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A SURVEY OF RECENT STUDIES
on
MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

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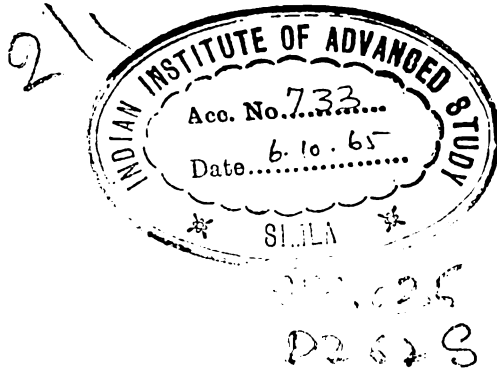
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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

I undertook this work at the suggestion of Mr. Chadbourne Gilpatric, Assistant Director, Rockefeller Foundation (Humanities). I am grateful to him and to the other authorities of the Rockefeller Foundation, New York, for the financial assistance and encouragement I received from the preparation of this Survey. I regret very much that I could not bring it out earlier, due to my various other pressing engagements.

I shall be immensely gratified if students of History feel interest in this humble work of mine.

Patna University,
Patna-5.
INDIA.

K. K. Datta
12-2-1957

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A SURVEY OF RECENT STUDIES

ON

MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

Section I

Comprehensive and correct study of modern Indian history, in its manifold aspects, is a great need for proper understanding of the various forces that have influenced human society in different countries. Besides being subject for long to British rule, India has also come into intimate contact with the outside world in other ways and felt the impact of the various trends of civilisation that developed there. She has also exercised her own influence on the minds of the people of those countries. Role of India in the modern world, indeed, deserves careful and critical appreciation.

For the political and administrative aspects of our subject we have extensive literature. From the early days of Indo-British administration, bands of writers like Orme, Watts, Scrafton, Bolts, Verelst, Shore, Prinsep, Wilks, Malcolm. Munro, Sleeman, Tod, Duff, Elphinstone, Martin, Cunningham and some others bequeathed to posterity a substantial store of historical information regarding India. The stock was further enriched by the admirable historical works of Mill, Thornton, Auber, Ross, Marshman, Nolan, Broome, Keene, Kaye, Beveridge, Malleson and a few others. Among these who have in modern times written British Indian History as a whole, or selected portions of it, the names of Sir G. W. Forrest, Sir John Strachey, Sir James Stephen, Mr. S. C. Hill, Sir Alfred Lyall, Mr. Ramsay Muir, Mr. Owen, Prof. P. E. Roberts, Prof. H. H. Dodwell, Prof. C. C. Davies, Prof. C. H. Philips, Sir H. Verney Lovett and Dr. T. G. P. Spear deserve special mention. While books like Prof. P. E. Roberts' *India under Wellesley*, Prof. C. C. Davies' *Warren Hastings and Oudh*, and Prof. C. H. Philips' *The East India Company* are examples of critical scholarship, some other modern works could not be written on strictly impartial lines for this reason or that.

We are also profoundly indebted to some modern European scholars for their valuable contributions to the history of this period, made during their stay in India or after they had left it. Several years back, Prof. A Martineau, Rev. W. K. Firmin-ger, Prof. Rushbrook Williams, Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, Mr.

H. G. Rawlinson, and some others, actively interested themselves in writing some really useful books and articles. From time to time Col. H. Bullok and Major H. Hobbs have contributed some interesting and informative papers. Rev. H. Heras has ably pointed out the importance of Jesuit Letters and Accounts. Cavaleiro Pandurang Pissurlencar, and Mons. Alfred Lehuraux have rendered great service to Indian scholars by drawing their attention to the value of Portuguese and French records respectively.

To all this must be added the fruitful historical studies of modern Indian scholars, as a result of their patient investigations. Many of them have carried on their studies in a spirit of dedication in the midst of weighty handicaps. Several factors have helped them in this noble work of revealing correctly the past of their country for the knowledge and benefit of humanity. It has been very significantly observed by Lord Acton that the "knowledge of the past, the record of truths revealed by experience, is preeminently practical, is an instrument of action and a power that goes to the making of the future." Indeed, "through the proper study of history we can join the wisdom of Solomon to the counsel of Socrates by trying to get understanding and learning to know ourselves."

One of these factors has been the growing cultural renaissance in our country in the modern period creating in the minds of some of our illustrious Indian scholars a genuine urge to reveal and understand properly the past and contemporary history of this great land. There is no doubt that pioneer studies in this respect began to be made by bands of western scholars from the closing years of the eighteenth century, particularly after the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, and these were followed subsequently by some others of foreign nationalities. From the days of Rammohan Roy began a creative period in the annals of Indian culture. In spite of foreign domination throughout the nineteenth century and later on, the studies of a galaxy of Indian scholars have produced marvellous results in unfolding our past and in assessing the conditions of the modern age. The spirit of renaissance was kept alive also by the great apostles of awakened India like Rammohan, Ramkrishna, Vivekanand, Rabindranath, Aurobindo and Mahatma Gandhi. "Out of the past," remarked Swami Vivekanand significantly, "is built the future. Look back, therefore, as far as you can, drink deep of the eternal fountains that are behind and after that, look forward, march forward and make India mightier, greater, much higher than she ever was. Out of consciousness of past greatness, we must build an India greater than she has been."

Indian intellect has been also stimulated through contact with the dynamic forces of the new western world. Besides its valuable contributions in other branches of knowledge, this intellect has produced brilliant results in the field of historical studies of specialised nature, based on original materials found in libraries and Archives or discovered with great pains and industry from hidden corners.

Growing progress in such historical studies relating to modern Indian history has been helped by the efforts of some institutions to collect and preserve original records for the use of scholars. The work of the Indian Historical Records Commission in discovering, collecting, cataloguing and editing records of historical importance to make them available to students of history is of inestimable value. The Regional Records Survey Committees and the Archives set up in some of the Indian States are also affording considerable facilities. Yet, what has been achieved is but touching the fringe. Much remains to be accomplished to facilitate the march of the science of History and to interpret the proper position and role of new India in the modern world. I cannot help recalling Tennyson's words :

“Yet experience is an arch-wherethro’

Gleams that untravelled world, whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when I move.”

We can, however, note with optimism the persistent and progressive efforts made in our country to proceed forward in quest of the “untravelled world.” So far as Modern Indian History is concerned, the march of the leaders of sound historical thought in our country, namely, the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, whose genius unfolded itself in manifold petals, the late Sri V. K. Rajwade, the late Rao Bahadur Parsinis, the late Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, the late Dr. G. S. Sardesai, the late Dr. S. N. Sen, the late Sir Shaafat Ahmad Khan, the late Diwan Bahadur Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyanger, the late Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, is being reinforced by a number of conscientious workers with great zeal and industry.

A review of the important works of modern Indian writers relating the history of India from the eighteenth century may be attempted in different aspects,—Political, Administrative, Economic, Social and Cultural.

POLITICAL

We may start with a brief note on the admirable volumes of India's greatest historian, the late Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, on the '*Fall of the Mughal Empire*'. Value of this work based on a comprehensive and critical study of all kinds of original sources, many of which had not been previously utilised by others, can hardly be overestimated. With profuse details the master historian has described in a superb style the decline of the Mughal Empire, as Gibbon did with regard to the Roman Empire. These volumes form a storehouse of information regarding the eighteenth century, which forms, for various reasons, a tragic period in the history of our country. In the *Foreword* to volume one (covering the period from 1739 to 1754) of this monumental work, Dr. Jadunath writes in a reflective style: "And yet our immediate historic past, while it resembles a tragedy in its course, is no less potent than a true tragedy to purge the soul by exciting pity and horror. Nor is it wanting in the deepest instruction for the present. The headlong decay of the age-old Muslim rule in India and the utter failure of the last Hindu attempt at empire-building by the new-sprung Marathas, are intimately linked together, and must be studied with accuracy of details as to facts and penetrating analysis as to causes if we wish to find out the true solutions of the problems of modern India and avoid the pitfalls of the past."

The third volume "carries the story of the Delhi monarchy from the entrance of Shah Alam II into his capital in 1772, through seventeen years of his rule, to the bloody tragedy of 1788 which turned the Mughal monarch into a mere shadow and transferred his Government to a perpetual vicar, till another and still bloodier tragedy came seventy years later which struck out the very name of his dynasty from the pages of Time." The period from 1789 to 1803, crowded with events of far-reaching importance, has been covered in the fourth volume of this work. In its last chapter we get a brilliant analysis of the causes of the fall of the Mughal Empire. Our great historian significantly observes: "The Mughal Empire and with it the Maratha overlordship of Hindustan, fell because of the rottenness at the core of Indian society. This rottenness showed itself in the form of military and political helplessness. The country could not defend itself; royalty was hopelessly depraved or imbecile; the nobles were

selfish and short-sighted ; corruption, inefficiency and treachery disgraced all branches of the public service. In the midst of this decay and confusion, our literature, art and even true religion had perished."

For the history of the Marathas in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century we have the valuable works of another veteran historian, Dr. G. S. Sardesai. His book on '*Main Currents of Maratha History*', which contains his Readership lectures delivered some years back at the Patna University, has been followed by a detailed history of the Marathas in three volumes which throw new light on Maratha history. His selections from the *Peshwas' Daftar* (complete in 45 volumes) brought to light precious source materials as also the *Poona Residency Correspondence* series compiled under the guidance of Dr. Jadunath Sarkar and this writer in co-operation with some others. *Aitihāsik Tipne* by Shri D. B. Parsinis (in *Itihas Sangraha*), *Delhi Yethil Marathyanchin Raj-Karanen* edited by Shri D. B. Parsinis (Vols. 1 and 2 and Supplement, 1913-14), *Aitihāsik Patren Yadi Wagaire Lekh* edited by Dr. G. S. Sardesai and some others, *Holkaranchi Kaifiyat* edited by Sri K. N. Sane, *Marathi Riyasat* edited by Dr. G. S. Sardesai (eight volumes), the *Purandare Daftar* in three volumes, the *Holkar Shahichya Itihasachi Sadhanen* edited by Shri B. B. Thakur in two volumes, the *Kota Daftar of Sardar Gulgue*, *Aitihāsik Patra vyavahar* by Dr. G. S. Sardesai and others and *Hingane Daftar* edited by Shri G. H. Khare, are full of valuable historical information. *Historical Genealogies*, compiled by the veteran historian Dr. G. S. Sardesai, was published by the Bombay Government Central Press in 1957. It is a valuable work of reference in Marathi, containing information about many families and individuals, who influenced the history of India from the seventeenth century onwards. Another important publication of this Press in the same year was *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar: New series*, edited by Dr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Government of Bombay. It is a supplement to the Forty-five volumes of *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, which were edited by Dr. G. S. Sardesai and published by the Bombay Government between 1929 and 1934. The learned works of Dr. S. N. Sen on *Maratha Administration*, *Military System of the Marathas* and *Maratha Navy*, besides his other studies on the Marathas, have unfolded new chapters of Maratha history. We have also to our benefit a highly useful volume of Dr. H. N. Sinha on the first three Peshwas, Dr. A. C. Banerjee's learned monograph on the conspicuous Maratha statesman Madhava Rao I, and Dr. P. C. Gupta's critical studies on the Peshwa Baji Rao II, but for a thorough knowledge of whose character,

politics and movements, one cannot have a proper idea of the final collapse of Maratha imperialism. Dr. P. C. Gupta has also written a critical monograph on the *Commissioners at Bithur*.

A valuable collection of Maratha despatches and newsletters relating to the Sindhas was printed several years back by the Gwalior Government with the scholarly assistance of Dr. G. S. Sardesai, and a second work from the same source was published by the Satara Historical Society. Dr. Sardesai further brought out improved editions of two collections of Marathi historical letters, originally published by Sane and Parsinis and long out of print. Mention must also be made of the publication of two other collections of Marathi records—the *Letters of the Amatya House of Bavda*, continuation of Shri V. V. Khare's *Lekh-Sangraha* and carrying the reports to a period beyond the battle of Assaye and a second volume of the letters of the Chandrachud Diwans of Indore. Among the English sources on Maratha history, discovered in recent years one important document is *Sir Charles Malet's Letter-Book, 1780-84*, edited by Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau,

The Baroda Government financed the printing of two volumes of the early records of the Gaekwad family, edited by Father Gense and Mr. Banaji, and the Marathi records of this family have been published in some volumes.

