with minor interruptions are continuous along the whole of the North-Eastern Frontiers of India.

Those who inhabit the Sub-Himalayan region are the Gurung and the Limbu of eastern Nepal and the Lepcha of Sikkim. The Rava, Mech and the Kachari live in the Goalpara, Kamrup and Darrang districts, and with the Garo, Khasi and Mikir, who occupy the Central Massif separating the Brahmaputra from the Surma Valley, constitute an inner ring whose outer perimeter is formed by the tribes living in the hinterland between Assam and Tibet, and in the valleys and mountain ranges that divide India from Burma.

There are three specially defined areas for the administration of these tribes known as the Balipara, Sadiya and Tirap Frontier Tracts. The first two are on the north and north-eastern borders of Assam and extend up to the McMohan line, fixed by the Simla Convention of 1914 as the provisional boundary between Assam and Tibet.[1] The tribes living here are the Aka, Dafla and the Miri on the west of the Subansiri river; between it and the Dihang (as the upper waters of the Brahmaputra are called) are the Galong and the Minyong and between the Dihang and the Dibong are the Padam, Pangi and the Pasi tribes of the Abor group.

The Mishmis with their sub-tribes occupy the whole country from the Dibong to the Lohit river, along which also runs the trade-route to Rima and Tibet; the Chulikata and the Bebejiyas living on the western, and the Digaru and Meju on the eastern parts. Further east, stretching towards Burma, but within the Sadiya Frontier Tract are to be found the Khamtis and somewhat south-west of them, the Singphos. The Tirap Frontier Tract, which was separated from the Sadiya in 1942, lies below it and was named after the Tirap river, a tributary of the Brahmaputra, is chiefly inhabited by the Rangpan Nagas. It is through this territory that the Ledo road, running through the Hukawang Valley to Yunnan was constructed during the war. From here as far south as Manipur and extending westwards beyond the Dhansiri up to the Rengma Hills in Golaghat district lies the home of the Naga tribes, which on the east includes the valleys and mountain ranges up to the Patkoi and across it to the western parts of the Hukawang Valley of Northern Burma.

The Nagas are divided into five major groups of which the northern branch include the Rangpan and the Konyak; the western, the Rengma Sema and the Angami; the Central, the Ao, Lhota, Phom, Chang, Sangtam

---

[1] Reid, Sir Robert, 'The Excluded Areas of Assam,' *The Geographical Magazine*, p. 19, Vol. CIII, 1944, London.

and the Yimtsungar; the Southern, the Kacha and the Kabui Naga, and the Eastern, the Tangkhul and the Kalyo-Kengu. Of these, large sections of the Rangpan, Konyak, Kalyo-Kengu and some settlements of the Chang, Sangtam, Yimtsungar, the naked Rengmas and Tangkhuls live in the unadministered areas on high mountain ranges on Assam borders which merge imperceptively into the independent Naga territory of Burma, extending as far as the western edge of the Hukawng Valley, and between the northern spurs of the Patkoi, down to the southern base of the Sangpum Bum where the Namphuk Hka joins the Tanai Hka (Upper Chindwin). Within this wild mountain tract the most important Naga tribes are the Htangan, who live on the west of the Namphuk Hka, the Wanga and the Pyenod Nagas towards the south, and the Rangpan and Haimi, in the north and centre of the Triangle. All of them are inveterate head-hunters and it is among the Rangpan and the Haimi that human sacrifice still persists.[1]

South of the Naga Hills is the State of Manipur and towards the west, the 'excluded area' of North Cachar, along the fringe of which the Naga settlements continue. Around Dimapur (the ancient capital of Cachar), however, the Kacharis are still found, and Mikir villages leading on to the Mikir hills of Nowgong and Sibsagar. From Manipur the tribal territory extends through the Lushai Hills, the hilly parts of Tipperah and the Chittagong Hill tracts into the Arakan Yoma ranges, which finally culminate at Cape Negrais. This part is really the westward extension of the Chin Hills of Burma. The tribes that occupy it are the Kukis, the Chins, the Lushais, the Lakhers, the Hill Tipperahs, the Chakmas and the Maghs, who are either overflows of tribes from across the frontiers or are closely linked with them. In fact, along the entire North-Eastern Frontiers of India there is no clear line of demarcation between Assam and Burma as far as the Chindwin river. From the northern spurs of the Patkoi to the southern tips of the Chin Hills, the entire tract forms a single geographical and ethnical unit closely knit in race and culture.

Separated from the North-Eastern Zone by the Gangetic plains is the central mountain barrier that divides the Northern from the Peninsular India, and has provided a refuge for the aboriginal inhabitants from times immemorial. The tribes living in this territory occupy the spurs and slopes of the ranges of the Vindhya, Satpura, Mahadeo-Maikal and the Ajanta lines stretching across the country and joining the Western with the Eastern Ghats, with subsidiary hills as far north-west as the Aravalli and southward into the forests and uplands of the Nizam's eastern dominions. This mountain belt, roughly between the Narbada and the Godavari, contains the largest assemblage of India's aboriginal tribes forming in many cases compact blocks continuous with each other.

On the easternmost portion of this territory, the Rajmahal Hills which forms a wedge of the plateau into the Purnea, Malda and Murshidabad plains, contain the Malpaharia or the Sauria Paharia tribe, who appear to be the eastern outpost of the Oraons or at least very closely related to them. They are found in the Godda, Pakur and Dumka sub-divisions.[2]

Somewhat to their south-west in the Santal Parganas are the Santals who are spread over the entire Chota Nagpur plateau from Palamau to Singhbhum and in recent years have overflowed into the 'Barind' (quasi-laterite formations) on the border districts of Bengal from Dinajpur to

---

[1] Dewar, T. B., Confidential Report on the Naga Hills (Burma) Expedition for the abolition of Human Sacrifice during 1926-27.

[2] Sarkar, S. S., *The Malers of the Rajmahal Hills*, Calcutta, 1938.

Midnapur (they are the largest tribe in India). Side by side with them live two other widely known primitive tribes, namely, the Oraons, whose habitat extends from the Sarguja and Jashpur States of C.P. to the western and Central portions of Ranchi, and the Mundas who occupy the southern parts of the same district. On the north-eastern parts of Chota Nagpur along the highlands running from Ramgarh through Ormanjhi, Angara and Ranchi to the Manbhum district are found the Birhors. There are two other important tribes who live on the eastern outskirts of the plateau, namely, the Hos and Bhumij of Singhbhum and Manbhum, who have penetrated further south into the Orissa hills, and as Hill Bhuiyas occupy the wooded hills in the interior of Keonjhar, Bonai and Pal Lahara around the junction of these three States along with the very primitive and shy Juangs, the two between them occupying a contiguous land in these States, principally in the hills along the upper catchment of the Baitarini river.

Extending from the Simlipal range in Mayurbhanj to Singhbhum and Manbhum on the Bengal borders across the Chota Nagpur plateau, as far as Jashpur, Raigarh and Bilaspur in C.P., are found the widely scattered Kharias. On their south, in the hilly tract known as the Khondmahals, in the Angul district of Orissa, is the home of the erstwhile human sacrificing Khonds.

Further south in Koraput and its adjoining hill districts there are a number of little known tribes such as the Godabas, Bondos and Dires and on the edge of the Eastern Ghats in the Ganjam, Vizagapatam and East Godavari districts there live the Savaras and the Koyas.

In the middle and western portions of the central mountain belt the chief and the most numerous tribes are the Kols or Koli, the Bhils and the Gonds. Of these, the Kols have extended from their original home in Kolhan, near Chaibasa in the Singhbhum district, over a large part of the plateau of Chota Nagpur and Central India as far north as the Mirzapur district in U.P., and to the slopes of the Western Ghats in Bombay as far as Nasik and Ahmednagar.

The Bhils occupy the western ranges of the Vindhya and the Satpura and are found throughout the Malwan plateau in the States of Ratlam, Dhar, Jhabu, Barwani and Indore. On the west they have extended as far as the Aravalli hills and from the Panchmahals in Gujrat to Nasik and Thana. Other tribes living on the foothills and forested tracts of the Western Ghats are the Dubla and the Dhodia who live in Surat and Thana, the Varli and the Katkari who extend from West Khandesh to Nasik and Thana and the Thakurs who occupy northern Konkan and Thar.

The Gonds, the former rulers of Gondwana or the land of the Gonds, as a large portion of the Central Indian plateau was formerly known, are now found in two main tracts, namely: (i) the wide belt of forests and broken hills south of the Satpura-Mahadeo line from Betul to Mandla, and (ii) the territory extending from the southern parts of the Chattisgarh plains to Adilabad in Hyderabad including large portions of the Chanda district and the States of Kankar and Bastar.

Besides these three, there are a number of smaller tribes like the Korku, who live on both sides of the Satpura range within the districts of Namur, Hoshangabad, Betul and Chindwara, and the Agaria and the Pardhan (a branch of the Gond), who are found chiefly in the Maikal Hills. The Baiga is another very primitive tribe, who are found principally in the Mandla district from the hills bordering on the Narbada in the Rewa State along the entire Maikal range from Amarkantak to the Seletekri hills.

South of the Central Provinces, in the hills and uplands of the Kankar and Bastar States, the furthest penetration is found of the Central Indian

aboriginal tribes, of which the Murias live in the Kondagaon and Antagarh districts, the Hill Marias in the picturesque Abujhmar Hills and the Bison-horn Marias near Dentewara in the Indravati valley.

The plateau of Peninsular India is roughly divided along latitude 16° by the course of the Kistna river which cuts deeply into the rocks and forms the natural geographical frontier separating the northern from the southern portion. Into this region falls the third major zone of India's aboriginal population who sought and obtained shelters in the deep forests and mountain spurs of the marginal areas. All along the converging main lines of the Eastern and Western Ghats, broken by river valleys and their escarpments, are concentrated the chief groups of these tribes. Beginning from the north-east, the Chenchus occupy the arc of the Nallaimallais in Guntur and Karnool districts, though a small body has now moved across the Kistna into the Farhabad Hills of the Hyderabad State.

Another branch of this tribe[1] known as the Yanadis occupy the eastern spurs of these hills in the Nellore district. Along the Western Ghats, the northernmost tribe is the Koraga of South Kanara. South of them in the lower slopes of the Coorg hills are found the Yeruvas. A little towards the east and the south, on the slopes of the Biligirirangan Hills on the borders of the Mysore State, are the Sholagas who stretch southwards to the jungles of the Coimbatore district.

South of Mysore, the top of the scarp formed by the meeting of the two Ghats and known as the Nilgiris or the blue mountains, is the home of a large number of tribes. The plateau of the Nilgiris of about 500 sq. miles is occupied by the Todas, Badagas and the Kotas whose economic lives are closely interlinked. The jungles and slopes of these hills are inhabited by the Irulas who occupy the north-eastern parts, the Kurumbas who are on the western fringes extending north-west into Wynaad and Ernad taluks of Malabar, and the Paniyans who inhabit the Mudanad, Cherangod and Namblakod amshams of the Nilgiris district, and Kurumbanad and Kottayam taluks of Wynaad, which skirt the base of the Ghats.

Below the Palghat Gap, the Annamallai Hills contain the home of the Kadars who are spread over the interior of the hill and along its southern ranges into the States of Cochin and Travancore. Another jungle tribe, the Malsers or Malayans live at the foot of these hills.

From the Cardamom hills to the south-western extremity of the Travancore State, throughout the uplands and mountain valleys, there are a number of other aboriginal tribes besides the Kadars and the Pulayans, who have overflowed from the upper contiguous tracts as far as the neighbouring districts. Of the latter, the Mudavan, Mannan and the Urali inhabit the north-eastern, the Hill Pantaram the Central, and the Kanikar and the Mal-Vadan the southern sections. The Thanda Pulayan (who are now detribalized) and the Mala-Kuravan occupy the western fringes of the hills extending up to the coast.

In addition to these three major zones, there are groups of other folks scattered over the country or within the Indian political sphere. Of these, the Andamanese and the Nicobarese who live in the islands bearing their names in the Bay of Bengal, though now separated from the main body of India's aboriginal tribes, are ethnically connected with them. The rest, though called tribal, mostly living on the north-western and northern mountain valleys on the frontiers of India, are not aboriginal in any sense

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. VII, p. 416.

of the term. They are either overflows of Tibetan people from the adjoining Tibetan territories like the Chiangpa, Brokpa and the Ladakhi of the upper Indus valley and the Lahouli a little to their south-east, or like the Jaunsaris of Jaunsar-Bowar, Balti, Machnopa and the Dardi of Northern Kashmir and the Kati and the Khalash tribes of Chitral Kaffiristan, are really remnants of very early waves of 'Aryan' immigration from Central Asia, and who have long been isolated in these mountain valleys and retain in a large measure several archaic institutions but racially of purer types than Indians of the plains. The Burish of Hunza, though racially akin to the Dardic group speak an un-Indian language whose exact affinity has not yet been determined.

Linguistic and Cultural Divisions

When one considers these tribal zones as a whole they are found to be separated not only geographically but also on the basis of language and culture, although there are certain common traits due either to contact or as elements of their original institutions.

To begin with, in the *Southern Zone*, which is numerically the smallest, tribal life is extremely backward and there are in it some who are the most primitive of the aboriginal population in India. As happens among people of very simple culture, the tribal languages have altogether vanished and they now speak languages borrowed from their neighbours. Thus, the Chenchus living in the heart of Andhra speak a corrupt form of Telegu, the Pulayans of Tamil, the Kadars, Uralis, Kanikars, etc. of Malayali and the Yeruvas and Kurumbas mostly Kanarese. What their original languages were, either having affinity with Indian languages or related to someone outside, like that of the Andamanese, it is difficult to guess. Careful investigations by trained linguists may yet discover from preserved forms and vocabularies, important evidence, but Indian scholars have not so far shown any interest in this line, although the lead was given by Prof. M. B. Emaneau of California in his recent studies among the tribes of the Nilgiris.

The basis of tribal life in this zone has centred round hunting and food gathering in a state of semi-nomadism. Agriculture was unknown in any form and the sole implements for digging roots and tubers were a bill-hook and the digging stick. Weapons of any kind, even bows and arrows, did not exist and life depended on forest products, collection of honey and fruits of the chase, birds that could be caught and small animals trapped. In this respect they are inferior even to the Andamanese who possess powerful weapons such as spears, harpoons and bows and arrows and know the use of outrigger (single) canoe. Fire was made by friction or by a drill and originally the wearing apparel consisted only of an apron made of leaves as was found among the Malavetan as late as 1882 or grass skirt as is still seen among the Thanda Pulayans.

All sources of authority were vested in the village headman, who adjudicated disputes and performed the rituals of the hunt. The tribal structure was on the basis of dual organization. The Kadars, Pulayans, Mudavans and the Hill Pantarams exemplify this culture in its present form, as also the Chenchus, although they have learnt the use of bow and arrow. Others like the Uralis, Mannans, Muttavans, Kanikars and Kurumbas now practise shifting cultivation either of ragi or rice, but the bill-hook is still used for clearing the jungle and the digging stick for sowing. The elaborate rituals of the hunt are still the major features of their life and the gathering of honey and trapping of animals, their occupation.

Matriarchy forms the basis of family life and the Marumakkathayam law determines inheritance. This is shown clearly in the tribes living on the Western Ghats, but even among those like the Kadars and Chenchus, who have come under outside influence, there are unmistakable traces of matriarchy, as for instance, among the Kadars though the son is the natural beneficiary, the Mooppanship (the office of the headman) goes to the sister's son.[1]

Apart from patriarchal customs there are some other institutions, like the use of blow gun and terraced cultivation among the Multhuvans of Anjanad, which were probably due to Malay influence.[2]

The occurrence of bachelors' and spinsters' dormitories among the Kanikkar,[3] Malthuvans,[4] the development of a village council and even that of a tribal chief, Met-Vaka among the latter, are other features which have subsequently developed from contact. There are also evidence of polyandry[5] among the tribes on the Western coast from the Paliyan, Ullatan and Malayaran, extending up to the Irulas of the Nilgiris.

Barring the group on the higher plateau of the Nilgiri hills who forms a corporate unit with the pastoral Todas as the centre, the entire body of South Indian tribes is at basis one single ethnic whole with local variations and developments that had taken place subsequently due to contact-metamorphism. (Plate I, figs. 1–3 and 5-6; Plate II, figs. 1, 2 and 4).