Two volumes of Persian Records of Maratha History, translated into English with notes by the Doyen of Indian historians, Dr. Jadunath Sarkar, were published some years back by the Director of Archives, Bombay. Volume one relates to Delhi Affairs, 1761-1788, and volume two to the Sindha as Regent of Delhi, 1787 and 1789-91. We are grateful to the Government of Madhya Pradesh for publishing four volumes (Vol. I, 1799-1806, Vol. II, 1807-11. Vol. III, 1812-1817. Vol. IV., 1818-1840) of *Selections from the Nagpur Residency Records*, carefully edited by Dr. H. N. Sinha.

The Central Records Office, Hyderabad Deccan, have brought out a series of source books for Maratha history. The third volume of the series which came out in 1956 under the caption, the *Poona Akhbars*, being edited by Shri R. M. Joshi, contains sixty documents relating to the period from 1st January, 1782 to the 5th July, 1794. These documents throw much light on the politics of the Poona Court and on the careers of the important Maratha statesmen of the time. According to the Publication Programme of the Indian Historical Record Commission the Nagpur University brought out in 1961 a highly useful volume on *Mountstuart Elphinstone's Correspondence with the Supreme Government in Calcutta and the other Agents of the British Government in*

India between 1804 and 1808 when this famous British administrator was the Resident at the Court of Raghuji Bhonsle II. Besides an introduction written by Dr. R. M. Sinha we get here documents relating to the administration of Raghuji Bhonsle II, the affairs of Cuttack and Sambalpur, relations between the English and the Bhonsles and the Pindari raids into Nagpur. In his work on *A Study in Maratha Diplomacy* (D. Litt. thesis of Agra University) Dr. Shanti Prasad Varma, Professor of History and Political Science, Maharana Bhupal College, Udaipur (published in 1956), has reviewed Anglo-Maratha relations between 1772 and 1782.

Dr. Shailendra Nath Sen's book on *Anglo-Maratha Relations during the Administration of Warren Hastings 1772-1782* (a D. Phil. thesis of the Calcutta University) was published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay of Calcutta in 1961. It is a carefully written work based mostly on contemporary unpublished records in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, Bombay Record Office, the British Museum and the old India Office (now Commonwealth Relations Office) Library.

Good many articles regarding the Marathas from the troubled years of the eighteenth century till the final collapse of Maratha power in 1818-1819 have appeared in the course of the last several years. Twenty eight years back came out¹ Dr. Jadunath Sarkar's translation of *Kasiraja Pandit's Account of the Third Battle of Panipat and the events that followed it*. With personal experience of this battle, Kasiraja wrote his account in 1780 "from memory" as he says. As Dr. Jadunath points out, some contemporary Marathi letters, published in modern times, prove him to be very accurate except for a few inaccuracies which, however, can be corrected. There is another translation of Kasiraj's account by Col. James Browne, who undertook the work in 1791. This was defective in certain respects. Dr. Jadunath's translation is more authoritative, complete and accurate.

In 1939, Dr. S. N. Sen contributed a learned paper on the settlement of the Peshwa's territories by bringing to light a unique state paper, that is, a despatch of 18th June, 1818, which had not been included in the editions of *Elphinstone's Report on the Peshwa's Territories*. The "annexation of the Peshwa's territories," he points out, "was not followed by any serious outbreak. Here is verily a miracle that demands explanation. The credit of this marvellous achievement must go to Mountstuart Elphinstone" for his wise statesmanship in effecting a careful settlement of the Peshwa's territories. "Elphinstone knew," remarks Dr. Sen significantly, "that

1. Indian Historical Quarterly, 1934.

patience and forbearance pay even in politics, that conciliation is a potent sedative while force frustrates its own purpose, that toleration even of prejudices paves the way of reform far more surely than intolerance and that real statesmanship avoids unnecessary haste, repression, and intolerance and takes a long view of things.¹"

In an article on *Trimbakji Danglia*², Dr. P. C. Gupta has described his arrest by Captain Swanson with a party of Poona Auxiliary Horse on the 29th June, 1818. Because of some plots to release Trimbakji, the British Government did not consider it safe for them to keep him in Maratha country and subsequently removed him to Chunar, where Bishop Heber met him in 1824. Dr. H. N. Sinha (Professor, Jabalpur University) brought to our notice an account of the capture and surrender of Gheria from a letter of Admiral Watson to the Council of Bombay, dated 14th February, 1756.³ In a study of some original Marathi documents by Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, we get one memorandum, probably of the 24th March, 1772, containing some points about the administration of the Peshwas.⁴

Studying the English version⁵ of a statement prepared by the ministerial party of Poona at the request of Colonel Upton in January, 1776, Dr. A. C. Banerjee of Calcutta University pointed out that its importance lies in the light it throws on some important episodes in Maratha history—the rebellion of Raghunath Rao in the reign of Peshwa Madhav Rao I, the tragic murder of Narayan Rao and the origin of the First Anglo-Maratha War. Dr. A. G. Pawar brought to light⁶ an old Marathi poem⁷, entitled *Parasuram-Charitra*, written in Devanagari character. "*Parasuram Charitra* is not," observes this writer, "a mere eulogy as some poems relating to the Peshwas are. It is predominantly a historical piece and, though it is not free from such faults as are commonly seen in the poems of Court-poets, it is rich in details, vivid in description and on the whole reliable." From internal evidence in it the writer concludes that it was written in the early months of 1773. The relations of Daulat Rao Sindhia with the British, October 1804, to July 1805, were reviewed by Shri Shanti Swarup Gupta.⁸ Shortly afterwards appeared a paper on *The Battle of Sitabaldi* by Dr. H. N.

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1939.

2. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1942.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid, 1948.

6. Ibid.

7. It was found in the Marathi section of the Mackenzie collection which forms part of the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

8. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1948.

Sinha and another on *Adoption under the Peshwa Baji Rao II* by Shri K. Sajan.¹

An article² on *Raja Alha Singh and the Marathas*, written by Sardar S. N. Banerjee, contains four letters which throw light in respect of the relations between Raja Alha Singh and the Marathas, when the latter carried on raids in the north in 1757-58 under their leaders Raghunath Rao and Malhar Rao Holkar. These letters were written during the first three weeks of march 1758. Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe wrote a paper on *Persian Correspondence of Vithal Mahadeo Kibe alias Tatyia Jog of Indore* (with English translation) of some letters relating mostly to the period between 1818-1826 when Vithal Mahadeo as head of the administration in the Holkar's state was trying to organise it after a period, described by the statesman-historian Sir John Malcolm as the period of 'trouble.' Besides some complimentary epistles, we have in this series of correspondence some letters relating to law and administration.³ In a letter of 1751 from Govinda Tamaji, the Maratha Agent at Jaipur, to Bapuji Mahadev Hingane⁴, we get a graphic description of the situation arising out of Bakht Singh's occupation of Jodhpur as well as its effects on Madho Singh, the Raja of Jaipur.⁵ This letter was found among the documents obtained by Shri G. H. Khare of Bharat Itihas Samsodhak Mandal, Poona, from Shri Nilkanthrao Pandurangrao alias Bhayya Sahib Hingane, Jagirdar of Chandori, District Nasik.⁶ Prof. S. V. Puntambekar brought to our notice a letter written by Chimaji Appa to Mahadeo Bhat Hingane on 2nd June, 1740. Besides recapitulating the attitude and policy of Baji Rao I towards the Emperor and the Nizam, this letter contains Chimaji's estimate of the aims of Balaji I and Baji Rao I regarding the people's welfare and their religious objectives in Northern India.⁷ Colebrooke's observations about the state of affairs in the kingdom of Nagpur, April, 1799, were studied by Prof. S. N. Banhatti (of Nagpur)⁸. Shri C. V. Joshi of Baroda⁹ has written a short note on Rani Gahinabai of Baroda, the most distinguished lady of the house of the Gaikwads of Baroda,

1. Ibid, 1945.

2. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1944.

3. Ibid

4. Ibid.

5. Events connected with this incident can be studied in Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. I, pp. 819-20 and *Marwad Ka Itihas* (in Hindi), Vol. I, p. 365.

6. Shri Hingane belongs to the famous Hingane family, members of which acted as the Peshwa's Agents at Delhi in the eighteenth century

7. Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1945.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

who exercised salutary influence on the political and religious affairs of the kingdom, for which she enjoyed much respect during the time of her husband Maharaja Govindrao and also after his death in 1800. This note is based on contemporary observations of Alexander Walker and some Baroda records. Gahinabai died in 1834 and her ashes were sent to be immersed in the river at Prayag (modern Allahabad). Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe mentioned some letters¹ relating to Jaswant Rao Holkar, 1804-10. Shri G. N. Sharma of Udaipur brought to our notice an inscription, dated 1816, on a plate found in the possession of the state astrologer Pandit Shyam Sunderji of Udaipur, which refers to Bapu Sindhia's invasion of Mewar². In 1946, some new records of historical importance relating to the Peshwas, roughly from 1731 to 1761, were discovered by Shri G. H. Khare.³ From a study of some letters Shri T. S. Shejwalkar of Poona prepared in the same year a short note on *Haripant Phadke*, whom he considered to be 'the righthand man of Nana Phadnavis.'⁴ At the same time Professor D. V. Gokhale of Poona wrote a paper on a letter⁵ of the year 1751 addressed by Damodar Mahadeo Hingane, the Maratha Agent with the Mughal Wazir Safdar Jang, to his brother Purushottam, who was with the Sardars (Sindhia and Holkar) at Mau Shamsabad, near Farrukhabad, and dealt with an agreement between the Sardars and the Wazir. Other articles⁶ about the Marathas, written in the same year, were on—*A Glimpse of Indore—a century ago* by Prof. S. M. Dhar, *On letters from the Holkars to the Gaikwads from 1791* by Shri C. V. Joshi, and *Mahdaji Sindhia and the Poona College* by Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe. On the basis of evidence found in the records of the family of Gangadhar Shastri, Sardar Kibe concluded that "the Gangadhar Shastri, whose lands or villagos yield a revenue to the Agra College was quite a different person from the Gangadhar Shastri whose portrait now adorns the College Hall." Shortly afterwards appeared a critical study of some new details from Persian records of the Peshwa Daftar by Shri G. H. Khare, adding to our knowledge of the Maratha-Jaipur relations.⁷ Along with it we got an account of the ancestors of the Rani of Jhansi⁸ by Shri T. S. Shejwalkar, which supplements, and in some

-
1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid, 1946.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Ibid.
 7. Ibid, Twentyfourth Session, Jaipur.
 8. Ibid.

places corrects, the information given by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parsians in his life of the Rani of Jhansi written in Marathi in 1894. Struggle between the Barbhais and Raghunath Rao was described in an article by Shri V. S. Chitale (then Head Master, S. S. P. Military School, Poona). Shri V. S. Chitale also wrote another article on the motives and activities of Raghunath Rao during his stay at Nasik in 1764.¹ At the same time Dr. Y. K. Deshpande, a well known research worker of the then C. P. (Berar), discovered files of old Marathi newspapers, published in Poona and Bombay during the period between 1842 and 1846, in the manuscript collections of late Dajisahib Buti of Nagpur. These newspapers contain valuable information regarding political, economic, religious and social history of the period. Their files were deposited in the Library of *Sharadashram Yeotmal*. Shri Upendra Nath Sarkar of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, gave an account of the *Estate of Hindu Rao in Delhi* on the authority of an unpublished correspondence recorded in the Governor-General's Consultation, Rev. B. 1842, preserved in the National Archives of India. Hindu Rao (Jai Singh Rao Ghatge) was brother of Baizi Bai, the favourite wife of Daulat Rao Sindhia. In 1949, Shri G. H. Khare brought to light a large number of Persian records from a Sardar Natu family of Poona, most of which belong to the Peshwa period. Three documents in particular were studied by him. The first of these was addressed to the Peshwa by the Director of the Dutch Company at Surat soliciting his good wishes towards the Dutch Company. The second was addressed to the Peshwa by Akheraj, ruler of Bhavanagar, requesting the Peshwa to maintain safety of the port of Ghogha from the English. The third was addressed to the Director of the French Company at Surat asking for the help of the French offered by them on certain conditions.² The same year Mr. T. S. Shejwalkar writing a note on the *Jamav* Section of the *Peshwa Daftar* mentioned that materials for the study of the economic and social conditions in the Peshwa's dominions and for estimating the population of those territories were available there.³ Dr. K. K. Datta (then of Patna University) wrote a paper on the Marathas in Orissa from the days of Nawab Alivardi. Next year Dr. K. K. Datta contributed an article on Gangadhar Shastri⁴ on the basis of some papers found by him in the family of his descendants at village Karhari in the Aurangabad subdivision of Gaya district in Bihar. It was established in this paper that Gangadhar Shastri was an

1. *Ibid*, 1948 (Delhi)

2. *Ibid*, 1949.

3. *Ibid*.

4. *Ibid*, 1950

inhabitant of Bihar. He was born in the middle of the eighteenth century. He completed his Sanskrit studies at Nadia in Bengal and acquired considerable proficiency in astrology. His fame in this respect reached the Gwalior *darbar* through one Bhau Bakhshi and one Abha Chitnavis, the latter being an inhabitant of Gwalior then employed in the service of the Nawab of Daudnagar (Gaya district), and he was appointed there on a handsome remuneration of Rs. 5,000 a month. Daulat Rao Sindhia granted him seven villages in Eglas *Taluq* in Aligarh district as a reward for some propitious astrological performances by him to the interest of the Sindhia. On the death of Gangadhar Shastri, the Company's Government decided that one-fourth of the income from the property in Eglas *taluuq* amounting to Rs. 2,589 would go to his heirs and three-fourths amounting to Rs. 7,767 were to be utilised for "public and charitable purposes". The latter amount was afterwards "appropriated to the use of the College at Agra." Shri T. S. Shejwalkar contributed a paper pointing out in it the danger to Jhansi in 1774-75 from some north Indian powers. Shri G. H. Khare discovered that year volumes of records of the Rajaina family of Wai (North Satara) containing large number of daily, monthly and annual accounts and balance-sheets, agreements and bonds, news-letters, orders, and returns of various types, decisions in revenue, civil, criminal, religious and social cases, *sanads* and confirmatory letters and a variety of other documents.¹ Just the next year Shri V. S. Chitale wrote a paper² on the relations between Madhav Rao and Janoji Bhonsle. Shri T. S. Shejwalkar brought to light and broadly described some documents connected with the Court of the Nagpur Bhonsles during 1774-1795. These were preserved in the Paransis collection of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona³. Shri G. C. Tambe wrote a paper on *The Regime of Vinayak Ganesh Chandorkar as the Deputy Governor of the Saugor Territory (1795-1819)* refuting here certain charges of maladministration levelled against Vinayak Rao.⁴ Shri S. N. Athavale of Kolhapur presented a scrutiny of the policy of Nana Phadnavis in the north Indian enterprises of the Marathas.⁵

In the Bhopal session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held in 1953, Shri R. M. Joshi of Central Records Office, Hyderabad-Deccan, read an interesting paper on the *Rajendras of Gangakhed and Their Records*, which have come into the possession of the Hyderabad Central Records Office.

1. Ibid

2. Ibid, 1951

3. Ibid

4. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1951.

5. Ibid.

The *Rajendras* rendered valuable services to the Asaf Jahi State. Reference has been made in this paper to Haibat Rao Gopal who came into lime-light in the time of Nizam Ali Khan (1761-1803). He was posted as *Akhbarnavis* at Purandar about May, 1774 and was entrusted by the Nizam with the delicate task of carrying on negotiations with Nana Phadnavis and other *Karbharis* at Poona. Raghottam Rao, Haribat Rao's son, was the first to earn the title of *Rajendra*. Shri Upendra Nath Sarkar contributed at this time a paper, based on some records of the National Archives, New Delhi, showing in it the fruitless efforts of Shambhaji Angria to succeed to the *gadi* of Kolaba since the death in 1814 of his uncle Babu Rao Angria. The Kolaba state was annexed to the British territories in 1842. Next year Dr. G. S. Sardesai brought to the notice of students of history a large number of unpublished records lying with the Sardar Pandit family of Kotah and bearing on Maratha history during the second half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The records are important not only for political history but also for the study of social and economic conditions.¹

In 1955 Shri V. G. Hatakhar of Bombay made an attempt to show, on the authority of some French documents, that the embassy of M. De St. Lubin to the Maratha court at Poona in 1777-78 was successful in its mission. An important original work on *Relations between the French and the Marathas (1668-1815)* by Dr. Hatakhar came out in 1958.

Some theses or dissertations on the Maratha affairs for the period under review, prepared during the last seven or eight years, are :—*Mahadji Sindhia—a Political Career in India, 1730 to 1794*, by Shri M. S. Agaskar (for Ph. D. Degree of Bombay University), *Anglo-Maratha relations, 1772-1783*, by Shri Shanti Prasad Varma (submitted for D. Litt Degree of Agra University), *Maratha expansion in the Carnatic* by K. Sulochana (Madras University), *Political, Social, Economic and Cultural History of Orissa during Maratha rule from, 1751-1803*, by Dr. Bhavani Charan Roy (Utkal University), *Nana Phadnavis and the External Affairs of the Maratha Empire, 1742-1800*, by Shri Yashwant Narayan Deodhar (for Ph. D. Degree of Bombay University), *Nagpur State in the 19th Century: A Study of some aspects of its Administrative System, 1818-1854*, by Prof. Ram Mohan Sinha (accepted for Ph. D. Degree of the Nagpur University), *Maratha Relations with the Jaipur State* by Kamala Kumari Beniwal (Rajputana University), *Delhi under Mahadji Sindhia* by Shri Krishna Nand (for Ph. D. Degree of Delhi University), *Nana Phadnavis as a statesman* by Shri S. N. Athvale (Poona,

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1954.

Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute), *Trimbak Rao Pethe* by Shri V. S. Chitale (Poona, D. C. P. R. I), *Nana Phadnavis and the Internal Affairs of the Maratha State, 1742-1800*, by Shri Shrikrishna Vithal Gokhale (for Ph. D. Degree of Bombay University), *Nana Phadnavis and the External Affairs of the Maratha Empire* by Shri Y. N. Deodhar (Bombay University). *Maratha penetration into Rajasthan* by Shri Sital Prasad Vairathi (for Ph. D. Degree of Rajputana University), *Was Tatya Yog (Kibe) a traitor ?*—by Shri M. R. Joshi (Rajwade Samsodhak Mandal, Dhulia, West Khandesh), *Heroic Traditional remnants of Sadasivrao Bhuu on and around Panipat and Political Tussle between the Rajputs and the Marathas* by Shri S. P. Joshi (R. S. M. Dhulia, both published in Marathi), *Life of Yasowantrao Holkar* by Shri S. N. Athavale (Kolhapur Record Office), (1) *Panipat 1761*, (2) *Nagpur Bhonsles and (3) Nagpur Affairs*, Vol. I, by Shri T. S. Shejwalkar (D. C. P. R. I., Poona), *Tanjore under the Marathas* by Shri R. Shelvankar (Madras University ; not yet published), *The First Anglo-Maratha War, 1774-1782*, by Shri D. K. Deshpande (D. C. P. R. I., Poona), *Maratha Modes and Weapons of Warfare* by Shri G. K. Joshi (D. C. P. R. I., Poona), *Life and Work of Baji Rao II* by Shri Karandikar (Secretariat Record Office, Bombay), *Life and Mission of Tarabai and Jijabai of Kolhapur, 1700-1800*, by Shri C. V. Lagu (Kolhapur Record office), *History of the Bhonsles of Nagpur* by Shri D. G. Landge (National Archives of India, New Delhi), *The Mewar-Maratha Relations, 1739-1818*, by Shri K. S. Gupta (a Ph. D. thesis of the Rajasthan University), *History of the relations between the English in Bengal and the Berar Marathas in the eighteenth century*, by Shri Tarit Kumar Mookerjee (West Bengal Record Office), *Orissa under the Maratha rule, 1740-1805*, by Shri T. S. Shejwalkar (D. C. P. R. I., Poona). The following theses are under preparation in the Bombay University :—*The Life and times of Raghunath Rao* by Shri S. D. Gaikwad, *British Diplomacy at the Peshwa's Court* by Shri V. J. Naik, *Maratha Campaigns of Bassein* by Shri B. N. Pathak, *the Naval System of the Marathas* by Shri R. V. Ramdas, *the Annexation of Tanjore by the British* by Shri H. C. Banavali, and *Raja Pratap Singh of Satara* by Shri V. G. Khobrekar.

We may refer to some articles like *Adminisiration of the Last Rajah of Satara* by Miss Nondita Chatterjee of Savitri College, Ajmer¹, *Maratha-Nizam Relations : The Khazana i-Amira of Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami* by Shri P. Setu Madhav Rao², *Maratha-Nizam Relations : The Masire*

1. *Journal of Indian History*, April, 1960.

2. *Ibid*, August, 1960.

Asgi of Laxmi Narayan Shafiq also by Shri P. Setu Madhava Rao¹, *Anglo-Maratha Relations during Mysore War (1783-87)* by Miss Nondita Chatterjee², *Was Nana the cause of Maratha Downfall*³ by Shri Chidambaram Ramanujam, *How Civil Disputes were settled in the Deccan during the Regime of the Last Peshwa* by Shri V. S. Kamat (Bombay)⁴, *An unpublished letter of Francis from the India Office Library* by Dr. Sailendra Nath Sen⁵, *Predatory Activities of Khem Sawant III Bhonsle of Sawant-wadi in the vicinity of Barce (Red Fort) in 1766* by Shri V. S. Kamat of Bombay⁶, *The Consequences of the Subsidiary Alliance which Appa Sahib had contracted with the British Government on 27th May, 1816*, by Shri John Ramalingam (Nagpur),⁷ *A Glimpse on the Annexation of the State of Nagpur* by Kumari Chandrawali Gupta (Jabalpur), *The Reign of Parsoji Bhonsla, 23rd March, 1816,—1st February, 1817*, by Shri John Ramalingam, *Rajaram Pandit in Orissa* by Dr. Bhavani Charan Ray of Cuttack.⁸

Mysore under Haidar and Tipu played an important role in the history of India at a time when various forces were affecting her political destiny. The most important of these was the rise of British political supremacy. Both Haidar and Tipu opposed it unflinchingly for several years. Recent critical studies of their policies and activities by Indian scholars have resulted in the production of some important works. Shri Hayavadana Rao's *History of Mysore* is an authoritative contribution, in many respects supplementing and correcting the three volumes of Wilks' *Historical Sketches of the South of India (1810-1817)*. Dr. N. K. Sinha of Calcutta University has presented to us a detailed biography of Haidar Ali after a very careful scrutiny of different kinds of original sources in English, French, Portuguese, Dutch, Marathi, Persian, Tamil, Telugu and Canarese languages (first edition 1941, second edition 1949). We get here accounts of the whole career of an important personality of Indian history from his birth and ancestry, his relations with the contemporary Indian and European powers, his civil administration, military system, and significance of his career. Reviewing Haidar's administrative system, the author observes that "it was characterised by an unusual respect for ancient well-established traditions. Hé governed and governed well". A com-

1. Ibid, April, 1961.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, December, 1961.

4. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1959.

5. Ibid, 1960.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Bengal : Past and Present, January—June, 1958.

prehensive biography of Tipu also has been written by Shri Mohibbul Hasan (now in Aligarh), with profuseness of details and a critical analysis of his varied activities.

In 1939 Dr. M. H. Krishna (Mysore) discussed the value of *Haidar Nama*, an unpublished historical manuscript in Kannada, for studying the career of Haidar Ali. Besides describing the *darbar* of Haidar Ali, it contains a detailed account of his rise to power and of the events of his life year by year until his death.¹ In 1941 Dr. K. N. V. Shastri gave an estimate of the career of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III.² Another writer Mr. P. G. Sathyagirinathan (Mysore) reviewed in the same year the part played by the Wellesley brothers in the history of Mysore.³

In 1942 Shri D. S. Achuta Rao wrote a paper on *Haidar Ali,—His relations with the Crown* in which he pointed out that Haidar respected the nominal sovereignty of the reigning *rajās* of Mysore and that "he was content with the substance of power and never cared to drape himself in regal robes".⁴ The same year Dr. S. N. Sen contributed an interesting paper on the *Cannanore Incident*, which formed an episode in the Second Anglo-Mysore War, mainly on the basis of General MacLeod's account of the capture of Cannanore and its queen and correspondence of the Governments of Madras and Bombay. The writer pointed out that Bombay "was by 1783 completely reconciled to the subordinate position assigned to her by the Regulating Act."⁵ In 1943 Dr. M. H. Krishna (Mysore) wrote an article on *Haidar's Last Battle*, in which he pointed out that in the last battle fought by Haidar with the English on the 2nd June, 1782, victory was won by him and not by Coote, though the former was not able to take full advantage of it before his death.⁶ The same year Prof. K. N. V. Shastri prepared a note on *Moral Laws under Tipu Sultan* who, as he pointed out, wanted to check various social evils.⁷

In 1944 Shri K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar (then Records Officer in charge of Research, Pudukkottai) wrote on some *Little known but vital incidents in Haidar Ali's Carnatic Campaign (1780-82)*⁸. Dr. K. N. V. Shastri studied some letters in the Home Miscellaneous collection throwing light on the character of Dewan Purnaiya. In the following year, Dr. K. N. V. Shastri (then Professor of History,

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1939.
2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1941.
3. Ibid.
4. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1942.
5. Ibid.
6. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1948.
7. Ibid.
8. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1944.