In the *Central Division*, on the other hand, the tribes have in the main, retained their original languages belonging to the Austric family with the exception of the Bhils and the Kol, who now speak Aryan, and the Gond, Khond, the Oraon and the Malpaharia, Dravidian, after having abandoned their ancestral tongues. The branch of the Austric family to which these languages belong, was first isolated by Max Muller in 1854 and named by him 'Munda', but whose affiliation to that widely distributed family of languages which covers a large part of Eastern Asia and Oceania, has been due chiefly to Prof. P. W. Schmidt, who named it after his native country, 'Austric'. In Central India it extends as far west as the Western Ghats but it did not penetrate beyond the Godavari on the South. It is an 'agglutinative' language and its characteristic features are the extraordinary development of 'suffixes' and 'inflexes' and absence of masculine and feminine genders (excepting Khasi), objects being distinguished according as they are animate or inanimate. Neither does it possess the real 'verb', factors which are obstacles in the development and expression of thought.

These tribes are on higher stages of culture than the southern aborigines. Although, as among the Juangs of the Keonjhar and Pal Lahara, the dress consisted originally only of a girdle of beads and aprons made of leaves, bark cloth appeared to be the usual dress as it is still worn among some of the southern Orissa tribes. Instead of the typical food gatherers' life, shifting cultivation is the prevalent form of food production, and the hoe and the axe have taken the place of the digging stick and the bill-hook as chief implements, though the latter survive among the wilder sections of the tribes in the interior. Terracing is widely practised and where contact has been closer, as among the Bhuiyas of Bonai, even plough cultivation is not unknown now-a-days.

---

[1] Govinda Menon, K., 'The Kadars of Cochin', *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Part III, p. 214.

[2] Hutton, J. H., 'Tour Notes', *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[3] Krishna Iyer, L. A., *Travancore Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, p. 9, 1939.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 5.

[5] *Loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 100–101.

Among these tribes the houses are more solidly built and the life is more settled with developments of arts and crafts, such as basketry, wood carving and implements of different kinds, etc. Communal life is better organized with village councils (Panchayats) under the village headman. In the more advanced tribes like the Santal there is in addition, a 'Dihri' or district court for adjudicating inter-village affairs and a Supreme Council of the tribe—the Hunt Council, for deciding matters concerning the whole tribe elected on purely democratic lines.[1]

Marriage by capture was the usual practice and Ghiskar-lijana, as the Bhils call it, is still indulged in by them. Relationship is determined on the classificatory basis and inheritance according to patriarchal principles.

The whole social life of the tribe centres round the bachelors' dormitory or 'Dhumkaria', and in most cases there are separate dormitories for boys and girls. Among the Murias of Bastar, the dormitory or the Ghotul is shared by both boys (cheliks) and girls (motiaris). They do mostly fagging for the village, and duties are apportioned and discipline strictly enforced.

Folk dancing and music are popular and there is a considerable development of poetry and songs. (Plate I, fig. 4 ; Plate II, fig. 3).

Religion is mostly propitiation of spirits by means of sacrifice and the practice of magic and witchcraft is widespread, but the conception of a Supreme Being is not unknown. The megalithic cult is present among some like the Tadvi Bhils of Satpura range and the tribes of Palamau, who still raise rough stone monuments over their dead. Human sacrifice associated with fertility cults, such as was current among the Khonds, was largely practised at one time. But head hunting as an institution was unknown and the tribal life was not organized on war basis.

With regard to the *North-Eastern Zone*, all the tribes speak languages belonging to the Tibeto-Chinese family. It was essentially an isolating or monosyllabic language, but among the Tibeto-Burman branch, to which the majority of the tribal languages of Assam and Burma belong, the agglutinative principle has now superseded the isolating. The characteristic features of these languages are that they do not have the 'real verb' and are able to express concrete ideas only and are not good media for expressing abstract conceptions or higher thoughts—a peculiarity which has had considerable psychological influence in moulding the minds of the speakers to an objective rather than to a theoretical outlook. They are distinguished from the 'Austric' languages in possessing significant tones. Of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family, the Limbu speak what are called pronominalized and the Lepcha and the Gurung non-pronominalized dialects of the Himalayan branch. The languages of the North Assam tribes, such as those of the Aka, Dafla, Abor, Miri and Mishmi belong to the North Assamese, the Naga languages to the Naga and those of the Manipuris, Kuki, Lushai and Chin to the Kuki-Chin groups. To the group called 'Bodo' or Bara (lit. man) belong all others from the Garo hills up to Tipperah. There is one exception however, namely the Khasis, who form a small distinct island by themselves, speaking a language belonging to the Mon-Khmer branch of the Austric family.

In this group there is no tribe which is purely in the hunting and food-gathering stage. Even the very primitive Lepchas living on the southern and eastern slopes of the Kanchanjunga massif—apparently the westernmost outpost of the same ethnic group as represented by

---

[1] Bodding, P.O., 'Notes on the Santals', *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Part III, p. 99.

the Mikirs in the Brahmaputra valley—are settled agriculturists living on terraced fields. Fundamentally they share the same culture pattern as the other Sub-Himalayan people further east, namely, pile dwellings, woman's equal share, though patrilineal in the management of household affairs and work in the field and the prevalence of junior levirate and sorrorate.[1] Coming however under the ambit of Tibetan influence the Lepchas have developed fraternal polyandry and sexual communism among those belonging to the 'classificatory' relationship.[2]

Among those living on the inner ranges, it is possible to distinguish a substratum of matriarchal-megalithic culture complex which runs throughout from the Garo Hills to North Cachar. Matriarchy is highly developed among the Khasis and the Garos. The Khasis consider the woman to be the originator of the clan—*long jaid na KaKynthei* and reckon descent through the female. She alone can inherit property and Ukni (the maternal uncle) rather than Ukpa (father) is the real guardian of the house. The most venerated ancestors are *Ka Iawbei* (the first grandmother) and *U Suid-Nia* (the first maternal uncle) rather than *U Thaw-Lang* (the first grandfather), and it is in honour of the first that most of the memorial stones were erected.

The Garos likewise are matrilineal and property goes to the females, but unlike the youngest daughter who inherits the bulk of the maternal property among the Khasis, it is the husband of the daughter (usually the sister's son) who as *Nokrom*, manages the uncle's property and inherits his widow, i.e. wife's mother as his wife.[3]

Among the rest of the group like the Rabhas, Mikirs and Kacharis, patriarchy is gradually superseding or has already done so leaving however relics of matriarchy which are unmistakable. Thus among the Rabhas, although property is inherited by the son, descent is still reckoned through the female and the children belong to the mother's *Barai* (clan) and the original founders of the tribe was Toba Rani and her maternal uncle, Dadam.[4]

Similarly among both the Mikirs and the Kacharis there is the custom of the bridegroom's serving in the house of his wife's father for two or three years. In the latter this may extend to 14 or 15 years and the groom may sever all connections with his own family and identify himself completely with that of his wife by becoming *Mal-Ghar-Jiya*, when the property of the father-in-law after death goes to his wife and him.[5]

There is evidence also of megalithic culture among these tribes. The huge stone monuments at Dimapur, the ancient capital of the Kacharis and among the Mikirs, both upright (long-chong) and flat stones (long-pak) are still set up as memorial stones over the buried bones of prominent members.[6]

The Kima memorial posts erected by the Garos[7] are evidences of the same culture. It seems also that the practice of human sacrifice was widely prevalent among them, corresponding to the U Thlen (Snake) worship of the Khasis. The Rabhas[8] have a legend of the Serpent God to whom human sacrifice was made and among the Deori Chutias (sub-tribe of the

---

1 Gorer, G., *Himalayan Village*, p. 159.
2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 225–34.
3 Playfair, A., *The Garos*, p. 72, 1909.
4 Friend-Pereira, J. E., 'The Rabhas,' *Census of India*, Vol. III, pp. 141–45, 1912.
5 Endle, S., *The Kacharis*, p. 45, 1911.
6 Stock, Edward, *The Mikirs*, p. 42, 1908.
7 Playfair, A., *Garos*, p. 16.
8 Friend-Pereira, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

Kacharis) of Lakshmipur, up to comparatively late times human sacrifice used to be offered at their temple at Chunpura, near Sadiya.[1]

The Khasis however, do not have the pile dwellings or the institution of bachelors' dormitories, common among the Tibeto-Burman speaking group, though they share with them the practice of Jhuming cultivation, and like the Mikirs, the sleeveless coat and the shoulder-headed celts. Political organization is most highly developed on republican lines and they are easily the most progressive of all tribal people in India.

On the outer fringe, in the hinterland between Assam and Tibet the entire organization of the tribes is on a war basis and although defensive measures are not unknown among other Tibeto-Burman speaking tribes of the Central Massif, like the Garos who use sharpened bamboo stakes (Wanisi) around their villages, there is nothing like the fortress-like villages, perched on high mountain spurs surrounded by bamboo palisades or strong log or stone stockades, *panjee* (stakes) or covered with sharp bamboo pieces and flanked by chutes. The tribes live in constant feuds and one of the chief causes of quarrel being the accusation of 'carrying sickness'. Unlike the Nagas, however, they do not indulge in head hunting, but like them they have large rectangular pile dwellings often of a communal character and the institution of dormitories for unmarried men and women called *Moshup* and *Rasheng*, the former of which is also the guard house, armoury and the village club. They wear cane helmets decorated with dyed hair, boar's tusks, horns of the mithan and beaks and feathers of the hornbill. Short bark cloth[2] was formerly worn but nowadays sleeveless coat for men and short cloth in the shape of a skirt for women, and filaments of cane closely woven for covering the breasts and a girdle of cane with metal discs called *Beyop* round the loin for women. Another characteristic is the use of cane rings on the ankles, and both the sexes coil cane straps round the arms and legs.

Jhuming is the main form of agriculture and the digging stick, *dao*, are used.

Hereditary priestly shamanism is prevalent, and among the Abors, the Shamans (Miris) can be either men or women.

In the Naga-Kuki group, the organization of the tribes is on the same war-footing and the villages are perched on mountain spurs and protected by stockades and the institution of bachelor's dormitory, *Morung*, is equally a characteristic feature. Milk is not drunk, as among all the hill tribes of Assam, but the meat of mithan is used as food. Jhuming is the common method of agriculture with digging hoe, axe and *dao*. Terracing with an elaborate system of irrigation by aqueducts, has made most rapid progress among the Angami, Sema and others. Elaborate war dances are in vogue and decorations in which mithan horns, hornbill feathers, dyed hair and cowry shells figure most prominently. The great 'Feasts of Merit' by which Nagas try to climb their social ladder, are distinctive features of Naga-Kuki life in which the whole village joins in merriment and a great distribution of wealth takes place.

What however distinguishes the tribes on India's North-Eastern Frontier, such as the Nagas, Kukis and constitutes the most important feature of their tribal life is the practice of head hunting. There are evidences of this practice among other Tibeto-Burman speaking people in Assam like the Garos, and it is found in a very wide area from Formosa, through Indonesia up to the interior of New Guinea. It not merely puts to

---

[1] Endle, S., *op. cit.*, pp. 93–94.
[2] Hamilton, A., *In Abor Jungles*, p. 20.

the test great feats of endurance and bravery in a young man and makes him eligible for marriage, but the practice is intimately connected with the phallic cult and the Naga belief that Life-Matter can be transferred to living organism and material substances deficient in vitality. It is, therefore, considered necessary to add to the stock of the general village Soul-Matter for the propagation of animal and cereal life by means of raids and preservation of the skulls in the village.[1] Human sacrifice practised by the Hukawang Valley Nagas is due to the same reason, as a means of curing diseases by supplying vitality to the sick person and for fertilizing fields for successful crops. (Plate III, figs. 1–5 ; Plate IV, figs. 1-2).

Racial Affinities

When the physical characters are taken into consideration, the tribal alignments seem to follow somewhat different lines than those shown on linguistic and cultural grounds. This is natural as the latter are acquired and are too often abandoned for others whereas the physical traits are fixed by heredity and cannot be altered except through miscegenation.

Judged by their somatic traits there is first of all an underlying Negrito strain in the aboriginal population of India. At the present time it is no doubt greatly submerged but remnants are still found in remote hills, and from the evidence available there is hardly any doubt that it was much more widely spread at one time. The presence of a Negrito race in almost in its pure form has long been recognized among the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, but its existence in the Indian continent was not considered established. Even so well informed a scholar as Sir Herbert Risley [2] considered that 'no good observer had as yet found among any of the Indian races a head of hair that could be correctly described as "woolly" although the terms "woolly" and "frizzly" were often loosely applied to the wavy hair not uncommon among the Dravidians.' It is true that the term 'woolly' is not strictly applicable to human hair; the sheep's wool being of a finer texture and shows the true pile formation which can only be made artificially in man.[3] But instances of spirally curved hair with tiny spirals misnamed 'woolly,' and slightly longer but tightly coiled spirals known as 'frizzly' are not absent among aboriginal races of this country.

In the course of a survey of the primitive tribes living in the Annamalai Hills and its ranges which extend southwards in the Cochin and Travancore States in the winters of 1928 and 1929, the present writer, discovered among the Kadars and Pulyans remnants of a race possessing spirally curved hair.[4] In the majority of cases the hair was found to be similar to that of the Melanesians, consisting of long tightly coiled spirals, but there were also a few who possessed short spirals characteristic of the hair wrongfully called 'woolly'. The average stature of these people is very short (mean 1,516 mm.) and the skin colour dark chocolate brown approaching black. The nose is flat and broad and not unoften everted. It is true that the head shape of the Kadars in general is dolichocephalic but among the individuals with frizzly hair a marked tendency was noticed for a rise in the cephalic index to mesocephaly. The presence of two individuals with 77·34 and 79·29 as the values of their index, and the recent discovery of a brachycephalic individual with the so-called 'woolly' hair among the

---

[1] Hutton, J. H., 'Races of Further Asia,' *Man in India*, pp. 12-13, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1932.

[2] Risley, Sir Herbert, *People of India*, p. 5, 1915.

[3] Martin, Rudolf, *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, Vol. I, p. 214, 1928.

[4] Guha, B. S., *Nature*, 121, 793 ; 1928 ; 123, 942-43, 1929.

aborigines of the Rajmahal Hills [1] would seem to indicate that the basis of the Negritos of India was probably mesocephalic if not brachycephalic like the Andamanese, but large admixture with a primitive longheaded race had affected the general shape of their head.[2] Somewhat similar conditions appear to have taken place among the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula who are mesocephalic, and it is noteworthy that the designs found in their bamboo combs are identical with those used by Kadar women.[3] We have no definite proof of the presence of spirally curved hair among other aboriginal tribes of southern India though reports of such occurrences among the Irulas [4] and the Wynaad tribes have recently been made. From somatometric and morphological evidences it seems highly probable that among a large section of the primitive tribes of South India, such as the Nattu Malayans, Yeruvas, etc. there has been a large admixture of Negrito blood [5] and it is not unlikely that many more instances of frizzly hair will be found in the extreme interior of these hills if carefully explored.

Outside the Rajmahal hills no instances of spirally curved hair have been reported so far from Upper India, but Hutton,[6] not long ago, drew attention to the presence of frizzly hair among a section of the Angami Nagas. This strengthens the supposition of its linkage with the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula already mentioned, and possibly also with the Andamanese who seem to have reached their present habitats from the same regions in very ancient times.

The Negrito substratum in the Indian population whose remnants are still found in isolated tracts would thus appear to have been much more widely spread originally but mostly submerged at the present time, and in all probability not unconnected with the Negritos of Malay Peninsula and of the Island of the Indian Ocean though the latter have preserved in their isolation the characteristic features of the race in a much purer form. Incidentally it may be mentioned that samples of the Kadar, Pulayan and frizzly hair from the Angami Nagas (sent by Hutton) showed that their cross-sections are oval like those of other Negrito tribes.

Besides the Negritos, the most important element in the aboriginal tribes of Southern and Central India is a dark short statured type with long head and broad flat nose. The stature is not so short as that of the Negritos but the skin colour is much the same, varying from tawny to dark chocolate brown. In the shape of the nose and the face there is no appreciable difference, there being the same tendency in the face to project forwards, and in both, the lips are thick and often everted. What distinguishes the latter, however, from the Negritos is the form of hair which in general is wavy and sometimes curly but never frizzly. Various opinions have been expressed regarding the true affinities of this race but when all the somatic traits are taken into consideration its kinship with the Australian race seems undoubted. It is true that the 'keel' so commonly found in the Australian skull is absent in it and the amount of facial and bodily hair is not like anything so profuse as among the typical Australian. In general also, though the supra-orbital regions are well marked the depth of the nasal root and the formation of the lower forehead are not so

---

[1] Sarkar, S. S., *Nature*, 137, 1035 ; 1936.

[2] Guha, B. S., 'The Racial Affinities of the Peoples of India,' *Census of India*, Vol. I, Pt. III, pp. l-li, 1935.

[3] Preuss, Dr. K. Jh., *Globus*, Vol. LXXV, pp. 345–348, 364–369, 1899.

[4] Hutton, J. H., *Census of India*, Vol. I, Pt. I, 1935.