Maharaja's College, Mysore) wrote a short note on *History of Mysore in the XIX Century illustrated from Contemporary Newspapers*¹ in which he pointed out their importance for a detailed study of the history of Mysore.

In 1948 Mr. Mohibbul Hasan Khan (then Lecturer in History, Calcutta University and now Professor in the Muslim University, Aligarh) studied the policy of the French in the Maratha-Mysore War (1785-87). "The policy of the French at this period," he wrote, "was to prevent the Indian powers from fighting with each other in order to unite them under their leadership in a confederacy against the English." But this policy did not prove to be successful.² Next year Shri G. Narayan Rao contributed a paper on *Appajiram, the Envoy of Haidar*,³ and in 1950, Shri D. S. Achuta Rao wrote a paper on *Haidar Ali—the Forerunner of Indian Nationalism*.

In a paper, entitled *Some light on the Third Anglo Mysore War*, Shri Ramesh Chandra Mitra (Calcutta) made an attempt to piece together some relevant facts, contained in the French records at Pondicherry, supplementing the information already available from published sources.⁴ Prof. Yusuf Hussain Khan (Hyderabad) brought to light a letter (preserved in the Manuscript Collection of the Central Records Office, Hyderabad), addressed by Tipu Sultan, probably in January, 1791, to Nawab Nizam Ali Khan. In this letter Tipu blamed the self-seeking advisers of Nizam Ali for his pro-English policy and appealed to him to disassociate himself from the English and also to persuade the Marathas to do the same.⁵ In 1952 Shri D. S. Achuta Rao pointed out the incorrectness of Wilks' view that Haidar turned a defeatist in 1782. A statement in this respect attributed by Wilks to Haidar "must be considered", observes this writer, "a later invention and a hearsay recorded more than a quarter of a century later. It hardly finds any corroboration in contemporary accounts"⁶ The same writer tried to ascertain the name of the author of the manuscript *Haidar Nama*, which was described by Dr. M. H. Krishna as "an anonymous work." Certain "references in the *Haidar Nama* and in a late Telugu composition mentioned in the same manuscript enable us to infer", notes this writer, "that Kacheri Krishnaiah who began his service as a *Karanik* and subsequently rose to the position of *Bakhshi* in the Court of Mysore under Krishnaraja Wadayar II and a contemporary of Haider Ali was the author of the chronicle."⁷ Dr. N. K.

1. Ibid, 1945.
2. Ibid, 1948.
3. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1949.
4. Ibid, 1951.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid, 1952.
7. Ibid, 1958.

Sinha pointed out (in 1949) that the date of its composition was 29th June, 1784. In his opinion "the published fragments do not justify the claim that the book is a corrective to existing accounts."¹ In 1955 Dr. S. P. Sen of Calcutta University studied *Franco-Mysore Relations* from 1785 to 1793 on the basis of some French records. While on the one hand Tipu "showed an eagerness for drawing closer to France, addressed several letters direct to Louis XVI with presents for him and Marie Antoinette, sent an embassy to Paris in 1789 and proposed sending another in 1792, in his relations with the French in India he showed little eagerness to win their goodwill or even to avoid measures likely to alienate them. His agents gave repeated vexations to the French at Mahe. French goods and letters passing through Tipu's territories were constantly intercepted, and the land communication between Pondicherry and Mahe' was virtually cut off. After the peace of 1783 the policy of the French was to cultivate good relations with Tipu, Nizam Ali, and the Marathas and to try to keep them united for a future eventuality of war with the English. That policy, however, was frustrated by the mutual jealousies and rivalries of the three Indian powers. Tipu had to fight first against Nizam Ali and the Marathas and later against the English combined with the two Indian powers. The French merely looked on and gave no assistance to Tipu for fear of antagonising Nizam Ali and the Marathas." When in 1793 Pondicherry was attacked by the English, assistance from Tipu was not obtained by the French. "No wonder that Tipu did not even reply to the letter of the Governor of Pondicherry."² Dr. T. V. Mahalingam wrote a paper giving there a descriptive account of *Haidar Ali's attack on Srirangym and Trichinopoly in 1780* and pointing out that some historical manuscripts in the Mackenzie Collection supplement the information on the subject known from other sources.³ At the same time Shri Sheikh Ali (Mysore) discussed *Nizam-Tipu relations during 1787-89*.⁴ Shri Sheikh Ali also contributed one paper on *Mauritius Records of the French and the Third Mysore War*.⁵ Professor S. H. Askari of Patna has brought to light 69 important letters in Persian, some of which relate to Tipu and throw much light on the character of the Sultan and on the treacherous part played by some of his chief officers, especially Mir Sadiq, Mir Nadim and Purnaiya.⁶ In 1960 came out an important work, entitled *The Finances of the Mysore State, 1799—1831*, by Shri M. H. Gopal

1. N. K. Sinha, Haidar Ali, p. 298.

2. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1955.

3. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1954.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid, 1955-56.

6. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1956.

and next year A. P. Ibrahim Kunja wrote a paper on *Mysore Policy in Malabar* during the periods of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan.

Some works about Mysore, in progress during the last few years, are :—

(1) *Foreign Policy of Tipu Sultan, 1780-1800*, by Shri B. Sheikh Ali (Mysore); (2) *Tipu Saheb, the forgotten martyr of India* by Shri P. S. Telang (Nagpur); (3) *Social Legislation in Mysore, 1850-1919*, by S. Anasuya (Mysore); (4) *Tipu Sultan's correspondence with the Ottoman Sultans* by Prof. Nurul Hasan (Aligarh).

Mysore fell before the British power after a brave resistance against it. But the story of Hyderabad and the Carnatic was different. Vitality of both the kingdoms was sapped by maladministration and corruptions and they became easily prostrate before British imperialism. The Nizam of Hyderabad, legally a representative in the Deccan of the Delhi Emperor, had made himself virtually independent. But his own authority was menaced by the growing power of the Marathas and of Mysore under Haidar and Tipu, and he courted British alliance. Feeble and vacillating, he at once changed this alliance in the war of the English with the Marathas and Haidar during the administration of Warren Hastings. He entered into a subsidiary alliance with the English on the 1st September, 1798, and a "perpetual and general defensive alliance" was formed between the two on the 12th October, 1800. This subsidiary alliance guaranteed protection to the Nizam against aggressions from outside but it destroyed his initiative and interest in the internal administration of the kingdom and produced various evils. "Conceive of a country", observed the Duke of Wellington, "in every village of which there are from twenty to thirty horsemen, who have been dismissed from the service of the State, and who have no means of living except by plunder. In this country there is no law, no civil government, no inhabitant can, or will, remain to cultivate, unless he is protected by an armed force, stationed in the village."

The condition of the Carnatic was extremely deplorable. Distracted by the Anglo-French conflicts, it became subject to woeful corruptions and scandals as a result of weakness and disreputable character of its ruler, Muhammad Ali, who spent his days in an undesirable manner in a magnificent palace at Chepauk, a fishing village in the suburb of Madras, in luxury and corruptions, to meet the expenses of which he borrowed money at exorbitant rates of interest from the Company's servants whose greed and ignoble conduct created a vicious circle there. As Burke truly remarked, the Nawab of the

Carnatic was not "a real potentate" but "a shadow, a dream, an incubus of oppression." Wellesley brought this unfortunate country under the supreme control of the Company in a high-handed manner on an unmerited charge of 'treasonable correspondence' with the enemies of the Company.

Some years back *Lord Cornwallis' diplomacy in relation to the Nizam and Tipu* was studied by an Indian scholar, Prof. B. N. Roy.¹ In 1939 Mr. K. Sajjan Lal (Secunderabad) described in a paper the causes and significance of the battle of Kharda.² In 1942 Mr. A. M. Siddiqi (then Lecturer in History, Osmania University, Hyderabad) brought to our notice a collection of the original letters addressed by Nizam Ali Khan to Muhammad Ali Wala Jah of the Carnatic from 1757, when the former held the post of Chief Minister under his brother, Salabat Jang, till his death. They contain important historical information bearing on the history of the Deccan as well as of the Coromandel coast, and on the part played by the English and French Companies in these parts.³ A year after this, Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari contributed a paper⁴ on *The Climacteric of the Battle of Ambur (3rd August, 1749)*, in which the three allies the French, Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jung, defeated and killed Anwaruddin, Nawab of the Carnatic. Professor H. H. Dodwell observed that the "historical importance of Pondicherry and Madras dates from the battle of Ambur".⁵ In this paper the writer examined different contemporary accounts of the battle of Ambur and the events that led to it, like the narratives of Orme, Rayasam Venkatachalam Papaiya, who was the English Company's interpreter at Madras under Governor Morse and afterwards Agent to Orme, Narayan Pillai (author of the *History of the Carnataca Governors*) and Burhanuddin (*Tuzuk-i-Walajahi*). The writer produced that year also a detailed and critical account of the relations between the Carnatic and the English from 1795-1800.⁶ Circumstances in which Chanda Saheb met his death were examined by Dr. A. G. Pawar (Kolhapur) on the basis of a letter of Manaji, the Tanjore General, to Chhatrapati Sambhaji (king of Kolhapur, 1714-1760 A. D.), from which it appears that Chanda Saheb was captured when he was running away and that Manaji did not betray him by violating, as was noted in an old account, an oath.⁷ Circumstances leading to the abolition of the titular dignity

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1987.

2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1989.

3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1942.

4. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1948.

5. H. H. Dodwell, Introduction, Vol. VI, Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai.

6. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1948.

7. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1944.

of the Nawab of the Carnatic were studied by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari in 1946.¹ How Lord Cornwallis resisted the repeated efforts of the Nizam to establish his claim on Kurnool after the treaty of Seringapatam (1792) was pointed out by Prof. Mohibbul Hasan Khan.² In 1951 Shri K. R. Venkataraman Ayyar (of Pudukkottai) studied *Two Walajahi Persian Grants to a Vishnu Temple* (Varadaraja-Venkatesa temple) Tiruchirapalli.³ The first was a *parwana* issued by Mahfuz Khan, the second son of Nawab Anwaruddin of the Carnatic. The second *parwana* confirming the gifts of Mahfuz was issued by his brother Muhammad Ali, the next Nawab of the Carnatic. Sayyid Mohiuddin (Central Records Office, Hyderabad) brought to light⁴ a letter of Nizam Ali, which throws light on the activities of John Holland as an envoy on behalf of the Madras Government in 1779 and reveals the diplomatic relations then subsisting between the Nizam and the English Company. Some French letters, preserved in the Pondicherry Archives and throwing an interesting light on the relations between the French and Hyderabad from 1785 to 1793, were studied by Dr. S. P. Sen.⁵ In a paper on *The Nizam and Cornwallis*, Prof. S. H. Askari (Patna) tried to consider the significance of Lord Cornwallis' first administration in relation to Nizam Ali of Hyderabad.⁶

Anglo-Nizam Relations was the subject of a thesis prepared by Regani Sarojini (Osmania University, Hyderabad). A history of Kurnool upto 1858 has been prepared by S. A. Razach Bokhari (Madras University). In 1952 came out a volume of *Selections from the Orme Manuscripts*, edited by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari⁷ and published by the Annamalai University according to the Five Years' Publication Programme of the National Archives of India. We may note incidentally that in 1945 Mr. P. K. S. Raja (Annamalai University) studied *The Palassi Rebellion*. The Palassi Raja belonged to the western branch of the royal family of Kottayam. During the third Anglo-Mysore War, the Raja helped the English. After the treaty of Seringapatam, the Raja's dominions were not restored to him but were given on lease to the Kurumbarnad Raja, who had no right to it. This unjust act drove the Palassi Raja to revolt. He was ultimately vanquished in November, 1805, and the revolt

1. Ibid, 1946.

2. Ibid, 1948 (Jaipur session).

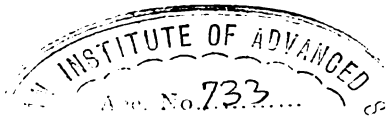
3. Ibid, 1951.

4. Ibid, 1953.

5. Ibid, 1954.

6. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1951.