[5] Guha, B. S., *loc. cit.*, pp. xlviii-xlix, 1935.

[6] Hutton, J. H., *Man in India*, Vol. VII, pp. 257–262, 1927.

characteristic as among the Australian, though in an appreciable number the supra-orbital regions are equally stout and the nasal root shows the same sunkenness. In other characters, however, such as stature, form and proportions of the head, face, the nose and the skin colour, the resemblances to the Australian aborigines are very striking.

In a recent study of the anthropometry of the Australian tribes Dr. W. W. Howells [1] has discussed their affinities with the primitive races of Melanesia, Indonesia and Asia, and after a careful comparison of their physical characters has come to the conclusion that their closest correspondence is with the Veddahs of Ceylon. With the Indian tribes such as the Chenchus of Southern India, while in form and proportions the resemblance is strong, the absolute dimensions are somewhat larger in the Australians, specially the facial breadth. It is true that the face as a whole is much narrower among the Indian tribes but it is not uniform in the Australian tribes either, and in one at least, namely, the North Central Australians, the maximum breadth of the face was found by Spencer and Gillen to be 134·81 against 131·2 of the Kols,[2] 131·70±0·17 of the Mundas [3] and 132·07±0·4 of the Malpaharias.[4] When all the characters are considered there appears to be a regular gradation in these three racial groups—the Australians are the largest and show the characters in the most pronounced form, then come the Veddahs and lastly the Indian tribes. Except for their comparative smallness, the likeness between them is unmistakable and there cannot be any doubt of the existence of a genetic relationship between the three.

Sewell and the present writer [5], therefore, have thought it more appropriate to describe them as Proto-Australoid which suggests the presence of the chief somatic characters of this racial family in a less developed form, and there seems no justification for calling them 'Veddoid' when we consider, as shown by Howells,[6] that the resemblance of the Veddahs is much greater with the Australians than with any of the Indian tribes. Still more unfortunate is the use of such expressions as 'Pre-Dravidians', which if anything merely gives a chronological sequence to the unauthorized application of a linguistic term in the racial sense.

This Proto-Australoid type is the dominant element among the aborigines of Central and Southern India. We have no precise information of the earliest drift of this race in India, but in the ancient sites at Aditanallur in the Tinnevelley district of South India its remains have been found.

In the early Sanskrit literature also there are frequent mentions of a race of aborigines generically referred to as 'Nishads',[7] whom the Vedic settlers encountered in their expansion south-eastwards. The descriptions given of their physical characters leave no doubt that the Proto-Australoids were meant, with whose distinguishing features they appeared to be well acquainted.

Judging from their present distribution, the Proto-Australoid tribes appeared to have come later than the Negritos and pressed them gradually into the marginal and less hospitable parts in which their remnants still survive today, though in the process of this a great deal of their blood was gradually absorbed. There is no doubt that the Proto-Australoid elements

---

[1] Howells, W. W., Papers of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, pp. 59–67, 1937.
[2] Chatterjee, B. K., unpublished materials.
[3] Basu, P. C., *Trans. Bose Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, p. 224, 1933.
[4] Sarkar, S. S., *Trans. Bose Research Institute*, Vol. XI, p. 149, 1936.
[5] Guha, B. S., *An Outline of the Racial Ethnology of India*, p. 131, 1937.
[6] Howells, W. W., *loc. cit.*, p. 67.
[7] Chanda, Ramaprasad, *The Indo-Aryan Races*, pp. 4–6, 1916.

is not confined to the aboriginal population only but has entered very considerably in the Indian population in general. Indications are not wanting also that even in the Sub-Himalayan and the north-eastern frontier countries where the Tibeto-Chinese speaking tribes are encountered at present there is an underlying substratum of this element in several places. But the chief racial constituents in these regions are essentially Mongoloid and conform to two distinct bio-types, namely a round-headed one which is tall and large bodied in the north, specially in Sikkim and Bhutan, where Tibetan infiltration has taken place, and short and small in the south-eastern parts of Bengal bordering on Burma. In the former sub-type the skin-colour is light brown and the eyes are slitlike with marked presence of the epicanthic fold. The nose though flat is narrow and long and both the head and the face are round. Like the body the head is massive and the absolute dimensions are greater than any other race living in this country. The other sub-type is darker in skin colour and much shorter in stature. The head is also round but smaller and the epicanthic fold is less marked. The nose is broader and shorter and there is not infrequently a tendency for the face to protrude forwards, though nothing like the extent found among the Negritos and the Proto-Australoid tribes.

Compared to the former also the vault of the head is lower and the face shorter. This sub-type is undoubtedly more primitive, and may appropriately be called Palae-Mongoloid. Though the main distribution of this sub-type is in Burma and the mountainous tracts adjoining that country, it has penetrated well into Assam and is not altogether absent in the Sub-Himalayan regions specially among the primitive races of these parts, like the Lepchas.

The second Mongoloid element is of medium stature with a skin-colour darker than that of the Tibetan but lighter than that of the Palae-Mongoloid. The characters of the eye, and the facial cast are essentially Mongoloid but the epicanthic fold is not so conspicuous as among the Tibetan group. Its chief distinguishing feature, is the form and shape of the head. The back of the head is neither flattened nor rounded as among the truly brachycephalic races, but bulges outwards. The breadth is also smaller and its proportion to the length is less. Though the actual values of the cephalic index often come within mesocephaly the essential long-headed character of the race cannot be doubted. This was recognized by Sir William Turner [1] as early as the beginning of this century and all subsequent studies have confirmed the conclusions reached by him regarding the headshape of the Assamese hill tribes, though no doubt the Palae-Mongoloid strain, which forms a constituent of their composition is responsible for a rise in the cephalic index noticed in many parts occupied by these tribes.

Compared to the tribes of Central and Southern India, the Mongoloid tribes of north-eastern India are more recent and are mainly concentrated in these parts, but it would not be wrong in stating that their influence has also penetrated into the main land of India as judged from the presence of undoubted Mongoloid features among many people. It is however true that this penetration is still mostly confined to the districts contiguous to their habitations and is not so deep and extensive as is the case with the Proto-Australoid race.

I have so far discussed the different racial elements in the Indian aboriginal tribes from the anthropometric standpoint. In recent years considerable advance has been made in the study of blood group distributions of various races. It is as yet too early to assess the full significance

[1] Turner, Sir William, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin.*, Vol. 39, pp. 700–749, 1900.

of these studies, though the results so far obtained do not indicate any close correspondence between the results of anthropometric investigations and the blood group differences; but there is no doubt that these biochemical differences are determined by heredity and are of great value in investigations of racial differences. It would, however, be a mistake to regard them as supplanting the findings from morphological studies, but rather as supplementary to such works, for they provide important additional criteria.

In India, agglutinogen tests have been made on a few primitive groups, namely, the Paniyans of Wynaad,[1] the Illuvas of Cochin,[2] the Hill Malers, Santals and Oraons of Central India,[3] and small groups of the Nepalese and Lepchas of the Darjeeling district.[4] The data though small are very suggestive and indicate a clear divergence between the South Indian and Central Indian tribes. In the former there seems to be a marked preponderance of the blood group A—if these results are verified, the percentage among the Panyans being as high as 60·40. It is interesting that this is very similar to that of the Central Australian tribes among whom Cleland found the percentage of A to be 61·9.[5]

Among the Central Indian tribes on the other hand, the Santals and the Oraons[6] show a considerable preponderance of B over A, a feature that is also true of some of the depressed castes of Bengal,[7] e.g. the Badgis who show a blood group distribution closely parallel to that found among the Santals. The Hill Malers[8] show a slightly lesser preponderance of B over A than the first two as well as a high percentage of agglutinogen O. A plausible explanation may be found in the fact that the latter is Dravidian speaking and migrated from South India in comparatively recent historical times.[9]

Among the Mongoloid peoples of the Darjeeling district the proportions of the blood group frequencies are not quite similar to either of the last two but rather to those of the Chinese.[10] There is not the preponderance of B that is found among the Central Indian tribes, but the proportions of the three blood groups are about equal though they are closer to the North Indian conditions[11] than to those of Southern India.

These results are not contradictory to those obtained from anthropometric studies but tend to support the contention that the South Indian tribes appear to retain more the original conditions of the Proto-Australoid race in which there was a scarcity of agglutinogen B, as shown when comparisons are made with the Australian tribes. If, as some workers postulate, the mutation to B occurred in Central India, this happened after the present South Indian tribes had separated from their main stock in Central India. The lower frequency of B among the two Mongoloid races of the Darjeeling district is probably due to their isolation from the centre of mutation to B in Central India—they having received the agglutinogen B from a different centre of mutation in China where the mutation rate was

---

1 Aiyappan, A., *Current Science*, pp. 493-94, 1936.
2 Macfarlane, E. W. E., *ibid.*, pp. 653-54, 1936.
3 Sarkar, S. S., *ibid.*, p. 283, 1938.
4 Macfarlane, E. W. E., *Man*, 159, 1937.
5 Cleland, J. B., *Science*, Vol. 77, pp. 260-61, 1933.
6 Sarkar, S. S., *loc. cit.*, p. 283, 1937.
7 Macfarlane, E. W. E., *Journal of Genetics*, 36, 2, 1938.
8 Sarkar, S. S. *loc. cit.*, p. 283, 1937.
9 Venkatachar, C. S., *Census of India*, XX, Part I, App. II, 267–79, 1931.
10 Macfarlane, E. W. E., *loc. cit.*, 1937.
11 *Ibid.*, *Journal of Genetics*, 36, 2, 1938.

apparently lower and from where it has spread west and southwards to Assam, Burma and the Himalayan regions.[1]

To conclude, we find four major strains in the aboriginal population of India, namely: (i) an underlying substratum of a primitive Negrito race which is found in comparative purity among the Andamanese and the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula but its wide presence at one time in the main land of India is indicated by the survival of small remnants in isolated tracts of different parts of India; (ii) a Proto-Australoid race having close affinities with the Veddahs and the aboriginal tribes of Australia which arrived subsequently and pushed back and absorbed the Negrito tribes and now forms the dominant element in the Central and South Indian tribes. These two constitute the chief racial elements in the primitive population of Central and South India with a share of Mongoloid admixture in the Orissan coasts going probably as far as Bastar, though the latter, i.e. the Mongoloid race, remains distinct from the two groups and is composed of (iii) a brachycephalic element divided into a more primitive short, and an advanced tall large bodied sub-types. These are found mostly in the Sub-Himalayan regions and Burma and are distinct from (iv) the medium statured dolichocephalic element which is chiefly distributed in the Assam hills mixed no doubt with the short statured Palae-Mongoloids.

Administration

It will have appeared from the foregoing descriptions that the primitive tribes of this country differ very greatly in language, culture and race. The solution of their administrative problems therefore can hardly be on a simple unitary basis. The machinery devised must take note not only of the divergences of their habits and customs but also of the psychological background and innate motives on which they are nourished. While details have to be worked out in each tribal area and in each tribe there are certain fundamental principles by which the administration should be guided. These are, first of all: (1) the preservation of *the basic structure of tribal life and authority;* and secondly (2) their participation and gradual integration in the general life of the country without the loss of their individuality.

The history of the civilized man's relation with primitive folks falls into two distinct phases, namely, an initial period of conquest and spoliation, followed by attempts to redeem to some extent the wrongs done and recognition of their right of existence and own mode of living. Wherever the primitive man first came into contact, in the New World, Oceania, Africa or South-East Asia, he suffered terribly in the hands of European immigrants and colonists, before whose superior arms and skill, his poison darts and boomerangs stood no chance, with the result that he was conquered and almost exterminated. To give only the most striking examples, the once proud and warlike Red Indian tribes of the U.S.A. living in Tipis and hunting the bison on their horse back, were reduced to one quarter of their total estimated strength. In Australia the fate of the aboriginal people was even worse, they were virtually wiped out of the southern temperate regions and were confined to a few straggling bands in the central waste lands and deserts. None however suffered so much as the native Tasmanians, who, from a population of 7,000 were reduced to 120 in 1764, and in 1876, the last representative of this ancient race passed away

[1] Macfarlane, E. W. E., 'Abstracts of Discussions,' *Proc. Ind. Sci. Cong., Calcutta*, p. 34, 1938.

from this world leaving a sad commentary on the civilized man's solicitude for the aboriginal.

After the occupation of tribal territories and crushing of opposition, the relationship between the civilized and the aboriginal entered the second phase. It was felt that the primitive man did not receive a square deal and something had to be done to prevent the surviving members from dying out altogether. The Government of the U.S.A. was the first to initiate steps, followed by Australia and other countries. The policy considered most suitable was to segregate them in 'Sanctuaries' or Reservations where they would be free from exploitation and able to pursue their own method of living. The administration of these tribes were taken in hand by the Federal Government under a Commissioner, in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in the Department of the Interior. As uplifting measures, Christian Missions were encouraged and vocational schools were established to teach them modern arts and crafts. Unfortunately the measures adopted for stopping exploitation were not very effective. During the period from 1887 to 1923 it was officially estimated that the Red Indians had been swindled out of 91 million acres of land,[1] and with the exception of the Navahos, who had increased from 11,868 to 22,304 the rest of the tribes had shown a rapid decline in population. Enquiries showed that in addition to economic exploitation the chief cause of depopulation was lack of adaptability and loss of a will to live.

Similar conditions were observed in Australia, Melanesia and Polynesia where the rate of decline in the native population was very high. Special commissions appointed by the Commonwealth Government, and investigations made by Dr. Rivers and other distinguished scientists on behalf of British Scientific Associations showed that the causes of depopulation were two-fold, namely, (1) Economic exploitation leading to the strangulation of primitive arts and crafts, and (2) Psychological apathy and want of a desire to shoulder the burdens of life. Of these, the latter was undoubtedly the most important and was the outcome of the disintegration of tribal culture and authority. Where contact with a higher culture takes the form of a clash and tribal pattern and values are too quickly replaced by others of a different order, the primitive man is unable to adopt himself to changing conditions and an upsetting of the harmony and balance of his life takes place. This disquieting feature reveals itself in significant change in the different birth rate with high masculinity. It was found that among all aboriginal tribes in Oceania and U.S.A. this was the danger signal marking the onset of decline in population.[2] A simple policy of segregation, while preserving the primitive man from exploitation, is a static remedy and at best a negative one and does not supply the machinery for enabling him to adjust himself to the changing conditions of his surrounding environment, and until this is done on the basis of his cultural potentiality and cultural accessories, no amount of spoon feeding or uplifting measures are likely to be effective. This was well realized in U.S.A., and in 1933 John Collier, who as Executive Secretary of the American Indian Defence Association had waged a vigorous fight for the Red Indians, became the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and succeeded in getting his Reorganization Act adopted by the Congress in 1934, which gave the Red Indians their tribal holdings and the right to extend them, but also by a majority vote, each reservation could incorporate its business affairs under federal charter and secure a constitution. Collier's

---

[1] *Times*, Vol. XL, February 19, 1945, pp. 8-9.
[2] Pitt Rivers, *Clash of Contact and Culture*, p. 267.

policy has thus marked a departure from the prevailing practice of isolation and paved the way for the eventual integration of the Red Indian tribes in the general population of the country.

In India, references of early contact with aboriginal tribes are found all over the Sanskrit literature when clashes with the 'Aryan' invaders frequently occurred. The ancient Tamil books also write of similar clashes in the beginning of the Christian era.[1] No wholesale extermination, however, took place but part of them was driven out to the forests and hills and part absorbed, although forming the bottom layer of the Hindu social system. The wilder section of the tribes, though living outside the limits of 'Aryan' occupation, was not uninfluenced by Hindu thoughts and ideas though in the main their tribal integrity was undisturbed.

With the British occupation and rapid opening up of the country, however, they soon came under its notice when punitive measures had to be undertaken against their raids on the British subjects living in the plains. Beginning with the Mal Paharias under Warren Hastings in 1772 who were brought under control by Augustus Cleveland between 1778–84,[2] the primitive tribes were pacified one by one until the majority of the tribal population of Chota Nagpur, Central and Southern India and those of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Assam were brought under British control.

The occupation of tribal territories brought in need of many problems of administration, as tribal lands began slowly to pass into the hands of landlords and moneylenders of the plains and disaffection began to manifest itself in tribal uprisings as a result of enforcement of laws unsuited to their conditions and even contrary to the spirit of their customs and religion. The Mal Paharia raids of 1772 showed the necessity for the first time of the system of indirect rule and the Rajmahal Hills, later on termed Daman-i-koh, was withdrawn in 1796 from the jurisdiction of ordinary courts of law and placed under a tribal council known as 'Hill Assembly'. The understanding and sympathy shown by Cleveland, the responsibility given to the tribal chief and their council was extremely successful, but it was an individual success and fell to pieces after his death. The mutinies of the Hos of Singhbhum in 1831, the Khond uprising in 1846, and the Santal rebellion of 1855, made it necessary to form these regions into specially constituted Non-Regulation Tracts to be administered by simpler codes directly by Deputy Commissioners in a manner suitable to the backward people of these tracts for whom the complicated machinery of civilized laws was unsuited. In the Madras Presidency, a similar system was introduced by the Act XXIV of 1839, whereby civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Ganjam, Vizagapatam and the Godavari Hill tracts was vested in an agent and his staff. In Bombay, the tribal area of the Mewasi estates in West Khandesh was excluded by Act XI of 1846 and special rules were framed for the administration of these estates.

Similarly in Assam, the first contact with the hill tribes began with an expedition sent against the Jaintia State in 1774, but not until the murder of a Survey Party by the people of Nongkhlaw in 1829, did the British Government seriously attempt the subjugation of the Khasi Hills, which was completed in 1833 after the Confederacy of the Khasi Chiefs was successfully defeated. In 1854, North Cachar was annexed. Several expeditions had to be sent to the Chin-Lushai Hills between 1850–1890 when the Lushai Hill was taken under the British administration. The Naga Hills were

[1] Kanakasabhai, V., *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[2] Hutton, J. H., *Primitive Tribes in Modern India and the West*, pp. 414–448, London, 1941.

brought under control in 1878, with Kohima as the capital, and finally the Abor Expedition of 1912 established British influence over this section, although several subsequent military columns had to be sent to the tribal territories specially the unadministered Nagas for raids on British subjects, the last one being in 1936.

In order to co-ordinate and make the administration of the primitive tribes more uniform, the Scheduled Districts Act was passed in 1874 by the Indian Legislature which specified tribal areas all over the country into 'Scheduled Tracts'. In spite of these special arrangements, however, alienation of land, rack-renting, bonded-service, etc. continued and various tenancy Acts and legislative measures were necessary to prevent the transfer of tribal holdings, control of usury, stoppage of agrestic serfdom, etc. Even then the aboriginal population suffered great disabilities from the enforcement of ill-conceived forest and game laws and interference with tribal festivals on 'moral' grounds, or in the practise of Excise Regulations which substituted 'Outstill' or 'Central Distillery', but did not permit private brewing practised by the tribes. The result was, as pointed out by Dr. Verrier Elwin, a great increase in drunkenness which augmented Excise revenues and profited contractors and wine merchants at the expense of the inarticulate aboriginals.

The second stage in the administration of the primitive tribes entered with the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919, when the tribal areas were reconstituted under Section 52-A of that Act into backward tracts after removing them either wholly or partially from the jurisdiction of the Indian ministers. Altogether 19 areas were so classified of which 4 were entirely beyond the pale of the legislatures.

With respect to the others the legislatures were empowered to pass laws but their operation was dependent on the decision of the Governor-General, or Governor in Council.

In the Government of India Act of 1935 more stringent provision for special treatment of tribal areas was incorporated by converting the backward tracts into areas of Total and Partial Exclusion. In the Sixth Schedule of the Act 4, areas under the first head and 11 under the second were at first proposed. As finally passed by the Parliament, on the amendment moved by Mr. Cadogan, 4 more were added on to the first and 9 to the second. It is to be noted that the Waziris of Spite and Lahoul, and Upper Tanwal in the Hazara district, which came under the excluded areas are not backward tracts. Their inclusion was due solely to politico-administrative reasons other than solicitude for their inhabitants. Contrariwise, although the avowed purpose of the Schedule was protection of the aboriginal people from exploitation, and 'freedom to pursue their traditional method of living', the tribes that needed protection most such as the Andamanese, the Kadars, the Pulayans of the Annamalai Hills and the forest tribes of the Wynaad were not considered important to be included in the scheme. Nor were the Todas of the Nilgiris, who are among the tribes in India which are steadily declining in population. The total area covered by the Act for special treatment excepting Upper Tanawal was 126,576 sq. miles, of which 28,134 sq. miles consisted of the entirely excluded and 98,442 sq. miles for the partially excluded portions. The population that received the special treatment was 639,632 for the excluded, and 7,438,368 for the partially excluded areas, making a total of 8,078,000, or about one third that of the entire strength of the aboriginal population in British India.

A review of the working of the special constitutional measures taken for the protection of the tribal population shows that the purpose behind

them has not succeeded. Neither has the economic exploitation been checked, as judged from the reports of Messrs. Symington[1] and Grigson[2] in Bombay and C.P., and of Dr. Verrier Elwin[3] in Orissa; nor is there any tangible evidence of increase in the adaptability of the tribes to changing conditions. The steady addition to the number of specially reserved areas with each succeeding constitutional change, if anything, points to the other way.

These factors as well as experiences of tribal administration in other parts of the world make it abundantly clear that there is no alternative but to revise the whole policy underlying the special Measures Acts as has been done now in U.S.A. under the Collier Re-organization Act of 1935, and the orientation given by the U.S.S.R. with regard to the administration of primitive tribes in East Siberia. In Australia and South Africa the existence of a white racial doctrine renders assimilation of aboriginal tribes impossible, but in India where they constitute nearly 5 millions spread throughout the country, and with whom, in some form or other, there has been contact since the earliest times with considerable acculturation on both sides, and even a great deal of mixing of blood, such however cannot be the case. *Besides, complete isolation has never led to progress and advancement, but always to stagnation and death whether we look to lower animals or human beings.* In every part of the world such has been the case, as the aborigines of Melanesia and Australia amply demonstrate; and if other instances are necessary there can be a no more convincing case than the fate of the Aryan speaking Kati and Khalash tribes of Chitral. As judged by their archaic forms of languages and institutions still surviving, (or at least very recently), they were probably a remnant of the same or collateral wave of 'Aryan' immigration which moved into India and gave us our civilization, but shut up in the inaccessible mountain valleys of the Hindukush and completely isolated from outside, though retaining a great deal of their original physical type of tall finely cut features, fair skin colour and some amount of light eyes and hair, are today extremely backward and even primitive.

On the other hand, the history of human society shows that civilization everywhere has been built by the contact and intercourse of peoples which has been the chief motivating power behind progress. There are innumerable instances of the borrowing of cultural traits by peoples of different countries, such as articles of food, use of metals, domesticated animals, methods of agriculture, spread of the alphabet, etc. So long as the borrowing has been natural and in harmony with the cultural setting and the psychological make up of the people, it has entirely been beneficial and even added to the richness of the culture. An instance may be cited. The hill tribes of Assam from times immemorial tilled their soil with the digging stick and hoe and never learnt the plough cultivation from the people of the plains. As soon, however, as 'terraced' cultivation was introduced, it not only suited the hilly nature of the country, but terracing was also found easy with the implements they were accustomed to and was therefore adopted very widely all over the hills. Similarly in those cases where a blending of cultures has followed from interaction of races, or where a transformation of one culture by another was voluntarily effected

---

[1] Symington, D., Report on the Aboriginal and Hill Tribes of the Partially Excluded Areas in the Province of Bombay.

[2] Grigson, W. V., *The Aboriginal Problem in the Central Provinces and Berar*, 1944.

[3] Elwin, V., Report of a Tour in Bonai, Keonjhar and Pal Lahara States, 1942

it has enriched humanity. The efflorescence of Greek civilization was due to the blending of the Hellenic culture with the Cretan, and as is well known, Japan transformed her culture in the seventh century by sending a mission to China and incorporating 8 out of the 11 main features of the Chinese civilization.[1]

When, however, contact has resulted not in peaceful and willing borrowing, but in conflict and upsetting of tribal life, the effects have been otherwise, as the tragic histories of the aboriginal peoples of Australia, Melanesia and U.S.A., have shown and referred to already. It follows, therefore, that just as isolation is not the ultimate solution of the aboriginal problem, neither is indiscriminate and unregulated contact; and in devising a suitable machinery for the administration of the tribal population of this country, both these factors will have to be taken into consideration. We have to profit from the lessons of other countries and see that we do not repeat their mistakes, so that disintegration of tribal culture and life leading to decay and depopulation does not ensue also in this country.

The security of the tribal life has first to be safeguarded and its continuity maintained by protecting it, (i) from exploitation, both political and commercial, and (ii) against undue interference by well-intentioned missionaries and reformers not sufficiently informed on tribal customs.

Under the first head belong all those laws and regulations whose enforcement was regarded necessary with the gradual extension of political control over the aboriginal territories. But, as these were framed not with reference to special needs of the tribal population, their strict application was unsuitable and caused severe hardship on primitive races. Living as they mostly do in forests, subsisting on its produce and the spoils of the chase, Forest Regulations, Excise and Game Laws, have brought in restrictions and prohibitions to which they were not accustomed, and some of which were even against their customs. For instance, the Forest Laws have taken away the right of disposal of unclassed state forests which are no longer considered as common property of the tribe, and such methods of cultivation as Jhuming or Bewar are disallowed in most parts of India. The Excise and Game Laws in operation do not permit them to distill liquor in their houses necessary for household consumption and religious offerings or to kill game for sacrificial purposes during the close season.

These have not only produced evasions and subterfuges as the tribal people have never been able to understand their necessity, but in limiting their activities, have narrowed down the outflow of their primitive energies for which no substitute has been forthcoming. Even in such personal affairs as marriage, a Bhil or a Gond does not find himself free to do so according to his tribal custom of 'marriage by capture' for then he is liable to be punished for abduction. In these and other matters the primitive man has suffered for the unsuitability of the laws and also for the ignorance of tribal customs and life on the part of the trying Judges. The late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, the well known anthropologist, was so deeply moved when he first came to practise as a lawyer at Ranchi, at the hardships suffered by the Munda tribes of Chota Nagpur, that he decided as a preliminary to redressing their grievances to learn their languages and institutions.

The effects of commercial intercourse have not either been innocuous. Merchants who came to trade in tribal territories did not do so for the love of the primitive people, but solely for making money. Profiting by

[1] Dixon, R. B., *The Building up of Culture*, pp. 164-5, 1928.

the innocence and simplicity of the people, they have succeeded in alienating large portions of their lands by more foul means than fair, and caused the ruin of primitive crafts and industries by selling cheap and inferior foreign products. The use of opium and arrack among many tribes, such as the Kadars, were taught by petty contractors who came to buy the forest produce and in their wake have also come diseases like tuberculosis and syphilis, against which the primitive folks did not have any immunity. Such practices as prostitution, have in no small measure been due to them, and other riff-raffs, who came in large numbers as a result of improved communications, by luring the simple aboriginal girl unable to distinguish between their own easy going sexual freedom and a life of organized vice.

The results of missionary and educative activities have been more subtle and affected the psychology of the people more than their outward observances, for even when certain changes in them were attempted, it was not so much for the objects themselves, as for the mental attitude they implied. The customs and religious rites of primitive races are very closely integrated and deeply rooted in certain beliefs such as *Soul-Matter* or the supernatural powers of the *Mana*, and cannot be uprooted without disturbing the whole foundations of their life. Even such practices as head-hunting are not merely cruel savage rites but are in reality fertility cults, and intimately associated with their agriculture. These are also the media through which manly virility and physical prowess were encouraged, and as shown by Mills not more than two or three persons were thus annually killed in any village in the Naga hills. Buffalo hunting, therefore, as suggested by some missionaries is no substitute, as buffalo heads do not possess the Soul-Matter. Similarly the introduction of tea can never take the place of the primitive men's alcoholic beverage, either in nutrition or in its 'kick,' and can only teach him dishonesty and secret drinking. Lastly, the suppression of the annual feasts and dances during which undoubtedly some sexual license is permitted, not only discourages their artistic outlet when special dresses and ornaments are worn, but also takes away much of the gaiety and joy of primitive life. As investigations into the cause of depopulation of aboriginal races in Melanesia, Polynesia and Africa by distinguished scientists like Rivers, Elsdon Best and Pitt Rivers have shown, *it is the want of interest in life and mental apathy, which is, more than any other cause, responsible for the disintegration of primitive people.* It is a dangerous pastime to try to save the primitive soul by alien methods and religion, for, in such attempts, more often, than not, the primitive man himself disappears. Good intentions are not enough, they have to be tempered with understanding and knowledge. The uplifting of the aborigines by emasculation can never compensate for a vigorous tribal life even though it is based on different moral and religious standards from those of the civilized man.

These and other matters to which the tribes have customary rights should be amply safeguarded in the Indian constitution, and to allay suspicion and win the goodwill and confidence of the tribal population it may be necessary to incorporate in the preamble of the Constitution, Articles 73 and 74 of the San Francisco Charter of the U.N.O., of which the clauses (*a*) and (*b*) provide for the protection and just treatment of undeveloped minorities, respect for their culture and progressive development of their political, economic, social and educational conditions, if it is not found inconsistent with the status of India as an independent country to do so. It must, however, be remembered that safeguards, no matter how carefully drawn up, can never be adequate unless it is founded on the goodwill of the people.

In the proposals that have so far been made for the administration of primitive tribes of this country by persons whose administrative experience and genuine love for the aborigines cannot be questioned, such as Hutton and Grigson, or by scholars of the position of Verrier Elwin, or by men like Thakkar Bapa who have chosen a life of dedication in their service, sufficient importance has not been given to evolving a suitable machinery for facilitating tribal adjustments to changing conditions and of their gradual integration in the general life of the country. In my opinion this is, as much important as non-interference in tribal life, and there must be provisions along with the others, by which the primitive population can gradually fit themselves to the changing conditions around them.

In U.S.A. and Canada the administration of aboriginal tribes is directly under the Federal Government, and Mr. Curtin has recently made similar proposals for Australia. Such an arrangement would have been ideal for this country also, as this would have permitted a uniform policy for tribal administration, and the financial commitments could have been shouldered by the Central Government; but in view of the shape that the constitution of India is likely to take, the situation of the tribal areas *vis-à-vis* the states, a more realistic approach will assuredly have to be taken. The U.S.S.R. has evolved a system with regard to the government of her primitive races which seems applicable to India, with changes. It has divided them into several 'autonomous regions' under larger 'autonomous republics', and the grouping of the tribes has been made on linguistic and cultural lines. The Buriat-Mongolian Republic of Eastern Siberia, for instance, contains the 'autonomous republics' of the Chuckchis, Yukhagirs and other Palae-Siberian races, each of which again is sub-divided into several 'autonomous regions' according to the linguistic and cultural sub-divisions of the tribe. On similar lines the Indian tribes may be divided into several autonomous areas under larger autonomous provinces and states. Unfortunately, the tribal and state boundaries do not always coincide, and I am against the breaking up of tribal integrity. Ways and means will have to be found by which certain adjustments of provincial and state boundaries can be made. Proposals have been made to separate[1] the tribal areas in N.E. India from the existing province of Assam into one single tribal territory, taking into it the unadministered region of Burma, to be administered either directly under the Central Government or by some special arrangements, e.g., under a Mandate Commission from the U.N.O., on the assumption that these tribal areas racially and culturally have nothing in common with the rest of India. The proposal is not feasible either from the practical or the political points of view of the country, and the assumption at its back is not anthropologically sound. India is not ethnically a homogeneous country but with several racial and cultural spheres in different parts. It is true that the Assam tribes are not similar, say, to the inhabitants of Rajputana or the Punjab, but if they are compared with their neighbours, the people of Assam, it will be found that for centuries past there has been constant cultural interchange and even some admixture of blood, with the result that today Assamese language is understood to some extent and forms the medium of communication between the tribes themselves, who, it must be remembered again, are not of one race, language or culture but of many; and on that ground alone they could hardly be collected under one political system, distinct and separate from Assam. What would, perhaps, be a more practical

---

[1] Reid, R., *op. cit.* and J. P. Mills.

scheme is to have, within the self-governing province of Assam, a tribal sub-territory divided into three separate units, viz. (1) of the tribes living on the central massif, (2) tribes living in the hinterland between Assam and Tibet, now under the Balipara and Sadiya Frontier tracts, and (3) the Naga-Kuki Lushai tribes on Assam's eastern frontier, with, if possible, the trans-frontier Naga country between Namphuk Hka and the western part of Hukuwang valley. There will then be, linguistically and ethnically, closer bodies and autonomous units, grouped first of all into a larger tribal sub-territory under the province of Assam, with whom geographically and culturally they are intimately bound.

Similar arrangement can be made with the tribal territory in eastern borders of Bengal to form an autonomous tribal sub-province under Bengal. In Orissa, Bihar, Central India, Bombay and Madras, the same procedure may be followed by separating the tribal parts into one or more units as suited to local conditions, and either grouped under a larger tribal body when there are several contiguous tribes to form the tribal part or territory of the provinces or states.