7. Unfortunately the learned Editor, to whom we are indebted for many valuable works on modern Indian History, did not survive to see the publication of this volume.



ended with his death.¹ Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari² discussed in 1950 the *Penultimate Phase of the Poligar War of 1799-1801*, on the authority of the *Journal of Captain Walsh*, who was himself engaged in the campaigns, and the observations of Lord Valentia, who travelled in South India in 1803. Since the Carnatic wars of the fifties of the eighteenth century the Southern Poligars of Madura and Tinnevely resisted strongly the exactions of the deputies of the Nawab of the Carnatic and of the English renters associated with them. They were consequently subject to frequent punitive campaigns. "The final war of 1799-1801," observed the writer, "included several long-drawn and bitterly contested campaigns in which the Kattabomma chiefs took the most prominent part and naturally earned fame as redoubtable champions of independence vigorously attempted to be sustained against the Colossus of English might."³ A paper on *History of Surat* till it came under the control of the East India Company was written by Dr. H. N. Sinha in 1940.³ Dr. M. A. Muttalib obtained Ph. D Degree of the Osmania University on the merit of his thesis on *The Administration of Justice under the Nizams. 1724—1947*. In 1959 Shri Y. Bittalrao Bhimavaram of Andhra Pradesh contributed a paper on *East India Company and Andhra*.⁴ In 1961 B. Sheikh Ali of Mysore wrote a paper explaining why the Nizam deserted the English in the *First Anglo-Mysore War*. The same year Prof. Nani Gopal Chaudhury (Calcutta) obtained D. Phil. Degree of the Calcutta University for his thesis on *British Relations with Hyderabad (1798-1843)*. It forms a well-written, competent monograph on the subject. Sri Prabhatangshu Maiti (Calcutta University) is engaged in preparing a thesis on *Muhammad Ali of Arcot*.

While the English were still struggling against various hostile forces in Peninsular India till the beginning of the 19th century, their political authority in northern India had been established on a firm basis. The revolutions accomplished by Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764) made them virtual masters of Bengal and Bihar. The treaty of Allahabad (1765) rendered the Nawab of Oudh a dependent ally of the English East India Company and Shah Alam II's *Diwani Grant* of August, 1765, gave a *de jure* recognition to the *de facto* authority of the English in Bengal. Though the English Company thus became the real ruler of Bengal, Clive, out of various considerations, shrank from accepting direct responsibility for its administration and left it with the Nawab, who was a mere figurehead and had lost all authority as a

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1945.
2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1950.
3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1940.
4. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1959.

result of his treaty with the English Company, dated 20th February, 1765. The new form of government established by Clive in Bengal was a dyarchy, marked by divorce of power from responsibility, and naturally produced abuses of diverse kinds to the great detriment of the interests of this country. Clive's successors, Verelst (1767-1769) and Cartier (1769-1772), had neither the inclination nor the capacity to eradicate these evils, and in this one of the darkest periods in the history of our country the people began to groan under the weight of oppression, corruption and miseries, which were aggravated by the terrible famine of 1770. Richard Bocher, a servant of the Company in Bengal, wrote to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors on the 24th May, 1769: "It must give pain to an Englishman to have reason to think, that since the accession of the Company to the Diwani, the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before; yet I am afraid the fact is undoubted. This fine country, which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary government, is verging towards ruin." "The new government of the Company", wrote Hastings on the 22nd July, 1772, "consists of a confused heap of undigested materials, as wild as the chaos itself."¹ This state of affairs had begun to produce some adverse effects also on the interests of the Company, and their government at home soon felt the need of putting an end to the evils of the Dual Government. Their choice for this task fell on Warren Hastings, who was appointed Governor of Bengal and whose administration as such began on the 9th April, 1772. "We now arm you with full powers," wrote his masters to him, "to make a complete reformation" of the various evils then rampant in Bengal. "It is evident," wrote the Company to the President and Council in Calcutta on the 7th April, 1773, "that the evils which have been so destructive to us lye too deep for any partial plan to correct. It is therefore our resolution to aim at the root of these evils; and we are happy in having reason to believe that in every just and necessary regulation we should meet with the approbation and support of the Legislature who consider the public as materially interested in the Company's prosperity."²

The history of Bengal, during these years of quickly succeeding political revolutions giving a new turn to her destiny, is full of the deepest lessons for us today. Prejudices, preconceptions and lack of correct knowledge of traditions led to the formulation of certain views and conclusions, the validity of which have to be carefully tested through

1. Gleig, *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, Vol. I., p. 817.

2. Moncton Jones, *Warren Hastings in Bengal*, p. 148.

unbiased original studies. There are a series of events and many unknown or ignored but important episodes, the origin, growth and effects of which should be properly understood on the basis of original documents. The movements of the respective European trading Companies in India during the eighteenth century, leading to their inevitable penetration into the field of Indian politics, and ultimate victory of the English, must be explained with a careful analysis of the deeprooted causes through the genuine perspective of an historian. The battles of Plassey and Buxar were not accidental events. The logic of facts was driving the country to these decisive battles, and the factors which contributed to the success of the English must be ascertained through the means of critical investigations.

Of late, some Indian scholars have been engaged in the study of this period by utilising newly discovered materials. I have tried to present a review of the conditions prevailing in Bengal in the pre-Plassey days in my work on "*Alivardi and His Times*," published by the University of Calcutta in 1939. A new edition of this work is coming out soon. In my introduction to volume one of *Fort William-India House Correspondence* (published by the Government of India according to the Five Years' Publication Programme of the Indian Historical Records Commission), I have made an attempt to examine critically the real causes of the quarrel between Sirajuddaulah and the English, besides dealing with certain other aspects of the history of this period.

The years 1756-57 formed a turning-point in the history of India. These were marked by a weighty revolution destined to affect the history of India in various ways. To understand the real causes of this revolution one must critically study the relations between Sirajuddaulah and the English.

The relations of the Europeans in Bengal with Sirajuddaulah, heir-designate of Alivardi, were cordial in 1752. Early in May, 1752, Alivardi declared Sirajuddaulah, in whom he lived and moved and had his being, as his successor. Soon afterwards during his stay at Hugli, Sirajuddaulah "was visited by the French and Dutch Governors with a present Equivalent to his Dignity." As instructed by the *faujdar* of Hugli and by Khwaja Wajid, one of the principal merchants of Bengal who resided at Hugli, the Council in Calcutta "judged it highly necessary to pay the Nabob (Nawab) the Compliment required." Accordingly, the President of the English Company, Mr. Roger Drake, accompanied by Messrs Cruttenden and Becher and the Commandant, visited Sirajuddaulah at Hugli in the beginning of the third week of September, 1752. They were received there, as the Council in Calcutta expressed in gratifying terms, "with the utmost politeness and Distinction far

Superior than was paid the French or Dutch." Appreciating this cordiality of Sirajuddaulah, the Court of Directors observed in their letter to the Council in Calcutta, dated 23rd January 1754, that they should lose no opportunity of "improving the favourable opinion he seems to entertain of the English Nation." In another letter, dated 29th November, 1754, the Court significantly noted that the "Country Government" (Nawab's government) had "always shown more preferable marks of favour to the English than to the other European Nations." In the course of three years, however, Bengal became the scene of a sanguinary contest between Sirajuddaulah and the English with disastrous consequences for this country.

Some are of opinion that Sirajuddaulah was guilty of perpetrating acts of violence and cruelty on the English without any cause. He has been accused of unprovoked acts of aggression, committed in compliance with what Holwell describes as the "deathbed instructions of Alivardi to destroy the Forts and Garrisons of the Europeans and to reduce their Trade on the Footing of the Armenians." But Holwell's testimony is not unimpeachable. Though possessed of ability, Holwell had neither integrity nor veracity. He was accustomed to fabricate facts or invent stories to vindicate his own position or point of view. Positive evidence of some English contemporaries of Holwell, then in the service of the Company in Bengal, (Watts, Chief of the English factory at Cassimbazar, Matthew Collet, second of the Council at Cassimbazar, and Richard Becher, Chief of the Company's factory at Dacca), proves that his story of the anti-European death-bed speech of Alivardi is a veritable concoction. There are references also in some of the 18th century Persian works which show that Alivardi had no such evil motif as Holwell imputed to him. Besides questioning the genuineness of Holwell's statement, referred to above, Richard Becher expresses the view that "the English had given Sur Raja Doula (Sirajuddaulah) sufficient provocation to make him their enemy without any need of his grand-father's advice."

In fact, quarrel between Sirajuddaulah and the English East India Company had become inevitable because of the conflicting interests of the two. Apprehending prejudice to the authority of the Nawab's Government from certain facts on the part of the English in Bengal, Sirajuddaulah protested against these during the last days of his grandfather. He justly accused them of complicity with the rival party, which under the leadership of Shahamat Jang's widow, Ghasiti Begam, and her chief diwan, Rajballabh, then opposed his claims to the subahdarship. According to M. Jean Law, they, like some others, were "led away by the idea that he

(Sirajuddaulah) could not have sufficient influence to get himself recognised as subahdar." They were even suspected of having "an understanding" with Shaukat Jang, Nawab of Purneah, and another rival of Sirajuddaulah. Counting on better prospects of success of Sirajuddaulah's rivals and so with a view to securing the favour of their guide, Rajballabh, the Council in Calcutta at the request of Mr. Watts, Chief of the English factory at Cassimbazar, gave shelter to Rajballabh's son, Krishnadas, (Krishna Ballabh), who had fled away to Calcutta in March, 1756, with his family and wealth on the pretext of a pilgrimage to Jagannath at Puri.

All this strengthened Sirajuddaulah's suspicion about what he construed as the hostile machinations of the English East India Company in collusion with his rivals, and he reported to Alivardi in the presence of Dr. Forth, surgeon of the Cassimbazar factory, who was attending the Nawab about a fortnight before his death, that the English intended to support Ghasiti Begum. Questioned by the Nawab regarding this charge, Dr. Forth described it as a "malicious report" on the part of their enemies and disclaimed any intention on the part of the Company to interfere in political matters.

But this did not satisfy Sirajuddaulah. He levelled three definite charges against the English. The first one was that they had "built strong fortifications and dug a large ditch in the King's dominions contrary to the laws of the country." The second was that they had "abused the privilege of dastaks (*dastaks*) by granting them to such as were no ways entitled to them, from which practices the King has suffered greatly in the revenue of his Customs." The third complaint was that they had "given protection to such of the King's subjects as have by their behaviour in the employs they were entrusted with made themselves liable to be called to an account and instead of giving them upon demand they allow such persons to shelter themselves within their bounds from the hands of justice". He expressed his intention to "pardon their fault and permit their residence here" if they "will promise to remove the foregoing complaints of their conduct and will agree to trade upon the same terms as other merchants did in the times of the Nabob Jaffier Cawn (Murshid Quli Jafar Khan)."

A careful scrutiny of relevant contemporary documents shows that these charges were not baseless. As regards fortifications, the Council in Calcutta had attempted to improve them by ignoring the authority of the Nawab's Government during the fatal illness of Alivardi. Even if it be argued that no new works of fortifications had been undertaken at that time, and that Sirajuddaulah had received false or fabricated reports regarding the preparations of the English and the

French, there cannot be any doubt as to their efforts for the strengthening of such constructions as had been already commenced and carrying out certain repairs. Sirajuddaulah was not content to remain a silent spectator in this matter. He maintained the same point of view regarding it as Murshid Quli Jafar Khan or Alivardi Khan had done. Like them he felt that it would not be advisable to allow the Europeans to build strong fortifications within his dominions. His apprehension was that this would adversely affect his own authority. In view of the military and political exploits and success of the Europeans in Southern India and the virtual subordination of the rulers at Hyderabad and Arcot to their control, Sirajuddaulah thought it necessary, like his grandfather, to take adequate precautions for the prevention of effective European interference in Bengal politics. The Carnatic episodes must have greatly influenced his policy in relation to the Europeans in Bengal. It would be incorrect to say that Sirajuddaulah forbade the English only to add to their fortifications out of a special bias against them. He wanted to enforce the same injunction on the other European nations too. Even Holwell states, "though liberty of trade is granted to the Danes and Prussians, yet they are prohibited fortifications or garrisons." Sirajuddaulah passed simultaneous orders on the French at Chandernagore and the English Governor in Calcutta, Mr. Drake, to desist from the work of building fortifications at their respective settlements. The former were able to satisfy him. But he became extremely disgusted at the reply he received from Mr. Drake to the effect that the English were not "erecting any new fortifications" but were only repairing the wharf and that the Nawab had been misinformed by their enemies about their digging any new ditch except that one which had been executed during the period of Maratha invasions with the approbation of Alivardi. He further noted that, apprehending renewal of hostilities between the English and the French, which were bound to have an echo in India, they thought it necessary "to be upon our guard and make our place as defensible as we could."

When Mr. Drake's reply reached the Nawab during his stay at Rajmahal, he is said to have exclaimed: "Who shall dare to think of commencing hostilities in my country, or presume to imagine I have not power to protect them?" Holwell regrets that the answer had not been debated in Council before it was sent. He also observes: "the whole of it had a tendency to confirm the Suba (Nawab) in a belief of those insinuations which had been already conveyed to him, that the war between us and the French would probably be brought into Bengal beside its carrying a tacit reflection on the Suba's power or will to protect us."