Mention was made of the existence of indigenous systems of Government, within almost every tribe, rudimentary in the more primitive ones, consisting of village headmen and councils or Panchayats, but in the larger and more advanced tribes like the Santals, of representative councils for the whole tribe; and in the case of the Khasis, of elected chiefs or Siems and a complete machinery of Government. These existing institutions should be utilized and developed to form the nucleus of Government of the tribes by their own chosen representatives and in their own interests. Councils within each tribe should send representatives to the larger tribal council and these in their turn should elect persons to go into the provincial council.

Other tribes are scattered in small groups in different parts of the country and are too small for forming autonomous units. They may, wherever possible, form separate and distinct portions or tracts of the districts and administered under tribal councils and within the political machinery of the state.

The idea behind this arrangement is to administer by means of the indigenous machinery available within the tribe, in accordance with the traditions, customs and psychology of the people, but providing avenues for their participation in the larger life of the community in general and the country. Such an arrangement will enable speedier adjustment of tribal life to changing conditions without causing disruption.

The success of the scheme will, however, depend *first of all* on the provision of adequate funds either by the Central Government as subvention, or from the Provincial exchequer; for sanitation, health, development of tribal arts and crafts and education on strictly vocational and practical lines and through the media of tribal languages, though the common provincial language, whatever it be, should be taught as the second language which will be the means of communication with extra-tribal and wider life of the province. For this purpose the best method will be to utilize the existing training centres of the tribes such as the Dhumkaria, the Moshup, Morung and the Ghotul, which have trained the village youths in tribal traditions and life throughout the ages. The spirit of co-operation and discipline fostered in them would be of immense value in the training of the tribal youths. And *secondly* on reliable and exhaustive information on the life and institutions of the tribes. Without a thorough knowledge not only of their customs and rites but also of their psychological potentialities and biological constitution, no suitable arrangement for their

education or economic and social development can take place. A great deal, behind exploitation and tribal unrest in the past, had been due undoubtedly to ignorance of tribal life and consequent inability to appreciate and understand the primitive mind.

A Central Institution devoted to the survey and study of aboriginal life in both the biological and social spheres and the effect of culture contact on primitive tribes is an urgent desideratum. A programme of research can be planned covering a period of 25 years for the initial stage, and investigations on systematic lines giving priority to the urgent problems, undertaken. The Provincial Governments may utilize its services by giving their special problems for investigations, besides taking full advantage of the materials that it will have brought out on the material and cultural life of the tribes, for evolving its system of education and welfare measures that may be under the consideration of the Provincial Government for application on primitive areas. Either the Director and other officers of the Institute should serve as Government Advisers on primitive life and allied problems or preferably a separate Statutory Advisory Board on aboriginal inhabitants should be set up, with functions purely advisory.

Finally, just as it should be the endeavour of the more progressive and advanced sections of the country to appreciate the tribal point of view and their interests, the tribes should also slowly be made to understand the wider interests of the province and the country into which their lots have been cast, and feel that their welfare is not antagonistic but dependent on the safety and progress of the whole country. There are, (1) strategic considerations from the point of view of the defence of the country, such as for example, the trade routes on the Tibetan borders, like the Tawang and Rima routes, and mountain gaps like the Ledo, Tuzu and the An and Taungup passes on the north-eastern frontiers. Defence of these places will entail some undoubted hardship on the tribal people and some amount of dislocation of their life will also ensue, but this cannot be avoided in the wider interests of the country and the tribes should be made to realize it, (2) finding of rich mineral deposits like oil, coal and metal ores in tribal territory which the tribes will be unable to develop, but will have to be worked out by others. Arrangements by the Provincial and Central Governments should be made to develop these resources in a manner doing the least possible harm to the tribal life, and part of the income should go to the tribes which can be used for development schemes for their benefit.

The essential thing is to realize that the tribal and general population are inhabitants of the same country and their interests are closely interwoven for good or bad. The fostering of the growth of a common outlook and common interest should be the ideal for which both should strive. The administration of primitive tribes should be so planned that this purpose is served by developing them on their own models and thought, but also gradually bringing them up as full and integral members of the country and participating like the rest in her joys and sorrows.

PLATE 1.

FIG. 1—Onges of Little Andamans carrying children.
FIG. 2—Raja—the Onge Chief.
FIG. 3—Kadar with frizzly hair from Perambiculam (Cochin Hills, South India).
FIG. 4—A Bhil of Central India.
FIG. 5—A Malayan of Cochin.
FIG. 6—A Chenchu boy of Farhabad Hills (Hyderabad) shooting arrows.

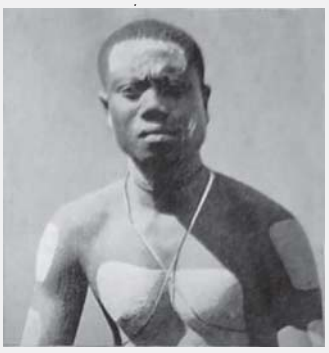


FIG. 1. FIG. 2.
FIG. 3. FIG. 4.
FIG. 5. FIG. 6.

PLATE 2.

FIG. 1—A Kadar of Perambiculam has his teeth filed.
FIG. 2—A group of Malayan girls of Cochin (S. India).
FIG. 3—A Muria young girl of Abjuhmar Hills (Bastar).
FIG. 4—An Irula of Wynaad.

FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

FIG. 3.

FIG. 4.

PLATE 3.

FIG. 1—A Bhutanese of Sikkim.
FIG. 2—A Lepcha woman of Pedong (Darjeeling Dist.).
FIG. 3—An Angami Naga girl of Kohima.
FIG. 4—A group of Angami Nagas of Kohima.
FIG. 5—The Abor Headman of Bordak.

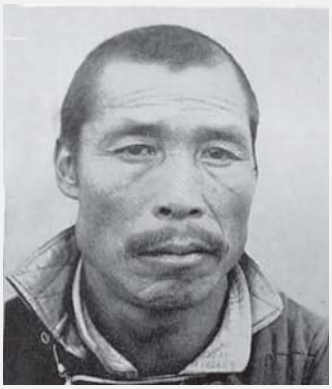


FIG. 1. FIG. 3. FIG. 2.

FIG. 4. FIG. 5.

PLATE 4.

FIG. 1—An Abor Miri leading a dance at Afyeng.
FIG. 2—Khasi dance in the Mylliem State

FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

COMMENTS ON 'THE INDIAN ABORIGINES AND THEIR ADMINISTRATION'

RAJAT KANTI DAS

The author Dr. B. S. Guha has made a categorical statement in a footnote that although the paper was prepared under the instruction of Secretary to the Governor General of India, the views expressed are his own and not of the Government. This is a routine exercise, but it is at least suggestive of a possibility that the stand taken by the author, who happens to be a government servant, and that of the Government as a policy makes on an issue which is the direct concern of administration may not always coincide. The reason why I am raising this point at the very outset is because certain issue brought up for consideration by the author are rather critical of the stand taken by the Government . Today, we do not come across many government officials taking an open stand, even it in the form of an academic exercise, against the policies of the government, which may be considered as a violation of ideal code of conduct. In spite of all our reservations against the British Government in India, we may give credit to it simply because the Government apparently did not interfere with the process of academic debetes to grow from within its jurisdictional area. It may not be without any purpose, but I am not competent to comment on that.

Who are the aborigines in India? It has always been a vexed question and still remains so. Following Prof. G.S. Ghurye, Dr. B.S. Guha has also questioned the correctness of the term "aboriginal". If the term refers to the original settlers of India, all tribes could not be associated with it. That "aboriginal" stands for tribes as the original settlers of India is a general understanding of India's early population and may not apply each and every tribal group with any degree of precision. Every major tribe is unique in its own right and has an

independent history of its own. This history is primarily about internal migration about which records are either not available or it is sought to be linked with ancient textual references with little authenticated data. One may, however, agree with Guha when he says that their presence in the country cannot be proved to be a recent one. What is more, in any search for autochthones of them country tribes would come first. But all the tribal groups cannot find a place among them on the ground that quite a number of then are offshoots of the parental groups and some are recent inclusion. Even then, it is rather difficult to disprove their original settlement rights. The point of controversy may be around the process of fixing such right on the actual claimants. From another consideration, if the Dictionary meaning of tribe is 'first inhabitants' and if it is generally accepted, how can it be applied to all the tribes included in the official list? As an anthropological category, tribe has almost lost its credibility because it no longer represents a bounded system distinguished by a culture of its own creation. In the western line of thinking "indigenous group" is a more popular expression but there is an unmistakable political overtone in it. The term "aboriginal" which has been used in the Indian context by anthropologists including Dr. B.S. Guha carries with it a colonial hangover reducing such a group of people with little access to modern civilization. Dr. Guha has given another dictionary meaning of the word "aborigines", which refers to 'those found in possession of colonialist'. Among a section of contemporary anthropologists, social scientists and human rights activists, the expression "indigenous people" finds favour. In this connection, André Béteille's (1998) observations may hold some meaning. He writes, 'vague, ambiguous, and ill-defined as it was, the term "tribe" served as a useful descriptive and analytical purpose in the anthropological literature for 100 years and more. It now appears to be facing increasing competition from a new phrase that points less to a type society or a stage of evolution than to the priority of settlement : where one spoke in the past of the "tribal population", one now speaks more

and more of its "indigenous people". But he is equally conscious of the implications of the term "indigenous" to be used in all situations. In large parts of the world including India, the blanket use of the term may be misleading and may create confusion. Yet Bíteille ultimately pleads for the use of the phrase "indigenous people" because, according to him, it is politically correct in the sense that the use of the term opens up possibilities for them to create a political space to hold on. At the time when the paper was written, such a possibility was probably not thought of since the question of identity did not assume the dimension it has at present. It "indigenous" acquires substance in some parts of the world, it is because a significant dimension of identity is involved with it. The term "adivasi" carries the same meaning as "aborigines" and of late, there have been attempt to popularise it in place of "tribe". Does it signal a veiled attempt on the part of free India to dissociate itself from the colonial hangover as is implied in the use of the term "aborigines"? When compared with "indigenous", the right associated with "adivasi" are more symbolical than real, particularly in the way control is exercised and self-rule is advocated. Dr. Guha has, however, used "tribe" and "aborigines" with almost the same degree of imposed meaning.

He has divided the tribal people of India in three different zones, which are : (1) a North-Eastern zone, (2) a Central zone, and (3) a Southern zone. An impression has been created that the groups within a zone are relatively more akin to each other in terms of racial affinities, cultural features and linguistic relations. According to the author, tribal zones are not only separated physically or geographically, linguistically and culturally also they could be differentiated from one another. To the geographical, cultural and linguistic divisions of Indian tribes, Guha has added their racial affinities as a determinant. It appears to him that the tribal racial alignments '...follow somewhat different lines than those shown on linguistic and cultural grounds', for which his explanation is that physical traits are determined by heredity and that's why, are fixed. Plenty of debates and discussions

have been made on the racial identity of India's major tribal groups, yet it cannot be said that we have conclusive evidences about the racial composition of India's early settlers. Early migration of different groups of people is still a hypothetical question. In the present context, the hypothetically formulated "aboriginal" or "indigenous categories" do not quite match with the "observed categories". Still, it goes to the credit of Dr. B.S. Guha that in the explanation of population geneticists, equipped with modern knowledge and techniques of bio-genetics, his broad racial divisions become the point of reference. The problem of searching the root of India's tribal ancestry has been made all the more complicated because here cultural differentiation has not followed the line or direction of racial differentiation. This also applies to linguistic division. The divergence of this nature has been quickly pointed out by Guha before he goes for a discussion on cultural and linguistic divisions of Indian tribes. In the 'cultural zones of India' proposed by N. K. Bose (1956), the separate existence of tribes of India has received due recognition. But his purpose was different. Bose (1950) before that has emphasised on the process of 'cultural differentiation and uniformization' and searching the origin of tribal culture in India was not particularly in his agenda. Guha could identify common cultural patterns involving tribes of a region or zone forming a substratum of culture complex. But this cannot be the solid enough ground for advocating their common origin. Further complexities have developed within tribal groups as they are in the process of loosing their undifferentiated character. More than inter-tribal differences in terms of 'language, culture and race', increasing intra-tribal differentiation is going to play upon the integrity of a tribal group, which has not assumed any serious proportion during Guha's time.

While seeking solution of their administrative problems, Guha seems to have treated each tribe as an integrated whole, which means the problem faced by the tribe in general becomes the problem of every member of the group. When he says that the solution 'can hardly be on a simple unitary basis', he probabley means that such

a solution should not be limited to tribe in general but should be dealt with at the inter-tribal level where each tribe will have a say. What is particularly noteworthy about Guha's suggestions is that he has laid special emphasis on the nature of contact between tribe and non-tribe which has a telling effect on the life of the tribe. The non-tribals, the so-called civilized people, should take the responsibility of their plundering activities striking at the root of tribal existence. One of the problems of administration was tribal lands passing into the hands of landlords and moneylenders of the plains. The problem is still there, though its nature might have changed. Land grabbers are not always from outside; a new class of big land owners and timber merchants have made their appearance who also include powerful, influential tribals and their promoters. Special rules and introduced earlier are still in vogue in a changed or modified form to administer tribal tracts. These have been further streamlined to safeguard the interest of the tribals. Even then, deprivation and discrimination of some sort continue. The sixth schedule aimed at protecting tribal people from exploitation has been made more effective with the induction of autonomy and a semblance of self rule. Yet its implementation could not be ensured in areas where there has been considerable encroachment by outsiders. It is not enough to simply recognize the customary rights of tribes; all efforts should be made to win their goodwill and confidence. Dr. B. S. Guha's following note of caution will be a constant reminder:

"It must, however, be remembered that safeguards, no matter how carefully drawn up, can never be adequate unless it is founded on the goodwill of the people."

One step in that direction would be to dissociate ourselves from the word "tribe" as it is used in Western Culture, linked as it is 'to imperialist expansionism and the associated and overgeneralised dichotomization of the world's peoples into civilised and undercivilsed — the "raw" and the "cooked" of human historical experience'. Dr. B.S. Guha could realise this ahead of many others.

References

Béteille, André. 1998. "The Idea of Indigenous people", *Current Anthropology,* Volume 19. Number 2, April.

Bose, N. K. 1950. "Geographical background of Indian culture", in *The Cultural Heritage of India,* Introduction, 1, Calcutta.

Bose, N.K. 1956. "Cultural zones of India", *Geographical Review of India,* Geographical Society of India, Volume 18, December. Calcutta.

Cohen, Ronald. 1978. "Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology", *Annual Review of Anthropology,* Vol. 7, pp. 379-403.

WORKSHOP ON PROFESSIONAL ETHICS OF PUBLICATION : A REVIEW

SATARUPA DATTAMAJUMDAR, SAMIK BISWAS AND SAGARIKA SUR

Introduction

The term Profession is referred to as the engagement of a person in a specified activity as one's paid occupation. The distinct traits of professionalism are responsible conduct, altruistic attitudes, theoretical foundations, intellectual development and committed convictions, skills and knowledge competence. Such traits obligatorily divulge the need for ethical behaviour as a part of the specific activity. Ethical behaviour or Ethics is described as 'moral principles that govern a person's behaviour or the conducting of an activity'. It is the standard of right or wrong in the choice of human behaviour in terms of duties, rights, obligation, and benefits- both social and individual.Publication is explained as an action of making available any acquired knowledge to the general public, which may be print, audio, video, available in paper or electronically. Publication is meant for the communication with the people. The basic purpose of publishing is to document and disseminate knowledge and the world view, which human beings acquire in their journey — commonly known as life. It is with the invention of the writing system that publishing came into practice. In ancient times publication of a document, usually a text was represented by some written symbols scribed on leafs, or such other materials. Initially, that is, prior to printing, the works used to be copied manually for distribution purpose with the help of the professional people, known as scribes. With the advent of the printing press, publishing progressed and books came into existence. Publication which can be of different sorts– a book, journal, newspaper, bulletin, magazine, pamphlet, etc. has given rise to different publication houses which have come into existence with very many different purposes with the passage of time.

As every human behaviour has to choose right or wrong keeping in view the individual good and the social good, the people (either the author/s or the publisher/s) involved in a publication procedure has to undergo a choice of right and wrong behaviour, known as 'Publication Ethics'. Therefore, the publication ethics or in other words publication laws need to be addressed, safeguarding both the authors' and the publishers' interest. Conflict of understanding/interest often arises and gives rise to undesirable situation, hampering the development which the procedure actually intends to. Thus the question of ethics becomes vital in such an act of human being.

The Asiatic Society, Kolkata being a very old publication house, which started its journey in 1788, shouldered the event as a workshop entitled: 'Professional Ethics of Publication'. The deliberation saw the light of the day, on 24th and 25th of June 2019 at Rajendralala Mitra Bhavan, Salt Lake campus of The Asiatic Society. The event was jointly coordinated by Dr. Satarupa Dattamajumdar (Member,Publication Committee,The Asiatic Society) and Dr. Pritam Gurey, (Librarian, The Asiatic Society).