There is plenty of contemporary evidence to justify Sirajuddaulah's complaint regarding the abuse of *dastaks* (passports) by the Company's servants at the cost of the revenues of the Government and the interests of the indigenous merchants. It had become an old practice by that time in spite of the previous attempts for its removal by the government of the Nawabs and occasionally by the English Company. In 1755 the Court of Directors asked the Council in Calcutta to "be extremely careful to prevent all abuses of the Dusticks." Referring to the "ill use made of this indulgence" by the servants of the Company, Holwell observed in his letter to Court, dated 30th November, 1756: "That the abuse of dusticks should be one cause of complaint, I am not surprised at." Rogar Drake claimed that he "had in a great measure curbed that unlicensed practice", "had refused applications on that head" and "was warm to remedy and put those checks which were resolved on to prevent the abuse of that indulgence." He could not certainly remove this abuse which grew so terribly in the post-Plassey period.

So far as the third complaint is concerned, it is not really "difficult to understand" Sirajuddaulah's point of view regarding it. There is a clear reference in the account of David Rannie (August 1756) that the English Company "gave protection to the Nawab's subjects though they were neither their servants nor their merchants." Further, the affair of Krishnadas (Krishna Ballabh) was a sufficiently provocative one. For certain reasons, particularly for Raj Ballabh's leadership of a hostile party, there was no love lost between him and Sirajuddaulah. Sirajuddaulah demanded from him an account of the administration of Dacca finances for several years. Raj Ballabh, who happened to be then at Murshidabad, was placed in confinement in March, 1756, and persons were deputed to Dacca to attach his property and family. There is no doubt that Raj Ballabh's family came to seek shelter in Calcutta to avoid this. But the Council in Calcutta continued to shelter the son and family of an ex-officer of the Government, who had incurred the Subahdar's displeasure, even after he had demanded their dismissal. Richard Becher writes that to harbour Krishnadas in Calcutta in defiance of the Nawab's demand was a "wrong step". Some other English contemporaries considered it to be a risky course. Just on the eve of Alivardi's death, Mr. Watts himself sent a letter to the President in Calcutta suggesting that it would be "expedient" that "Kissendas and the rest of Rajballobh's family should have no longer protection in Calcutta." Considering this to be a "salutary advice" and apprehending that the continuance of protecting them till the death of Alivardi "might be productive of Trouble," Mr.

Holwell "pressed more than once for the dismissal of this family." He pleads, however, that it did not become possible for the President to dismiss them, "the more especially as for some days advices from all quarters were in favour of the Begam's (Ghasiti Begam) party."

Some years back I published two papers¹ presenting therein a detailed account of the circumstances leading to the recovery of Calcutta by the English in 1757, followed by the conclusion of the treaty of 9th February, 1757, between Sirajuddaulah and the English. I discussed also the subject of the *Fortification of Calcutta and the policy of the Nawabs of Bengal* regarding it in an issue of the Journal of the Patna University. In an issue of the *Current Studies* (Patna College, Patna), I examined the influence of the *mid-eighteenth century wars in Peninsular India on Bengal politics*.

On the 23rd December, 1754, Godohu signed a 'provisional treaty' with Saunders, English Governor of Madras, the validity of which depended on its final ratification by the home authorities of the English and French East India Companies. But the interests of the English and the French were then too conflicting to admit of a perfectly cordial settlement. As a matter of fact, recrudescence of a war between the two was only a question of time. So, as I have indicated in a paper² regarding *Some Correspondence of the Court of Directors to the Council in Calcutta*, the former communicated in 1755 and 1756 due notes of warning and advice in this matter to the latter and asked them to be well on their guard against the risks of the apprehended conflict. Anxious for the safety of the English East India Company's settlements in India against the apprehended renewal of conflicts with the French, and also as a measure of precaution against some indigenous forces that might resist the Company, the Court of Directors in England, as I have pointed out in another paper³ not only sent occasional reinforcements for the Company's army in their respective settlements but also advised the Councils there to tap useful sources of recruitment for the army in India (1754-1757). Colonel Caroline Frederick Scott, an able and shrewd officer of the English Company in Bengal, who thought in 1754 of "success in bringing about a Revolution in Bengal and to their advantage",⁴ suggested the recruitment of the Rajputs of Bihar to the army of the Company. The Court of Directors recommended its careful consideration by the Council in Calcutta, and the

1. Calcutta Review, 1988.

2. Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. XXX, 1944, parts I and II.

3. Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol. XXXI, 1945, parts I and II.

4. C. R. Wilson, Fort William in Bengal, Vol. II, p. 74; vide my paper on this subject, in Shrikrishna Abhinandan Granth, Monghyr.

Bihari Rajputs began to contribute from this time not an inconsiderable quota to the ranks of East India Company's Indian troops. The territorial, official and mercantile aristocracy of Bengal and Bihar exercised a potent influence on the history of these provinces during the transitional period of the mid-eighteenth century. So minute and careful investigations into the careers of Maharaja Krishnachandra of Nadia, the Seths of Murshidabad, the Zamindars of Birbhum, Burdwan, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Tikari and Bhojpur, of Raja Janakiram (for some time Naib Nazim of Bihar), and his son Raja Durlabhram, of Raja Rajballabh of Dacca, and his son Raja Ramnarain (Naib Nazim of Bihar for some years), of Raja Ramnarain (Naib Nazim of Bihar for some years), of Raja Shitab Ray and his son Raja Kalyan Singh of Patna, and of some others, would bring to light many facts of historical importance full of lessons for us today. Some years back, I wrote a paper in an issue of *the Indian Historical Quarterly* on the career of *Durlabhram*, who was intimately associated with the Murshidabad Government and played an important part in the political revolution of 1757 in Bengal, being responsible, along with some others, for the betrayal of his master Sirajuddaulah. He remained a friend of the English in Bengal till his death in 1770.

In 1941 Prof. T. A. Talukdar (Krishnagar, Bengal) discussed in a paper the baneful effects of early British rule on Bengal in the first half of the nineteenth century.¹ Shri Paresb Nath Mukherjee sought to prove that Hindu discontent was not a cause of the war between the English and Sirajuddaulah as Mr. S. C. Hill had observed². In 1949 Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya wrote an article (*Who was the aggressor ?*) trying to examine in it as to who took the aggressive in the relations between Sirajuddaulah and the English in the period intervening between the signing of the treaty of Alinagar on the 9th February, 1757, and the outbreak of hostilities culminating in the battle of Plassey. "The tragedy of the situation was", he observed, "that while Sirajuddaulah was being lulled into a sense of perfect security by the continued assurances held out by the British, they were at the same time instigating his enemies in a manner which made war inevitable."³ Sri Nani Gopal Chaudhuri of Konnagar (Bengal) discussed the *Anglo-French disputes in Bengal during the administration of Cartier (December 1769-April 1772)*⁴. The same writer wrote about the *Conflict between the Bengal Government under Cartier*

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress 1941.

2. Ibid, 1948.

3. Ibid, 1949.

4. Ibid, 1944.

and Shujauddulah¹ and the Diplomatic Relations of the Bengal Government under Cartier with the powers of Hindustan (December 1769—June 1771).² In 1949 Shri T. K. Mukherji, (Calcutta) discussed how the English after 1760 tackled the question of the *Chauth* of Bengal demanded by the Marathas. "The upshot of the matter was that Janojee retained possession of Orissa, while the English continued to refuse the *Chauth*. Janojee had no strength enough to settle the question of *Chauth* by force. Through internal dissensions the power of the Bhonsles had decayed. Yet Janojee would not think of surrendering his right to the *Chauth* which was so vital to the prestige of his family. The question of *Chauth* was raised later in 1781 and again in 1785 but the claim was never again seriously pressed except as an argument to embarrass the English in the course of other negotiations."³

In volume two of the History of Bengal (published by the Dacca University) Sir Jadunath has given a detailed account of the events leading to the battle of Plassey and its effects, with reflections on the significance of this battle as marking the commencement of a new era. In 1958 Mr. A. Huges brought to our notice an account of the reign of Sirajuddaulah contained in the valuable contemporary Persian history of Yusuf Ali Khan.⁴ It is interesting to note the following observation in his article. "Yusuf Ali's references to the shutting up in a small room, and suffocation, of some of the English prisoners from the capture of Calcutta, will undoubtedly arouse the interest of those who have at any time followed the course of the 'Black Hole' controversy; this new information, however, needs to be correlated with other information available or forthcoming, before firm conclusions can be reached." A volume (a Ph. D. thesis of London University) on the career of Mir Jafar, written by Dr. Atul Chandra Roy of Calcutta, came out in 1953. I wrote in 1931⁵ an *Estimate of the character and policy of Mir Qasim*, Nawab of Bengal, 1760-1763. Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee of Lucknow University brought out, several years back, a detailed biography of Mir Qasim. I feel that a critical account of the policy and activities of this important personality is still due. Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee's work on *Verelst's Rule in India*, prepared mainly on the basis of manuscript records of the Government of India and of the Bengal Government, and presenting a detailed account of the English Company's administration (1767-1769), came out in 1939. In 1950 a

1. Ibid, 1945.

2. Ibid, 1946.

3. Ibid, 1949.

4. Bengal : Past and Present, January—June, 1958.

5. Journal of Indian History, 1931.

highly useful volume of original records for the years 1767-69, edited by Dr. N. K. Sinha of Calcutta University and forming Vol. V. of Fort William = India House Correspondence Series (1748-1800), was published by the National Archives of India, New Delhi. It is a mine of information for the history of Bengal during these critical years. The letters contained in it form correspondence exchanged between the Fort William in Calcutta and the Court of Directors in London, and enable us to get a true picture of the various deplorable features in the unsound administration of the time, and of the growing economic decline in the province. There are also incidental references to the social conditions of the country. The learned Editor's *Introduction* to the volume contains a careful analysis and a critical discussion of the contents of the letters.

Several other similar volumes, carefully edited by different scholars with a critical Introduction and notes in each, have been subsequently published by the National Archives of India to the great advantage of researchers on various aspects of the history of India during the eighteenth century. Those are Vol. I covering the years 1748-57 edited by Dr. K. K. Datta, Vol. II covering the years 1757-59 edited by Dr. H. N. Sinha, Vol. IX covering the years 1782-85 edited by Dr. B.A. Salefore, Vol. XII covering the years 1792-95 edited by Prof. Y. J. Taraporewala and Vol. XIII covering the years 1796-1800 edited by Dr. P. C. Gupta. We may refer to a volume, entitled *Select Documents of the British Period of Indian History* (in the collection of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta) edited by its Curator, Dr. D. C. Ganguly. It contains eightysix documents of the period from 1758 to 1857.

In a paper on *Clive and the Junior Civil Servants*,¹ Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee studied Clive's attitude towards the Company's Junior Civil servants seeking to explain the reasons for his failure in effectively reforming the civil service. The same writer has shown in another paper² that Clive during his second administration drew the attention of the Court of Directors to the evil of illicit arms smuggling at the port towns by the crew of the French, Dutch and other ships from Europe. He also mentioned in another paper³ how during his second administration Clive tried to grapple with the evil of usury which had reached alarming proportions among the servants of the Company in Bengal. Recently Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee brought out a volume⁴ on the second administration of Lord Clive in Bengal including the relevant chapters noted above. It contains also an estimate of his administration in

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1940.