The total number of resource persons present in the workshop was fifteen and the total number of the registered participants present in the workshop was fifty-seven, along with staff members, council members and distinguished life members. Two days' programme was divided in five sessions.

Proceedings of Day I

Programme of Day I began with the Welcome Address delivered by Dr. Satyabrata Chakrabarti, the General Secretary of the Asiatic Society. In his Address Dr. Chakrabarti brought to our attention the concern of Sir William Jones, founder President of the Asiatic Society, in the matter of publications of the Asiatic Society. In this context he quoted Sir William Jones: "It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers and men of science, in different parts of Asia, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatick Society at Calcutta; it will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted: and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease."

The theme of the workshop was introduced by Dr. Satarupa Dattamajumdar highlighting the very purpose of the workshop, as an enmesh of three major components– Profession, Ethics and Publication. The discussion was anticipated to concentrate broadly on six major areas (but of course not restricted to)– i) Copyright, Intellectual Property Right & Moral Right of the author; ii) Peer Review– Process, Procedure & Ethical Standard; iii) Copy-editors Encounter with Authors; iv) Piracy in the World of Book Publishing; v) Plagiarism– Ethics & Legality involved therein; and vi) Tools & Techniques of Plagiarism Checking.

Professor Pabitra Sarkar (Former Vice-Chancellor, Rabindra Bharati University) in his inaugural speech drew the attention to the publication process from the point of view of the author, the publisher and the reader. The address was focussed on the financial aspect of publication, copyright violation and infringement of intellectual property right by citing instances from some neighbouring countries, in relation to the publications in some Indian languages. He significantly pointed out the fact that in spite of the general notion that the demand of printed books/reading materials is decreasing, in reality, it is observed that the number of books printed/newspaper publications is on the rise across the globe. The lacuna in the whole copyright system was focused by citing the copyright declaration made on the verso page of an eminent international publisher. The lack of proper systematisation of the publication procedure viz., the peer-review process, copy-editing, etc. was also discussed with importance with reference to Indian book publication. In general, the conditions in the Indian market are tilted in favour of the publishers and the authors seldom get the opportunities to dictate any terms.

The Key-note address was delivered by Dr. Ramkumar Mukhopadhyay (Former Director, Publishing Department, Visva-Bharati). The history of copyright was traced long back from the time of Victor Hugo around 1870s, when an association was formed to protect the artist's right, which later inspired the publishers to organise a meeting in 1886 involving 177 parties, which came to be known as Berne Convention. Issues like the principle of national treatment, principle of automatic copyright in relation to the moral right of the

authors etc. came to the forefront. Later some aspects were added to form Rome Convention (1961) in order to secure "protection in performances for performers, in phonograms for producers of phonograms and in broadcasts for broadcasting organizations." (WIPO). He mentioned about the First Copyright Act in India which was passed in 1914 based on the Copyright Act, 1911 of United Kingdom. Later in 1957 the Copyright Act was revised in India in the post-Independence period and was amended in 2012. Starting from the history of copyright, citing examples he mentioned the struggle of poets/authors like Kabikankan Mukundaram of the medieval period, commitment of an author like Rabindranath Tagore and the tradition of ethics maintained by Sri Rameswar De, a proof reader of Visva Bharati. Apart from few exceptions, Indian Universities lack proper publication standards unlike Oxford, Cambridge etc. He also maintained the fact that the publishers often practise unethical activities which might be commercial, but devoid of professionalism. He finally suggested that whatever is printed or published, nothing will survive until and unless professional ethics is maintained.

Professor Swapan Kumar Pramanick (Vice-President, The Asiatic Society) delivered the Presidential address mentioning the Berne convention of 1886 regarding rules and regulations of publication and spoke about the changing scenario in the field of publication across the globe. He pointed out the inconsistencies behind the methods and parameters of checking plagiarism through available software.

The inaugural session ended with the vote of thanks conveyed by Sri Shyam Sundar Bhattacharya (Philological Secretary and the Acting Treasurer, The Asiatic Society).

The first academic session of the workshop started with the lecture of Professor Abhijit Gupta (Director, Publication Division, Jadavpur University) on the 'Concept of Copyright and its Evolution'. Beginning from 16th century England he traced the history of the copyright issue and the milestones of copyright laws at long span of time. With the invention of movable type in the 16th century in Europe, the publishers felt the necessity of some regulations to curb the random reproduction of manuscripts. A Stationers' Guild was formed consisting of 97 members in London in order to impose some degree

of copyright protection, which was perpetual in nature. But there was no acknowledgement of the author; they were given some money only, but no royalty as such. As an example, the speaker cited Shakespeare who did not enjoy anything from copyright. He also mentioned that piracy was in vogue in Glasgow or elsewhere and there was no difference between the publishers, printer and book-sellers at that time. The idea of copyright was first formalised by the Statute of Anne in 1709 through which limited period of copyright was introduced, at the expense of erstwhile perpetual right. Macaulay's lecture in 1842 about copyright law in the House of Lords made many complex ideas of monopoly, copyright, etc. which was considered as another milestone of Copyright Law. Act 20 of 1847 (*Bingshati Ain*) was mentioned which marked the advent of a kind of copyright in colonial Bengal. He also pointed out about the emergence of author as a part of publication in the 18th century, as a result of which the necessity of Intellectual Property Right became visible due to the friction between author and the publisher. He spoke of the modern Copyright Act of 20th and 21st century, formation of society of authors to protect the right of the authors.

Professor Anirban Mazumdar (Faculty member, The West Bengal National University of Juridical Sciences, Kolkata) while discussing on the 'Salient Features of Copyright and Intellectual Property Right and Moral Right of the Author' mentioned about different laws of copyright which are described as a Human Right under Article 27 UDHR (Universal Declaration of Human Right). Copyright is a natural right, where a creation is protected by copyright, irrespective of whether it is registered or not. He mentioned about Intellectual Property Right as non-rival in nature, which cannot be governed as real property. Copyright is a Welfare Legislation. He substantiated the statement by citing the Delhi High Court case of photocopying, which was not considered illegal as such photocopying is meant for the purpose of learning and thus for intellectual development. While citing the instances he categorically mentioned the features of copyright as – fixation, originality, natural right and registration. Fundamentals of copyright were also mentioned as – protection of expression, no copyright in events, no copyright in slogan (due to 'de

minimis'). The other issues which were objectively discussed were copyright in character, types of rights, terms of copyrights, new works under copyright, transfer of copyright and moral right.

'Copy Editor's Encounter with Authors' was addressed by Sri B.N. Varma (Head, Primus Books). He spoke about the ethics of publication from the perspective of the copy-editors. As an editor's responsibility he mentioned that it is essential to go through the pages to understand the author's intention and better not to tamper the author's work. Consistency is essential which the copy-editors have to look into while editing a text. He spoke of the style sheet for different subjects by different publishers. Grammar of copy-editing and language aspects were given due importance. Finally, he pointed out that editing is all about convention and tradition.

While discussing the 'Issues of Copyright and Intellectual Property Right in the Global perspective of Book Publishing', Dr. Sunandan Roy Chowdhury (Founder Publisher and Director, Sampark Global Academy) cited instances like getting copyright to publish works of renowned writers like Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay and stated that copyright plays a crucial commercial role if properly utilized. Citing the instance of Bengali translation of Tintin comics, he significantly mentioned that the menace of piracy can be put into control if publications can be made commercially viable, rather than imposing stringent laws. Democratic exchanges, trade in copyright, ethical and philosophical issues and laws were dealt with examples. He harped on the possibility of exploring South-South cooperation to restore terms of trade in favour of third world nations.

Sri Swagat Sengupta (CEO, Oxford Books) in his discussion explained publishing from different perspectives — book marketing, marketing code of ethics and also of publisher's social responsibility. He mentioned about the fact that many publishers nowadays are practising unfair means for the promotion of their publication, especially in the field of textbooks.

Proceedings of Day II

The second academic session was initiated by Professor Suprakash Roy (Editor in Chief, Science and Culture) with the topic 'Peer Review-

Process, Procedure and Ethical Standards'. He stated, historically, the concept of a peer review process was originated more than thousand years ago. First documented description of a peer review process was found in a book named *Ethics of the Physician* written by Ishaq ibn al-Ruhawi (854-931).Peer review process took a formal shape from the guidelines for the assessment of new science enunciated by Francis Bacon in his book *Novum Organum* of 1620. In 1645 a group had formed to take forward discussion and debate of new science seriously and formed an academy or society. In 1662, the Royal Society of London was born and in 1665 the society published its first journal, *Philosophical Transaction* sedited by Henry Oldenburg. Denis de Sallo also published the first issue of *Journal des Scavans* in the same year. In 1752, the Society took the editorial responsibility of publishing the journal. This is the beginning of the primordial peer review, where editor could take assistance from the members of the academy, a wider group of people than the selected group known only to the editor. While presenting the timeline of the primordial peer review process he stated that the meaning of publication has been revolutionized by computer and internet, the latest approach is- "publish first, filter later", therefore, decoupling peer review from the publishing process. While discussing the traditional method of peer review process he discussed about the single blind, double blind, triple blind peer review process and also highlighted the open peer review process.Mention was made regarding the limitation of the peer review process which was exemplified by the instance of Sokal Hoax. For the improvement of the reporting of research and its peer review process and in order to address the potential cases of abuse and misconduct in the publication process COPE was established in 1997. This created specific guidelines for peer review, authors and editors. Various steps of peer review process were discussed with illustrative case studies.

The history of plagiarism was discussed by Dr. Asitabha Das (Librarian, University of Kalyani) citing examples of plagiarism which existed from time immemorial. He mentioned about the works of the

great writers like Shakespeare, Rabindranath Tagore, Saradindu Bandyopadhyay, Katherine Mansfield which also could not escape allegations of plagiarised ideas. He also tried to inculcate a sensitive attitude towards such allegations and suggested to provide room for sharing and transformation of ideas. He also mentioned that too much dependence on plagiarism checking software without proper human interpretation may result to some misleading conclusions.

In his detailed deliberation Professor Amitava Bandyopadhyay (Faculty member, Dept. of Chemical Engineering, University of Calcutta) dealt with the 'Research Ethics in the Context of Indian Academic Regulatory Regime'. Case studies were cited explaining the realities, forms of malpractices, consequences and types of plagiarism. Ways and methods of Plagiarism detection were also mentioned. Discussion was carried out on author disputes, ghost authorship, gift and guest authorship, prevention of authorship disputes and also on 'Salami Slicing' in the realm of publication. He also shared his personal experience as referee of various peer reviewed journal.

Types of violation of publication ethics, consequences of plagiarism affecting professional, academic reputation along with legal repercussions were discussed by Dr. Kishor Chandra Satpathy (Chief Librarian, Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata). He discussed about the SOPA (Stop Online Piracy Act), PIPA (Protect Intellectual Property Act), Trademark and unfair competition laws. Different sections of the Copyright Act of 1957 in the Indian context were also mentioned.

'An Experimental Approach for Similarity Detection with Turnitin and Urkund' was treated at length by Dr. Pritam Gurey (Librarian, The Asiatic Society). He mentioned about the domains of plagiarism like printed literary/research works, electronic works etc. and also highlighted the types of plagiarism, namely, direct plagiarism, authorship plagiarism, self-plagiarism, mosaic/patchwork plagiarism, etc.

Sri Saurav Mitra (Personnel, Turnitindia Education Pvt. Ltd.) explained at length the multifarious function of the software (including detection of plagiarism) constructed by Turnitindia.

The Valedictory session was initiated by Dr. Satyabrata Chakrabarti citing his personal observation of 'copy-paste', a common practice of the day and the inevitable impact of technology turning to be a part of life itself for the younger generation of today's world of academy.

Sri Tridib Kumar Chattopadhyay (General Secretary, Publishers' and Booksellers' Guild, Kolkata) shared his experience of Bengali publication highlighting the difficulties of copyright from the point of view of the publisher. He spoke about the fraudulent activities of the publishers, 'print on demand' situation that is operative in India and the issue of piracy as a widely practiced phenomenon across the globe.

The trend of the book publishing industry and monopolization of book publication by five to six multinational companies were dealt with by Professor Saumendranath Bera (Faculty member, Department of Journalism & Mass Communication, University of Calcutta). He maintained that for market competition the publication houses must be free from government control. Liberal and inclusive aspects were highlighted in his discussion.

Sri Mukul Guha (Litterateur) highlighted the dearth of professionalism in today's world of publication. He significantly mentioned about the formation of the electronic republic of the present day.

The two days' event came to a halt with the distribution of certificates to the participants and finally with the vote of thanks from Dr. Ramkrishna Chatterjee (Publication Secretary, The Asiatic Society).

Appraisal of the Workshop

The theme of the workshop invited an open discussion on publication, importance of the maintenance of ethics in order to endorse professionalism involved in such a social act. It was observed that the focal point of the deliberation in the two days' workshop was primary regarding the history of copyright, evolution of the copyright laws, roles of the publishers and the position of the authors in the global perspective. Special references were drawn from the Indian scenario with some instances from across the countries. The fuzzy boundaries of copyright laws were revealed from the discussions, which are being addressed from time to time across the nations. The court cases

highlighted in the discussions were undoubtedly enriching for the audience. The entanglement of the copyright laws with the market economy drew attention citing instances both directly and indirectly, from national and international perspectives. Malpractices of publication industry, violation of ethics, piracy and their repercussion became the key components of such deliberations. The discussion on the history of the peer review process took its due position in the convention. The peer review process and practice were substantiated with personal experiences of the veteran editors present there as resource persons and were explained with much objectivity. Although the discussion on copy editing procedure and copy editor's responsibility was marginal, it significantly pointed out the basic ethos of the modus operandi.

A different perspective was evident when the discussion on 'publication ethics' was viewed from the social, political and cultural viewpoints. It took its command on the much discussed issues like plagiarism (along with its types), piracy, malpractice, violation of moral rights, when the deliberations addressed the matter of commercial viability as a means to control fraudulent and unfair means in the publication market rather than imposing stringent laws.

The much discussed topic like plagiarism, its social tension and its blazing negativity of the present day situation, took a radical turn when a much sensitive approach was adopted in the discussion. The existence of plagiarism from time immemorial was traced in the history by citing instances of monumental literary and scientific contributions. The detection of the similarities in such colossal contributions which might be with or without a hiatus of time and space became suggestive of the universal consciousness as an ever encompassing and an ever percolating phenomenon working as an instrument of the evolutionary process, of human consciousness. Therefore, a humanistic intervention before using the rubber stamp of plagiarism, which was suggested,was found to be truly prudent in its approach.

However, an endeavour on the part of The Asiatic Society for publishing such worthy contributions, either as monographs or as an edited volume, is hoped to fill up the gap of such a comprehensive work on 'publication ethics', a desideratum in the context of the present day situation.

Ravi Korisettar (ed) *Beyond Stones and More Stones*, Volumes 1 (2017) and 2 (2018), published by The Mythic Society, 14/3 Nripatunga Road, Bengaluru 560 001. ISBN (vol. 1)978-81-932702-2-4-0 and (vol 2) 978-81-932702-5-7. Price Rs. 1200 each volume.

The books entitled, *Beyond Stones and More Stones* is edited by Ravi Korisettar, Professor Emeritus of the Department of History and Archaeology of Karnatak University and published by the Mythic Society of Bengaluru, Karnatak, in two volumes. The first volume (1) is subtitled as *"Defining Indian Prehistoric Archaeology"* and the second volume (2) is subtitled as, *"Domestication of the Indian Subcontinent"*. The second volume is chronologically a sequel to the first one. Volume 1 is published in 2917 and volume 2 in 2018. On the other hand volume 1 is restricted up to the geological time period of Pleistocene and volume 2 deals with the time beyond Pleistocene into Holocene or recent period. Title of the volumes shows that major focus of the books is on prehistoric archaeology of India, the Stone Age cultures. Both the volumes contain very important and current information on findings on human existence of prehistoric times in India. Much of the mysteries of human evolution both biological and cultural are addressed. Mystic Society, the publisher of the books, was established in 1909 by a group of European and Indian scholars. It has contributed richly to the understanding of past history of India.