2. Ibid, 1942.

3. Ibid, 1944.

4. Published by the Indian Press, Allahabad,

concluding which he observes : "Having started with the laudable resolution of cleansing the Augean stable Clive ended by making confusion worse confounded. The system which he laid down and the course which he followed were characterised by a short-sighted opportunism which reveals his failure to rise to the height of a statesman". Sri Ramendra Nath Choudhuri of Rajasthan University, Jaipur, prepared a dissertation on *Establishment of British supremacy in Bengal and Bihar 1756-64*. In 1955 Prof. N. B. Roy of Visva Bharati, Santiniketan, contributed an article on the *Early invroads of the Naga Sannyasis in Bengal (1760-73 A.D.)* giving an account of their engagements against the English Company. "They were not", remarks this writer, "freebooters as trotted out by some writers, nor were they the vanguards of freedom movement as portrayed in the *Anandamath* of Bankimchandra."¹ We get also another account of their activities in a work by Shri Jamini Mohan Ghosh on *Sannyasi and Fakir raiders in Bengal*². As I feel, a correct account of their role in the history of this period is still due. I have tried to explain the *Genesis of the Diwani Grant of 1765*, which was a very significant event in the history of the Bengal Subah and of India as a whole. This grant was a logical sequel to the treaty of 20th February, 1765, between the Council in Calcutta and Najmuddaullah, the Nawab of Bengal. It was a natural concomitant of the eclipse of Mughal rule in India, in a sense the culmination of an idea which had originated a few years back (from 1759) in consequence of it³. The administration in Bengal following this grant has been reviewed by Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee, who observes : "The story of the years that constituted the period of the Diwani administration in Bengal makes a dismal reading and one cannot escape the verdict that the period was probably the darkest in the history of the local people"⁴. Shri S. L. Katare of Mahakoshal Mahavidyalaya, Jabbalpur, is engaged in writing a dissertation on *Bengal in Transition, 1756-65*. Nihar Kana Mazumdar's thesis on *Justice and Police in Bengal 1765-1793*, secured for her the D. Phil Degree of the University of Calcutta. Shri Narendra Nath Das (Calcutta) is writing a *Socio-Economic History of Midnapur, 1760-1803*. Shri Sudesh Chandra Dev (Saugar University) is writing on *Lord Clive as a statesman*, Dr. R. K. Das Gupta is engaged in research on *Political History of 19th Century Bengal*.

An article on *Sirajuddaulah and Europeans* by Dr. V. P. S. Raghuvansi appeared in an issue of the Saugar University

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1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1955,
 2. Published by the Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Calcutta
 3. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1962,
 4. Journal of Indian History, April, 1955,

Journal.¹ Another article by Dr. V. P. S. Raghuvansi on *Fall of Sirajuddaulah, The Nawab of Bengal*, has been published recently.² Dr. Q. Ahmad, a Research Fellow of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, has brought to light some unpublished letters of Raja Shitab Rai, who was closely connected with the mid-eighteenth century political transactions in Bengal and Bihar.³ Dr. Q. Ahmad has further studied an unpublished account of Chotanagpur in the eighteenth century by Raja Shitab Rai⁴. In one paper I have assessed the evidence of a newly discovered Hindi manuscript about the Jagat Seths, the famous bankers of Murshidabad, who also played an important role in the history of India during the transitional years of the eighteenth century⁵. In 1960 Shri Tridib Nath Ray of Calcutta contributed a paper on *Mystery of the Black Hole*⁶. Reference may be made to the paper on *British Occupation of the Fort of Sambalpur* by Dr. Bhavani Charan Roy of Cuttack⁷. In 1961 Dr. Shri Govind Mishra of Siwan College (Bihar) prepared a thesis on the *History of Bihar, 1740-1772*, on the merit of which he was awarded the Ph. D. Degree of the Patna University.

A student of History studying the vicissitudes in the political destiny of India from the mid-eighteenth century must try to understand carefully the process of the gradual liquidation and ultimate eclipse of Mughal political authority. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's monumental volumes on the *Fall of the Mughal Empire* contain graphic descriptions of the contemporary affairs relating to the Delhi Empire, the abortive Bengal and Bihar invasions of Shah Alam II in 1759 to 1761 and the battle of Buxar. Driven from pillar to post and post to pillar by adverse circumstances Shah Alam II had to pass his days through unspeakable agonies and his relations with the English also show his utter helplessness in all respects. His negotiations with the English after the battle of Buxar, which I have described in an article,⁸ abundantly explain his pathetic position. The battle of Buxar (23rd October, 1764) was a significantly decisive episode in the history of India. It resulted in the defeat of three important rulers of Northern India, Emperor Shah Alam II, Nawab Shujauddaulah of Oudh and Mir Qasim, the expelled Nawab of Bengal. Immediately after it, Shah Alam II, not quite happy at his

1. Vol, I, No, 2, 1952-53,

2. Journal of Indian History. August, 1961,

3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1960,

4. Proceedings, Indian History Congress 1959,

5. Ibid, 1961,

6. Ibid,

7. Ibid,

8. Bengal : Past and Present, Vol. LXX, Serial No. 188, 1951.

virtual dependence on Shujauddaulah¹, threw himself almost at the mercy of the English and entered into negotiations with them from Benares, which ultimately led to the grant of the *Diwani* and the cession of Kora and Allahabad to Shah Alam II.

The promise of the English, made to Shah Alam II since 1761 to give him military assistance for the fulfilment of his natural desire to return to his ancestral metropolis at Delhi, was reiterated by Clive at the time of the *Diwani* grant.² But on one plea or the other the English evaded compliance with it. Clive even regretted his inability to comply with Shah Alam II's request "without a reference to his sovereign." Accordingly it was decided to send a letter of representation to King George III and such a letter was drafted at Dum Dum near Calcutta in consultation with Lord Clive, Carnac and George Vansittart but without the knowledge of the Council in Calcutta. Captain Archibald Swinton was put in charge of the mission to George III and a sum of one lakh of rupees was sanctioned for present to the latter. Itsamuddin, author of *Sagar-namah-i-Wilayt*, also accompanied this mission. About a week after they had embarked, Captain Swinton informed Itsamuddin that Lord Clive had kept the letter with him saying that as he was returning to England next year he would himself give it to the king along with the money for the present. Clive went to England in 1767 and Itsamuddin learnt to his great surprise and regret that Clive had presented the money to the Queen on his own behalf and nothing had been mentioned by him about the letter. This episode has been mentioned in some articles.³

Shah Alam's is indeed a tragic character in Indian history. He solicited help in different quarters to meet with nothing but disillusionment and disappointment. Once again he had to court disappointment by writing a letter to George III in 1772, the contents of which I have studied in a paper.⁴ According to the *Diwani* settlement of August, 1765 Shah Alam II was entitled to receive an annual tribute worth 26 lakhs of rupees out of the revenues of Bengal. But even this was soon denied to him. Lord Clive left India on the 26th January, 1767. The correspondence of Shah Alam II

1. Broome, *Bengal Army*, p 464.

2. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, 1186, 2688, Vol. II, 660, Vol. III, 899 ; Ghulam Ali, *Shah Alam Namah*, Vol. II, p. 288 ; *Sagar namah* by Itsamuddin (Copy found in Wakf Library at Kujhwa in Saran district, Bihar), pp. 10—11 ; Letter from Clive to Smith, 28th December, 1766.

3. Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference, Patna session, 1930, pp. 87—90 ; *Bengal: Past and Present*, July 1986 ; Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1989.

4. A letter of Shah Alam II to George III, in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1940, Vol. XXVI, Part—IV.

with his successor, Harry Verelst, tells us of the Delhi Emperor's repeated complaints to the effect that the promised tribute was not paid to him regularly, though he was in acute financial stringency, and of his request to the English to help him with a body of troops in returning to Delhi. Verelst gave him favourable assurances with regard to both. But during the administration of John Cartier (December 1769 to April 1772) confusion became worse confounded. Remittance of the imperial tribute became more irregular than before in spite of repeated requests on the part of Shah Alam II. Disappointed from the side of the English and failing in two attempts to go to Delhi,¹ Shah Alam soon entered into an engagement with the Marathas, who had by that time recovered from the blows of Panipat, and entered Delhi in January, 1772. The northern push of the Marathas, and their control over the Delhi Emperor, were considered by Hastings to be potential dangers to the English Company. The Delhi Emperor, in his opinion, no longer deserved support of the English and had forfeited his claim to the Bengal tribute. The remittance of the Imperial tribute was actually stopped in no time. The repeated demands of the Delhi Emperor for the "Tribute" received no favourable response from Warren Hastings, who was determined to reverse in full the system of Lord Clive, which he considered to be unsuitable to conditions of the time.

Placed in an extremely embarrassing situation, the Delhi Emperor once again (in 1772) thought of sending a letter² to George III through Major John Morrison who was then going to Europe. This representation, like the two made previously, proved futile. Some records of the Company, contain references to the pathetic appeals of the Delhi Emperor for remittance of the Bengal tribute. It was laid down in one of the clauses of the Treaty of Benares, concluded by Hastings with Shujauddaulah on the 7th September, 1773, that the English "were to cease paying tribute to Shah Alam"³. When after this the Delhi Emperor wrote to Mr. Hastings on the 9th September, 1773, asking the Governor to remit to him "tribute from Bengal and give up Korah and Allahabad" he was informed on the 13th September: "I must plainly declare that until the safety and welfare of those provinces will admit of, I cannot consent that a single rupee be sent out of them which it is in my power to detain."⁴ Hastings, as he said, was supported in this step by the Court

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1940.
2. Copy preserved in Original Consultations of the Secret Committee, dated the 11th December, 1772.
3. Forrest, Selections, Vol. 1, p. 59.
4. Ibid, p. 58.

of Directors, who in a letter, dated 3rd March, 1775, ordered that "no further remission should be made to him (Shah Alam II) without their express permission". Prof. S. H. Askari of Patna discovered in a rare collection of letters and other writings of Munshi Sambhu Lal¹, compiled in 1197, A.H—1782 A.D., two letters written (probably in 1779 A. D.) by the author at the request of Raja Daya Ram and in the name of Shah Alam II, one to Lord North and the other to George III. As Prof. Askari has pointed out, the chief significance of Shah Alam's letter to George III "lies in the fact that besides containing a reiteration of the Emperor's grievances regarding the non-payment of the dues of the past amounting to one crore and sixty six lakhs of rupees, it reflects the opinion of certain sections of contemporary Indians, if not of the Emperor himself, on certain political and economic conditions of the country during the time. There is a note of confidence and an implied threat, at the end of the letter, which is quite in keeping with the temporarily-revived position of the empire, due to the efforts of the famous Mirza Najaf"² Dr. P. C. Gupta of Calcutta drew our attention to an account of the State of Delhi in "a narrative of the transactions of the Court of Delhi" from 1771 to 1779 written by Antoine Louis Henri Polier, a Swiss Engineer³ in the Company's service, who was later on employed by the Nawab of Oudh and the Emperor. Dr. Gupta discovered a manuscript of this account in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta,⁴ and has compared it with a copy of the manuscript in the Orme Collection of the India Office Library, which he does not consider to be original, and holds that the copy in the Asiatic Society was written by Polier.

Delhi affairs continued to be hopelessly confused. Mirza Najaf tried his best to regulate these for some years. But it was indeed a very hard task. Reviewing the situation about 1778, the historian of the Mughal Empire writes: "Within six years of Shah Alam's coming to Delhi his Government was relieved of the menace of the overgrown vassals who had usurped the lands round Delhi and so long successfully defied Mughal authority. The Ruhela who had seized the upper Doab was crushed partially in March, 1772 and completely

1. He is identical with Sambhunath, the Munshi, of Mr. Fowke, who has been mentioned by Warren Hastings and also in Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. V (Nos. 55, 1067, 1886), in connection with the Chait Singh affair.

2. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1958'

3. I have given a note on the Swiss Engineers in the service of the Company in my Introduction to Fort William—India House Correspondence Vol. I. Dr. P. C. Gupta has written an account of Louis Polier's career in India, Proceedings, India History Congress, 1945.

4. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1944.

in September, 1777 ; his fellow-clansmen of the trans-Ganges colonies had been extirpated in April, 1774 and rendered incapable of joining any pan-Afghan revolt against the Delhi throne ; the Jat Rajah had been shorn of all his enormous new acquisitions and turned into a petty zamindar worth only nine lakhs a year (April 1776). From 1775 to 1782 the dreaded Marathas were so heavily entangled in a contested succession at home and a war with the English abroad that they would not spare a single soldier for Hindustan."¹

But this calmness and security were more apparent than real. The Sikhs again proved to be a disturbing factor in the north and west of Delhi. Further, the nominal Emperor of Delhi, Shah Alam II, tossed by adverse circumstances, became extremely vacillating in nature and was easily liable to change sides. Mirza Najaf's jealous rival, Abdul Ahad Khan, soon influenced him and instigated the enomies of the Mirza. To add to these, by 1778 Mirza Najaf was involved in troubles with Rao Pratap Singh of Macheri (Alwar), then in alliance with the Rajahs of Jaipur and Bharatpur. The English, whose sphere of influence had not yet extended beyond Oudh and whose position was still critical in view of the hostile attitude of Indian powers in western and southern India, and the machinations of their European enemies, the French and the Dutch, particularly after the outbreak of the War of American independence, naturally watched with anxiety the events in and round Delhi as is proved by correspondence between Nathaniel Middleton, their Resident at the court of the Nawab of Oudh, and the Calcutta Government, which I studied some years back.² The death of Mirza Najaf Khan, the last great regent of Delhi on the 6th April, 1782, aggravated confusion in the Government of the Delhi Empire. In this situation Shah Alam II and his different ministers made appeals to Warren Hastings for British assistance and protection. In response to these, the Governor-General sent Major James Browne on an exploratory mission to the Court of Delhi, and he remained there from August, 1782 to April, 1785. The object of this mission and Browne's negotiations with the Emperor and some others at Delhi were studied by Sir Jadunath Sarkar several years back.³ "Browne's embassy to Delhi", pointed out Sir Jadunath, "ended in nothing. But the student of the dying Mughal Empire will be failing in gratitude if he omits to recognise the service that Browne did to the history of this period. A master of the Persian and Hindustan tongues, he utilised his splendid opportunities at Lucknow, Agra and

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1. J. N. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. III, p. 146
 2. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXVII, Parts 3-4, 1951.
 3. *Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1937.