The review begins with volume 1, "Defining Indian Prehistoric Archaeology". A total of eleven articles written by both national and international scholars are incorporated in the volume. Each of the articles is considered as a chapter. Ravi Korisettar, the editor has written the first chapter. He has given a description of the Indian subcontinent/ South Asia from geopolitical perspective. The geographical suitability of the subcontinent for habitation of early human kind is discussed. A brief history of discovery of prehistoric sites and cultural remains are given and assessment of progress of archaeological research through nineteenth, twentieth and twenty first centuries are made. Discussion began with pre Acheulian and Acheulian stages on the North western part of the subcontinent and of the early dates of Riwat and Pabbi Hill artefacts from Pakistan and significance of the findings in the light of evidences unearthed at Caucasus region, which is a landmark region

for 'Out of Africa' migration of genus *Homo* into the continent of Eurasia. Discussion included possibility of early colonisation of India by *Homo* as well as the limitation and suggestions for enquiry into faunal remains, fossil men and absolute chronology in order to bring out importance of the subcontinent for the study of prehistory. The article pointed out absolute dates found for the prehistoric cultures of India. The earliest for Acheulian is 1.5 Ma, for Middle Palaeolithic date is 78 Ka. All these dates are examined against the possibility of hominid migration from Africa into the subcontinent. He emphasised study in Pakistan for searching for both biological and cultural remains of early man in dated context. In this chapter the editor has given an overview of the writings in other chapters. Second chapter is written by A. R. Sankhyan, formerly of Anthropological Survey of India. He wrote about the evidences of hominoids and hominines found in India. Detailed account Miocene hominoids against chronological background are given. The author has suggested possible common hominid ancestor. This article is quite comprehensive supplemented by graphs, charts and plates. The third article is by Ravi Korisettar on exodus of *Homo* from Africa. This article has its importance for students and scholars working on this line. The chapter is with details on the findings, discussed against chronological framework incorporating most recent evidences and supplemented with charts and illustrations. Farther on out of Africa of the *Homo sapiens* is discussed by Haslam, Oppenheimer from the University of Oxford and Korisettar. They have given account of possible dates, cultural milieu and routes of migration. Both coastal and riverine routes are suggested for the migration. They also suggested that migration at different parts of the subcontinent took place at different times. Example is given of the findings from the site Jurrero, Andhra Pradesh, in the context of Toba Ash dates. The fifth chapter is by Shiela Athreya, department of Anthropology, Texas University. She has viewed the prehistory and early history of South Asia from the perspective of genomic evidences. Shraddha Band, Madhusudan G. Yadav (Physical Research Laboraty, Navrangpura, Ahmedabad) and Renga Ramaswamy Ramesh (National Institute of Science Education, Bhubaneswar, Odisha) wrote chapter six. They have worked on monsoon climatic variation and Oxygen Isotope data for the last 200,000 years from South Asia.

The study revealed that monsoon was weak during Pleistocene but picked up momentum during Holocene period. Westgate (University of Toronto, Canada) and Pearce (Abberyswoth University, UK) have given detailed information on Toba Ash and its significance for dating the archaeological materials. It is about the huge ash deposit that was formed due to the three subsequent eruption of the Toba volcano on the island of Sumatra in Indonesia. With the application of fission track method the *tefra* were dated. However, only the youngest ash deposit is associated with Middle Palaeolithic artefacts in Deccan area and the culture is dated to 75 Ka with such volcanic ash. The eighth chapter is on the west coast geoarchaeology of India by Sushama G. Deo and S. N. Rajaguru (Deccan College, deemed University). Their query rested on submersion of Palaeolithic settlements in the Arabian Sea. Inferences are drawn on Palaeolithic archaeology from fluvial geomorphology, sea level changes and palynological data from the Konkan and Saurashtra coasts of peninsular India. Research was carried out on Fiffty Fathom Flat (FFF) along the west coast. It is assumed that the Palaeolithic sites may have their counterpart in the FFF which had submerged in the sea due to shift in the continental shelf. Smith (Australia), Koshi (Madras University) and Aravazi (ASI Museum, Halibedu) had given an account of their excavation of the lime stone cave at Billasargam. The site was excavated earlier in 1844. Importance of this work lies with fact that the authors identified the mammalian fauna, which continued for the last 200,000 years in the cave. They also identified Young Toba Tuff (YTT) for the first time in a cave in India and for the first time directly dated rock arts of the cave. The tenth chapter is on the chronological perspective of transition of Acheulian into Middle Palaeolithic culture, noted at Bhimbetka, written by Shipton from university of Cambridge. This finding is valuable because it not only pointed out the gradual change in tool making technology but also has interpreted evolution of cognitive behaviour and expertise of the men responsible for the transition. The eleventh and last chapter is on the transition of manufacturing technology of prehistoric stone tools in South Asia. Clarkson (Queensland University), Harris (University of Cambridge) and Shipton have jointly authored the article. They have pointed out that mechanism of transition was gradual and continuous

from Lower Palaeolithic to Middle Palaeolithic and in to Microlithic cultures respectively. They are of the opinion that availability of modern dating methods, development of better mode of lithic analysis and collaborative research between national and international scientists will lead to better understanding of the position of the subcontinent in the perspective of bio-cultural evolution of early man. The book is dedicated to the next generation. In fact the volume is valuable for scholars for understanding prehistory of India in the light of recent discoveries.

Volume 2, "Domestication of the Indian Subcontinent", is a sequel to volume 1 and it deals with the subsequent geological time period. Main focus of the book is development of agriculture from Neolithic to Iron Age. This volume is divided into thirteen chapters including the epilogue by Ravi Korisettar.

First chapter of this volume, written by Ravi Korisettar, the editor, gives an overall understanding of the contents of the book pointing out the recent development of bio-archaeology. Archaeobotany and zoo-archaeology played a major role in understanding nuclear area for domestication of plants and animal husbandry, as well as diffusion of such knowledge to other parts of the country. Although Southwest Asia played a major role for understanding development of agriculture in India but India too has witnessed the transition of hunting-gathering, nomadic way of life to village-farming settled communites. Chapter two is written by Fuller and Murphy from the Institute of Archaeology, London University. They have given account of the origin and development of food crops and domestication of animals in Indian subcontinent with the available evidences from South Asia with an exhaustive background account of findings from Asia as a whole. They had focused on the distribution of wild progenitors of cultivable varieties in the subcontinent. According to them millets, pulses and possibly *indica* variety of rice had originated in India. Genetics and archaeobotany were used for this kind of research. The authors attempted at matching dates of human burial with archaeobotanical evidences to ascertain chronology for transition in subsistence level. Third chapter is a continuous one of the second chapter and is written by Boivin, Ayushi Nayak from the Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History, Germany and Ravi Korisettar. Main focus of research

is on the Maidan region of Deccan Penninsula. They have discussed pastoralism and independent origin of certain pulses and millets. In their opinion, based on recent finding of radiocarbon dates, transition of Neolithic-Iron Age (Megalithic) did not take place in Deccan. Stephen Meece in chapter four had given interesting account on pastoralism. Bones of sheep and goat are found from home bases whereas, bones of cattle and larger animals came from the ash mounds. The larger animals appeared to have died of natural death. His conclusion suggests that sheep and goat were herded for food but not the cattle. Fuller and Kingwell (Institute of Archaeology, University of London) in chapter five suggested that by early third millennium and end of first millennium B. C., long distance trade network had developed in India and gradually early historic politics were formed in the peninsular region of the subcontinent. Chapter six is written by Peter Johansen, department of Anthropology, McGill University, Canada. He had worked on the issue of cow dung burning, cultural and faunal remains from the ash mounds of Northern Karnataka and Western Andhra Pradesh. Sri Kumar Menon of National Institute of Advanced Studies, IISC Campus, Bengaluru, had researched on Megaliths of Deccan and has suggested in chapter seven that since there is no wedge mark on the stones, these were erected by Neolithic people prior to the advent of metal in the area.

Chapters eight to twelve are on rock art from Deccan area. Ravi Korisettar, in chapter eight, has dealt on the history of rock art studies starting from Wakankar's research to later works that had been carried out in India. He has also taken account of western methodology for such study. His comparative analysis of rock art in India in the background of geomorphology, ecology and landscape analysis is important for understanding rock art in South Asia. Chapter nine is by Urmi Ghosh Biswas and V. H. Sonawane of department of Archaeology and Ancient History, M. S. University of Baroda. They studied Indian rock art from the perspective of Neuropsychological model. They opened up a method of rock art study based on cognitive factors of early man, use of symbols in association with shamanism. Jinu Koshy, Malar Koshy, Ramesh Masethung, Ajay Kumar, all from Madras University and Ravi Korisettar in chapter ten wrote on diversity of rock

art themes from space to space. They also identified animal figures and tried to establish man-animal relationship through rock art. Chapter eleven is by David Robinson, University of Central Lancshire, School of Forensic and investigative Sciences. The paper is on the rock arts of Bellary district. Under Bellary District Archaeological Project (BDAP), innumerable rock art sites in the district had been charted. Recently discovered rock art at Hiregudda site in Sanganakallu region is discussed in this article. A detail about the study of rock art in Bellary district from colonial and post independent period is critically discussed. According to him proper method of rock art study may throw light on the contemporary people and society. R. Arjun has written chapter twelve. He is from School of Business Studies and Social Sciences, CHRIST, deemed University, Bengaluru. His study is on rock arts of Neolithic – Iron Age communities, from Raichur Doab and Chitradurg district. He emphasised that the bull figures, rituals, sonic productions together with cattle ritual and shamanism continued from Neolithic in to Iron Age. There were gradual expansion of settlements and useful tapping water resources. These gave rise to developed economy and political system in the region. Chapter thirteen, the last one is written by Ravi Koristtar. It is an overall assessment of Man-Land relationship during prehistoric times in the Indian subcontinent. He has given a detailed understanding of the geomorphologic features of the subcontinent. The evidence of climatic change through Pleistocene and Holocene is discussed with special emphasis on Holocene climate stages. He has suggested that climatic change probably gave rise to domestication of millet in Deccan. He has divided the middle to early Holocene cultures of the subcontinent into eleven tradition bearing zones. The Palaeolithic and Mesolithic cultures developed with region specific adaptation to subsequent and resulting ecosystem. However, the climatic regimes were such that it provided food crops locally, giving rise to transition from gathering-collecting economy to domestication of plants and animals. He had laid special emphasis on work done in peninsular India with a focus on Northern Maidan region of Karnataka. This article is a summary of work done so far on the Stone Age of India. The books treasure troves of current evidences, chronology, methodology and interpretation of prehistory in India.

Ranjana Ray

Ana Jelnikar, *Universalist Hopes in India and Europe : The Worlds of Rabindranath Tagore and Srecko Kosovel*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2016.

Be a lamp
If you can't be human;
For being human is difficult
[Jelnikar and Carlson 2010, ix]

The book under review explores a fascinating subject on the affinities in the thinking of Rabindranath and Srecko Kosovel, a Slovenian poet in the early part of the twentieth century. They never met, yet Kosovel's poetry and thinking reflected an indelible mark of the impact of Rabindranath. The author uses as entry point the new translation of Tagore's *Gitanjali* published in 2013, in which William Radice quoted an epigram from a poem 'In Green India' by Srecko Kosovel, the Slovenian poet:

In Green India among quiet
Trees that bend over blue water
Lives Tagore.

Kosovel , who died very young, had his poetry published in the 1920s, but he was barely known to the contemporaries. Nearly a century later, he is recognised as Slovenia's leading 'avant-garde' poet. Radice feels that Kosovel genuinely empathised with Tagore, something Yeats did not. The role of intuition, imagination and creative construction comes into play in this little known meeting of minds. But it was probably one-sided. Kosovel read Tagore in translation; Tagore did not know him.

Shortly before his premature death in 1925 he titled his first publication *Zlati Coln* (The Golden Boat). It was probably a tribute to Tagore for he had read *Sonar Tari* in translation. This is the guess of both Radice and Ana Jelnikar, the author of this book. In his Collected Works, published much later, there were numerous references to Tagore (50) while Tolstoy had 30 and Romain Roland 15. It is more than mere coincidence, feels the author, that both the books were reissued in English translation as 'The Golden Boat' in 2008, indicating the new relevance the works have in the present times.

What was it that attracted him to Tagore? Was there any direct attributable influence of Tagore in Kosovel's writing? What are the ideas that may have forged an unconscious link? In seeking answer to such questions, Ana Jelnikar finds that both were writing from their respective 'margins', from countries under subjugation. Anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, nationalism, liberation and universalism/ cosmopolitanism are ideas which are examined in this context to find common elements of emotional-intellectual bond between these two men. In the margins of Europe, the author argues, 'the Orient' presents itself forcefully and can be seen as a 'corrective mirror' to 'Europe undermining its imperialist ideologies and orthodoxies'. The author seeks to 'approach Tagore and Kosovel's own articulations of "universalism" and their projects of liberation' in the context of their own histories and suggests that pre-war and post-war Europe experienced crisis and sickness and there was an urge to turn to the East. 'O lies, lies, European lies/Only destruction can kill you', wrote Kosovel (Destruction). This could be a meaningful framework within which Kosovel's response to Tagore can be made sense of. Kosovel wrote in 1925:

"We happen to be living at the crossroads of Western and Eastern Europe, on the battlefront of Eastern Culture with Western, in an age which is the most exciting and the most interesting in its multiplicity of idioms and movements in politics, economics and art, because our age carries within it all the idioms of the cultural and political past of Europe and possibly the future of Asia" [Jelnikar and Carlson, 2010 : 201]

Both Tagore and Kosovel were writing in a new era of 'globalising capital' and of imperialism. Tagore dubbed the imperialist war as the 'biggest orgy of evil'. Kosovel wrote about Europe's crisis. A new literary order was also emerging. On the other hand was emerging what Partha Mitter calls a 'virtual cosmopolis'- a shared world-wide canvas of modern ideas and ideas on modernity. The inter-war period has been described also as an 'Internationalist Moment' which experienced an unprecedented inter-connectedness in the world and this seems to have generated new ideas as markers of the times.

[Raza, Roy, Zachariah, 2014]. There were 'situational identities'- centre to periphery, periphery to periphery. The author finds commonalities around two possible notions- 'cross-colony situational identities', and 'shared or global modernity'. How did Tagore and Kosovel negotiate 'global modernity' from their respective regions?

It is in this context that the author seeks to situate non-hegemonic universalism of Tagore and Kosovel vis-à-vis nationalism- a dominant ideological force of that time. 'Tagore and Kosovel chose to define an alternative identity for themselves and their compatriots – one that would resist foreign subjugation without succumbing to nationalist exclusivism.' But was there one universalism or could there be different notions of universalism? Was it monolithic? Was it hegemonic? Kosovel's aspirations were for an ideal 'universal artist', as he noted in his journal, someone who would not be 'patriotically local' but 'humanly universal'. In the words of the author, 'The initial impetus behind this study was to understand, more fully, Kosovel's fascination with Tagore – the reasons behind it, its relevance, and the manner in which the young poet "translated" Tagore's ideas for his own goals. But the fact that these two writers and intellectuals also had much in common prevented me from relegating Tagore to a mere "influence". Ultimately, this book is a study of how both writers, from their respective "margins", responded to the historical predicament of European imperialism by reaching out to some kind of a "universal" ideal.'

In analysing universalism as balancing domination and liberation, the author deals more with theories than with the ideas of Tagore and Kosovel though their understanding of nationalism and universalism as also their anti-colonialism is often referred to. Jelnikar brings formidable erudition in discussing relevant theories put forward by writers across the continents. It includes a wealth of contesting and complementing ideas put forward by the major thinkers and commentators on nationalism, universalism, anti-colonial and anti-imperial struggles. This is seen as necessary to provide the context for a resurgent interest in 'universalism'.

Three chapters deal with a fairly detailed analysis of Tagore's historical context and his evolution from a *Swadeshi* to a *Viswakavi*,

his enquiries into the relationship between the individual and the world and responses to Tagore in Europe. His ideas of nationalism and universalism in particular are delineated in depth. There is a focus on Rabindranath's understanding of imperialism and the crisis of Europe. The author reads *Sonar Tari* as an 'expression of Tagore's universalist philosophy where distinct cultural products are imagined as free from narrow racial, cultural or political association, and travelling beyond their origins, are integrated into a wider arena'. A very important section is the one that deals with his educational experiments with Viswa-Bharati, where he did try to make Santiniketan a hub of the whole world. The travels of Tagore, particularly in Europe, are narrated to locate the diverse responses to him. While there was a cooling in the enthusiasm for him in England, his reputation on the continent was increasing. It may incidentally be mentioned that Tagore visited Zaghreb, Belgrade in 1926, but not Ljubljana, where Kosovel lived and worked for the greater part of his life. He was served, in the opinion of the author, by his translators in Europe like Gide, Jimenez and Gradnik. Gradnik translated five of Tagore's works into Slovene. Rabindranath enjoyed great popularity there as some of his essays including *'The Religion of Man'* and excerpts from *Nationalism* were translated. Two of his plays-*The Post Office* and *Chitra* were staged in the Ljubljana City Theatre. There was obviously a celebration of Tagore. The translations into Slovene in particular helped Kosovel assimilate the ideas of Tagore as revealed in his poetry. Tagore in a letter to Elmhirst in November, 1926 wrote about the 'reckless career of political ambition and adventures of greed' of the big nations. The response of the Slovenes, the author argues, played an important role in building his reputation in the region. She sees in this a 'sense of shared concerns, for which the Slovenes were sympathetically drawn to Tagore and what he stood for from the very start.' An article on Tagore expressed the happiness of the Slavic people over the winning of the Nobel Prize by Tagore as against the Austrian poet Rossegger. Tagore was described as 'a spiritual giant of enormous horizons' as against the parochialism of Rossegger. Even his patriotic songs were seen as expressions of 'his universalism'. The

author asserts that the Slovenes in fact lobbied for Tagore. The author sums up her narrative so far by arguing that 'the two strains that inform Tagore's Slovenian, as well as wider Yugoslav, reception in the twenties — the political and the aesthetic-converge in the legacy of Kosovel's work.'

The author then proceeds to examine the political pressures that shaped Kosovel's life and informed his reading of Tagore and his emergence as an 'avant-Garde' poet in two separate chapters. Slovenia was part of the Hapsburg Empire, experienced Italian domination for a time and after the war became part of the new South Slav state of Yugoslavia. He moved on from his childhood near Trieste to Ljubljana later. Because of real (and imagined) imperialist threats to Slovenian existence, Kosovel was up against a climate in which traditionalism and domesticity were the prescribed mode. In contrast, Kosovel's quest for 'Slovenianness', especially towards the end of his prematurely cut-off life, refused to succumb to narratives of cultural identity that harp on ideas of origin, race or some other allegedly 'natural' essence. Instead he projected a new type of human being – "new man" – who would resist assimilation into coercive identity politics and institute a future world of harmony and solidarity. He launched an attack on nationalism and he wrote in his poem, *Spherical Mirror*, 'nationalism is a lie'. He also tried to salvage the concept of '*narod*' (a people or nation) from hijacking by nationalism: 'A *narod* for us can only ever mean a nation which has freed itself from nationalism'. [Jelnikar and Carlson, 2010; 207] Like Tagore Kosovel also wanted to extend his poetic vision to more practical spheres through work and education. Education was a sine qua non for awareness about human rights.

With respect to literary and linguistic innovations, traditionalism too held the upper hand. This is because, historically, smaller Slavic cultures have forged a very close link between language, literature and politics. Some Slavic theorists of the avant-garde have even dubbed them 'philological nations […] constituted through their national language'. Given the sacred role literature and literary language are thereby entrusted with, any violation of traditionally sanctioned forms is seen as a direct attack on the national body itself. Finally, Jelnikar

shows how Kosovel launched his protest against nationalism as a writer and a poet, precisely by pushing out the 'national' boundaries of acceptable literary expression. The role of both Tagore and Kosovel as activists has been highlighted to understand their ideological concerns better.

Thus, an international context that unites two writers who never met could produce strong similarities in their world views which the author would call, as we have already seen, the internationalism of 'situational identification'. This world-view, among others, underscored the irrationality of nationalism in the age of nationalisms, and the difficulties inherent in the struggle to escape nationalist thinking even with the best of intentions. The First World War alerted Kosovel to the danger of nationalism, particularly of the raising of the barriers along ethnic lines, which rode roughshod over shared human identity and ruled out the possibility of 'multiple identities'. Rabindranath found the objectives of nationalism to be ignoble; its supreme ideals were to 'gain and not to grow'. Kosovel's thinking on nationalism was indebted to Rabindranaths. He wrote an essay entitled *Nationhood and Education* (1923) which was, the author points out, influenced by Rabindranath's *Nationalism* (1917). However, they both developed their critiques from their own situational and existential experiences and from their own 'margins'. They did not wish to 'play the nation game', for 'it is futile to search for a serviceable nationalism that is less than exclusionary and oppressive; nationalisms draw boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, impose belonging and non-belonging, and police these'. [Zachariah. 2011, 250-1]

The author is careful to note that Kosovel and Tagore came from different cultural contexts. Further, Kosovel's knowledge of India and its realities was limited. He read Tagore, possibly a bit of Gandhi, knew about Buddhism and other eastern religions mediated through the German Romantic tradition. He might also have been aware of India's anti-colonial struggle. But it is certain that Tagore knew nothing of Kosovel and was only slightly aware of the post-war conditions in Slovenia or the wider areas of South East Europe. These differences might raise the question that the author is trying to compare two

dissimilar sets. She is aware of this and, in the final chapter, seeks to resolve the problem. Her detailed analysis throughout the book does establish that the differences nothwithstanding, there is a concordance in the concerns and ideas of these two men. They seek a new and creative ideal of universalism in place of exclusivist nationalism which they reject. The experience in their respective 'margins' also provided a structural logic to their affinities. Kosovel's poetry contained a 'complex, global configuration of anti-imperial politics and ethics'. There is no doubt that it was Kosovel who was inspired by Tagore's writings, but their quest was for a common goal for humanity. Jelnikar would assert that Kosovel was not seeking in Tagore 'the long — lost voice of ancient India', but a 'relevant contemporary.' Kosovel found a source of 'life-affirming' vision in Tagore's poetry and philosophy. A new literary order was also emerging around the time and both these men were contributors to it. They appealed for a common ground for all humanity. Their liberational quest shunned exclusionist nationalism and searched for openness and inclusiveness. In other words, they were conjuring a vision of a new universal order-open and inclusive. In the words of the author, 'What unites these two thinkers across their respective "colonised" margins is precisely that from within a context in which the only possible way to claim a legitimate status to equality and independence was through aligning oneself with a nation state, Tagore and Kosovel sounded a warning signal against the hegemony of this principle.... They wanted to subvert an ideology they considered dangerous and misguided.' One would fully agree with the author that these ideas are particularly relevant today for both Europe and India (and also the rest of the world). If I have not misread, there is perhaps a suggestion that the voices from the margins of Europe and Asia (the 'Orient') presented a unified *weltanschauung*, as it were. In establishing her arguments, the author has extensively quoted from the works of Tagore and Kosovel to indicate their own thoughts as also to establish linkages between Tagore's ideas and those of Kosevel. We may just refer to two small passages:

The traveller has to knock/on every alien door to come/ to his own, and one has to wander/through all the outer world to reach/ the innermost shrine at the end. (Gitanjali, Poem no. 12)

You must wade/through a sea of words/to arrive in yourself/ Then alone, forgetting all speech/return to the world/Speak as solitude speaks,/with unutterable mystery. (Who Cannot Speak) [Jelnikar and Carlson, 2010, 67]

The search for a new universalism is in Ernesto Laclau's words 'the symbol of a missing fullness'. The author sees this in the *Golden Boat* (*Sonar Tori/Zlati Coln*) — a metaphor for this universalist utopia. This is where their political concern and aesthetic quest merge. The quest for a new universalism may have over the decades proved to be illusory, but at the moment when the rise of aggressive nationalisms in different parts of the world indicate the real possibility of massive or at least numerous small conflicts, the illusion is something that would sustain our hopes for a better world. We should be thankful to the author for reminding us of an age and of poets who conjured a vision that is still very relevant for the survival of humanity.

Ana Jelnikar set out to accomplish a difficult task, but she has succeeded in producing a seminal book which is a significant and substantial contribution to the existing corpus of knowledge in comparative literature and in the sphere of cultural and creative interface between Europe and Asia. She brings formidable scholarship, arduous research and creative imagination to make the period and the issues she discusses come alive. It is no mean task to connect two apparently dissimilar personalities, living in two different worlds, as it were, and succeed in connecting them convincingly. She is aware of the limitations inherent in such a project, and has not overstretched the point. Her conclusions are all supported by impressive evidence and arguments she has marshalled.

References

[1] Ana Jelnikar and Barbara Siegel Carlson, *Look Back, Look Ahead: The Selected Poems of Srecko Kosovel*, New York: Ugly Duckling Press, 2010.

[2] Banjamin Zachariah, *Playing the Nation Game*, New Delhi : Yoda Press, 2011.

[3] Ali Raza, Franziska Roy & Banjamin Zachariah, *The Internationalist Moment: South Asia, Worlds and World Views, 1917-39.* New Delhi: Sage, 2014.

Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty

CONTRIBUTORS

Amiya Kumar Bagchi
Founder Director and Professor Emeritus, IDSK, Kolkata

Amiya K. Samanta
Retired IPS Officer and former Visiting faculty in the NUJS

K. Paddayya
Emeritus Professor and former Director
Department of Archaeology
Deccan College (Deemed University)
Pune

Rajat Kanti Das
Former Professor of Anthropology
Vidyasagar University, Midnapore, West Bengal

Ranjana Ray
Anthropological Secretary
The Asiatic Society
Kolkata

S. B. Chakrabarti
General Secretary
The Asiatic Society, Kolkata

Sagarika Sur
Publication Section
The Asiatic Society, Kolkata

Samik Biswas
Publication Section
The Asiatic Society, Kolkata

Satarupa Dattamajumdar
Linguist, Former Project Director,
Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi

Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty
Vice President, The Asiatic Society, Kolkata

GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. *JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY* is published by the Asiatic Society in April, July, October and January. The articles in the Journal reflect the best of scholarship. **The Society welcomes such research articles based on the discovery of new facts or new interpretations of or relationships between already discovered facts.** The Society also welcomes short descriptive articles on little or unknown facts or factual accounts of them.
2. It is the policy of the *JOURNAL* that all contributions will be submitted to referees (specialists in respective fields) for expert evaluation. Any change suggested by them will then be referred to the contributor. The Society reserves the right to make final alterations in the text, on linguistic and stylistic grounds, so that the entry conforms to the uniform standard required for the Journal.
3. Manuscripts should follow the standard format of the concerned discipline. All scripts should be in **duplicate** along with soft copy and typed double-spaced, including the quotations, notes, references and all other matters. The format should have ample margins on left and right, and top and bottom. Contributors must provide their affiliations and complete mailing addresses along with their articles. Please send all correspondence to the General Secretary, The Asiatic Society, 1 Park Street, Kolkata–700016, Telephone: 033-2229 0779/ 7251, 2249-7250, 2226-8242, Fax : 033-2217 2355, e-mail: asiaticsocietypublications1788@gmail.com, gs.asiatic@gmail.com, Website: https://asiaticsocietycal.com.
4. Length of the article may be restricted between 5000 and 8000 words. Each article should be accompanied by an abstract not exceeding 100 words.
5. Concise Oxford Dictionary or Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (latest edn.) should be followed in spelling, punctuation and hyphenation. Where two spellings exist, use the British style not the American; for example, 'programme', not 'program' and 'colour', not 'color'.
6. Diacritical marks should be used wherever necessary. Where diacritical marks are not used, the word should be spelt phonetically, e.g., *bhut* and *bhoot* (unless in a quotation, where the original spelling should be used).
7. a. Quotation is expected to be identical *verbatim et litteratum* with the original; b. To indicate ellipsis three single space dots are to be used; c. Long quotations consisting of five or more lines do not need inverted commas but are to be indicated by indenting the extract three spaces from the left margin; d. Shorter quotations should be

within double inverted commas, while quotations within quotations should be within single inverted commas.

8. For all copyright materials the writer should seek and have the permission from appropriate authorities.

9. All references and notes should be numbered consecutively throughout the article and typed on a separate sheet at the end. All references are to be given generally in the following order : the name or initials of the author followed by surname, the title of the work (in italics), the publisher, the place of publication and the page no/s (vide examples below).

   Books :
   Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India,* London, 1933, 7.

   Articles in Books :
   H.V. Trivedi, "The Geography of Kautilya", *Indian Culture,* Vol. 1, 202ff.

   Edited Volumes :
   C.W. Troll, ed. *Muslim Shrines in India : Their Character, History and Significance,* Delhi, 1989.

   Articles in Journals :
   G. Hambly, "A Note on the Trade in Eunuchs in Mughal Bengal", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (hereafter *JAOS*), Vol. 94(1), 1974, 125-29.

   Articles in Edited Volumes
   P. Gaeffke, "Alexander and the Bengal Sufis", in Alan W. Entwistle and Francoise Mallison, eds, *Studies in South Asian Devotional Literature, Research Papers, 1988-1991,* New Delhi/Paris, 1994, 278-84.

10. Book Reviews must contain name of the author/editor and the book reviewed, place of publication and publisher, year of publication, number of pages and price.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

SANSKRIT

आ = ā	ई = ī
ऊ = ū	ऋ = ṛ
ङ = ṅa	च = ca
छ = cha	ञ = ña
ट = ṭa	ठ = ṭha
ड = ḍa	ढ = ḍha
ण = ṇa	श = śa
ष = ṣa	ं = ṁ

TIBETAN

= ka	= kha	= ga	= ṅa/nga
= ca	= cha	= ja	= ña/nya
= ta	= tha	= da	= na
= pa	= pha	= ba	= ma
= tsa	= tsha	= dza	= wa
= zha	= za	= 'a	= ya
= ra	= la	= śa/sha	= sa
= ha	= a		

ARABIC (both Cap & Small)

أ	A a		ض	D	
آ (long)	Ā ā		ط	T	
ب	B b		ظ	Z	
ت	T t		ع	ʿ	
ث	Th th		غ	Gh	
ج	J j		ف	F	
ح	H h		ق	K	
خ	Kh kh		ك	K	
د	D		ل	L	
ذ	Dh		م	M	
ر	R		ن	N	
ز	Z		و (long)	Ū	
س	S		ه	H	
ش	Sh		ى	Y	
ص	Ṣ		ى (long)	Ī	

PERSIAN

أ	A		ض	D	
آ (long)	Ā		ط	T	
ب	B		ظ	Z	
پ	P		ع	ʿ	
ت	T		غ	Gh	
ث	Th		ف	F	
ج	J		ق	K	
چ	Ch		ك	K	
ح	H		گ	G	
خ	Kh		ل	L	
د	D		م	M	
ذ	Dh		ن	N	
ر	R		و	U	
ز	Z		و (long)	Ū	
ژ	Z		ه	H	
س	S		ى	Y	
ش	Sh		ى (long)	Ī	
ص	Ṣ				

Some of our Recent Publications

Bharater Atit Byakhya Prasange by Amartya Sen, *Eng. tr. by* Asish Lahiri	₹ 120
Rasagangadhara *ed. with the into Eng. by* Chinmoyee Chatterjee	₹ 500
Essays on Indo-European Linguistics *ed. by* S. R. Banerjee	₹ 240
Exploring Ethno-Linguistic Vitality : A Study of the Nature and Extent of Endangerment in Tiwa (Lalung) Language *by* Satarupa Dattamajumdar	₹ 1000
An Encounter between Two Asian Civilisations : Rabindranath Tagore and the Early Twentieth Century Indo-Japanese Cultural Confluence *ed. by* Subhas Ranjan Chakraborty and Shyam Sundar Bhattacharya	₹ 850
A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society, Vol. II : Dharmashastra or Smriti *comp. by* Bibekananda Banerjee, *ed. by* S. R. Banerjee	₹ 1500
Descriptive Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts *ed. by* W. Ivanow	₹ 3000
Indigenous Roots of Modern Science in Colonial Bengal *by* Asoke Basu & Saibal Datta	₹ 650
Remembering Rajendralala Mitra	₹ 150
Padmavati of Malik Mahammad Jaisi *Eng. tr. by* A. G. Shirreff	₹ 650
Studies in Gandhism : A Selection *by* Nirmal Kumar Bose	₹ 400
Tribal Health Care System : A Tribute to P. O. Bodding *ed. by* Ranjana Ray	₹ 1200
Chaturacintamani *ed. by* Amal Shib Pathak	₹ 450
Rabindrakabye Itihascharana : Aitihyachetana O Adhunikata *by* Subhas Chandra Bandyopadhyay	₹ 375
Chinese Sources of South Asian History in Translation, vol. VIII *by* Haraprasad Ray	₹ 375
Nana On Lion *by* Bratindranath Mukherjee	₹ 1000
Index to the Publications of the Asiatic Society *comp. by* Sibadas Choudhuri	₹ 900
Understanding Autism through the Lens of Parents and Professionals *ed. by* Subir Kumar Dutta & Mitu De	₹ 400
Emerging Areas in North-East India Studies *ed. by* J. B. Bhattacharjee	₹ 1000
Mananena Hi Jivati *ed. by* Nabanarayan Bandyopadhyay	₹ 250
Sedentary Games of India *ed. by* Nirbed Ray & Amitabha Ghosh	₹ 700
Danasagarah of Ballala Sena *ed. by* Bhabatosh Bhattacharya	₹ 2000

THE ASIATIC SOCIETY e-mail : asiaticsocietypublications1788@gmail.com

It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers and men of science, in different parts of Asia, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatick Society at Calcutta; it will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease.

Sir William Jones
on the publication of the Asiatic Society

ISSN : 0368-3308