Delhi to collect a number of valuable Persian historical manuscripts and worked upon them, publishing the materials in his Indian Tracts, to which J. D. Cunningham and others are deeply indebted. During this embassy, he secured a manuscript of Kashirao's Persian narrative of the third battle of Panipat, his translation of which (*printed in the Asiatic Researches in 1799*) was our sole source on that event until recently". According to Scheme II of its Publication Programme, the National Archives of India published a critical edition of Browne correspondence in 1960.

Perverse destiny drove Shah Alam II from one extremity to another and he was subjected to acute miseries in the metropolis of an Empire, which his ancestors had ruled, but of which nothing but a shadow then lingered to his great mortification. He had even to bear patiently severe bodily tortures, including blinding of his eye by the Ruhela Chief, Ghulam Qadir, who also heaped indignities on the members of the imperial family, including women and children, from 18th July to 2nd October, 1788.¹ In this period of dire calamity and unspeakable agonies the unfortunate Mughal Emperor sent appeals for help in different quarters, the most piteous one being to the Government of the English East India Company in Calcutta. Brief references to his appeals are found in *Cornwallis Correspondence* by Ross² and in *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*.³ Sometime back I got some significant details from Shah Alam II's correspondence at that time, particularly with the English, in some records of the National Archives, New Delhi.⁴ This appeal of Shah Alam II, like the other ones, elicited no favourable response. Political Consultations, dated 28th April, 1788; preserved under the custody of the National Archives, New Delhi, contain correspondence between the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, and Mr. E. O. Ives, the Company's Resident at the Court of the Nawab of Oudh at Lucknow. Study of this correspondence disclosed to me one of the painful chapters in the career of the Imperial Prince Jawan Bakht Jahandar Shah, eldest son of Emperor Shah Alam II. Owing to the disturbed state of affairs at Delhi, he fled from that place in April, 1784, and went away to Lucknow.⁵ He placed himself under the virtual protection of the then Governor-

1. Details may be studied in J. N. Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. III, pp. 302—324 (second edition).

2. Vol. I (Second Edition, 1859), p. 307 and p. 364.

3. Vol. VIII.

4. Shah Alam's Agony and Appeal in Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1948.

5. For an account of Jahandar Shah vide Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1987.

General, Warren Hastings, and tried to secure his help in favour of his distressed father. Hastings persuaded Nawab Asafuddaulah of Oudh to allow him "a monthly subsidy of 33,333 rupees". But, for certain reasons, there was no love lost between Jahandar Shah and Asafuddaulah, and reconciliation between them seemed to be out of question. The Government of Lord Cornwallis acted cautiously in relation to Jahandar Shah. While their Resident at Lucknow persuaded the Oudh Nawab, though he "seemed to entertain an implacable resentment" against Jahandar Shah, to pay the latter a *peshkash* of rupees 3 lakhs per annum, he left no stone unturned to induce the Imperial Prince, to quit the Nawab of Oudh's territory, so that he might be at a "greater distance from the scene of action in the upper Provinces". The Governor-General wanted him to stay at Rajmahal which, however, was not to his liking. He was destined to die soon at Benares.¹ Dr. G. N. Saletore of Central Record Office, Allahabad, brought to light² in 1953 an interesting Persian document acquired by the U. P. Regional Records Survey Committee from Lucknow. The opening title of this fragmentary document is "*Akhbar-Deorhi Nawab Asafuddaulah Bahadur* (i.e., Court-Bulletin or News-sheet of the portals of Nawab Asafuddaulah). But after a scrutiny of it Dr. Saletore considered it "possible that this document is Court Bulletin of Prince Jahandar Shah rather than of Asafuddaulah." The available dates range from Friday, 10th December, 1784, to Sunday, 10th April, 1785.

I have noticed³ how the cruelest stings of adversity drove Shah Alam II to exchange correspondence⁴ with, and seek the help of, Zaman Shah, ruler of Kabul, in 1796. The latter not only promised him assistance to be relieved of the restraints imposed upon him but also deputed to him a man named Ghulam Muhammad Khan to cement further the bond of friendship between them.

The year 1803 marked an important step in the development of British sovereignty in India. Delhi and the Delhi Emperor, Shah Alam II, passed under the absolute control of the English Company after Lord Lake's victories before that city in 1803. Both were significantly "reckoned among the most precious spoils of victory" of the English. Though the fiction of Mughal sovereignty still lingered, yet nothing could conceal the hard fact that the old Mughal Emperor was henceforth practically a captive till his death in 1806 in

1. Ibid, 1949.

2. Ibid, 1953.

3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, December, 1948 (Silver Jubilee Session held at Delhi).

4. Political Consultations, 5th December, 1796, Nos. 20-22.

the metropolis of an empire that had in reality vanished. It was only as a matter of administrative convenience that the Company's Government in Calcutta now thought of making some provision for the maintenance of Shah Alam II and his family. So, as directed by the Governor-General, Mr. N. P. Edmonstone, Secretary to his Government, communicated certain instructions in this respect to Lt. Col. Ochterlony, Resident at Delhi, on the 17th November, 1804. I have studied¹ these in some records of the National Archives.

The fiction of the Mughal Raj was finally extinguished by Lord Hastings. Dr. Percival Spear (Fellow, Selwyn College, Cambridge) brought out in 1951 an original work, entitled *Twilight of the Mughals*, describing in it the condition of the 'Kingdom of Delhi' from after the third battle of Panipat till 1857. It is a highly valuable work. Yet, as I feel, a detailed account of the life led by the successors of Shah Alam II at Delhi till the last days of Bahadur Shah II should be attempted on the basis of various kinds of sources. As regards the writings of Indian scholars, some relevant facts have been mentioned in Mehta's *Lord Hastings and the Indian States*, and our attention has been recently drawn to stray references about Akbar II in some contemporary Persian Weekly, *Jam-i-Jahan-Numa*.² We have also come to know that a bound volume of a weekly newspaper, entitled *Delhi Urdu Akhbar*, covering the years 1840-41, contains some interesting details about the personal life of Bahadur Shah II.³ Shri Krishan Lal Sachdeva promises a history of Delhi, 1803-1857, and in 1954 he contributed a paper on Akbar Shah II.⁴ I am engaged in writing a thesis on Shah Alam II and the English.

History of Oudh is very much linked up with the political changes in northern India during the second half of the 18th century. A detailed account of the career of its important ruler, Shujauddaulah, who was also the Wazir of the Delhi Emperor, was presented to us, some years back, by Dr. A.L. Srivastava. In 1938 Dr. A. F. K. Rahman (then in Dacca University) gave an estimate of Shujauddaulah's diplomacy from 1754 to 1771.⁵ Dr. A. L. Srivastava examined the arrangements of the Beneres Conference (September, 1773) between Shujauddaulah and Warren Hastings. These arrangements greatly

1. Bengal : Past and Present, 1948.

2. Delhi Diary of 1825 by Dr. H. R. Gupta in Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, December 1948 and Delhi Diary of 1828 by Shri Krishan Lal Sachdeva in Ibid, 1954.

3. Proceedings Indian History Congress, 1958.

4. Ibid, 1954.

5. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1939.

influenced the policies of both, particularly in three respects, the transfer of Kora and Allahabad to Shujauddaulah, the stoppage of the Bengal *tribute* to Shah Alam II and the promise of military aid to Shujauddaulah against the Ruhelas.¹ A manuscript in the Orme collection of the India Office Library contains "some accounts of the transactions in the province of Oudh from 1st April to the end of June 1776." Its contents were brought to our notice by Dr. P. C. Gupta of Calcutta.² The relations of Oudh with the East India Company during the administration of Warren Hastings have been discussed by Prof. C. C. Davies of Oxford in his valuable work on *Warren Hastings and Oudh*. He has also edited the *Benares Diary of Warren Hastings*, which is an important source for the study of the transactions at that time between Shujauddaulah and Warren Hastings. Among the Indian scholars, Dr. Purnendu Basu wrote a few years back a volume (Ph. D. thesis of the London University) on Anglo-Oudh relations from the time of Cornwallis to the days of Wellesley. We have something on Oudh after this in Mehta's *Lord Hastings and the Indian States*. A detailed and critical work on the history of Oudh from 1801 till its annexation in the time of Lord Dalhousie has been prepared by Shri Ansuman Mukherjee as a thesis for Ph. D. Degree of the Patna University. Shri A. A. Asmi (Aligarh Muslim University) has been engaged in a study on *The Annexation of Oudh and its Consequences*.

Since the conclusion of the treaty of Allahabad in August, 1765, the English East India Company's Government in Calcutta sought to use Oudh as a buffer state against the apprehended incursions of the Marathas and the Afghans. Not to speak of Warren Hastings, even Cornwallis and Shore, who were required to follow the policy of non-intervention as laid down in clause 34 of Pitt's India Act, interfered in Oudh affairs. After the death of Asafuddaulah in 1797, Shore intervened in the matter of a disputed succession between Wazir Ali, whom Asafuddaulah had acknowledged as his successor, and the deceased Nawab's brother S'aadat Ali. He raised the latter to the throne and concluded a treaty with him on the 21st January, 1798, which considerably enhanced the Company's influence. Some original records relating to the accession of S'aadat Ali to the *masnad* of Oudh were brought to our notice in 1940 by Mr. G. R. Gurbax.³ Wazir Ali was allowed to reside at Benares on an annual pension of a lac and a half of rupees. Dissatisfied with this arrangement he soon tried to organise an all-India conspiracy. This subject

1. *Ibid*, 1944.

2. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1946.

3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1940.

was studied by me on the basis of some unpublished English letters,¹ which disclosed that Wazir Ali had some confederates in Bihar and that he also sent agents even to Calcutta, Dacca and Murshidabad, probably with a view to combining with Nawab Nasir-ul-mulk of Murshidabad and his brother-in-law Shamsuddaulah, who too had been engaged in a plot against the Company and had deputed an agent to Zaman Shah, ruler of Kabul. A modern writer has pointed out that Wazir Ali further negotiated with Raja Ambaji Ingle "for the purpose of establishing such a friendship with Ambaji and through him with Doulut Row Sindea (Daulat Rao Sindhia) as should enable Wazir Ali to regain the dominion of Oudh".² In fact, some of the disaffected Muslim rulers and nobles were then trying to secure the help of Zaman Shah in order to restore their lost authority. Wazir Ali was captured in the month of December, 1799 and was carried to Calcutta where he spent his days as a captive till his death in 1817. The Company's Government continued to keep strict watch on the members of his family and made arrangements for their residence and maintenance in Bihar, as I indicated in a paper written in 1950.³ I also pointed out in another paper⁴ how S'aadat Ali's two brothers, *Shahmat Ali* and *Mirza Mendoo*, who could not reconcile themselves to the rule of S'aadat Ali, were expelled by the latter from his dominions towards the end of 1807, obtained protection of the Company's government and were permitted by them to reside at Patna, which had then become a refuge also for some other exiles from the Oudh Court. Two such persons were Raja Jhao Lal and Baluk Ram, about whose stay in Bihar I have written an account.⁵ Both the brothers of S'aadat Ali were kept at Patna under the close supervision and control of the local Magistrate, and they could not move to any other place according to their own desire. A paper of mine on *Rajah Jhao Lal* appeared in an issue of the Journal of the Bihar Research Society and I have also written about the condition of the family of Wazir Ali in Bihar after his capture.⁶

In the miscellaneous records of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India, preserved in the National Archives, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad discovered in 1942 a manuscript volume, entitled "*An Abstract of the Political Intercourse between the British Government and the Kingdom of*

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1937.

2. Wazir Ali's intrigues with Ambaji Ingle by Mr. K. D. Bhargava in Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1955.

3. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1950.

4. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1939.

5. Journal of the Bihar Research Society.

6. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1950.

Oudh." The author of this Narrative, written probably in the latter half of the year 1835, was Captain Paton, who was Assistant to the Resident of Oudh for several years and who held the charge of the Residency and performed "the duties of Resident at Lucknow" in 1834 and possibly in 1835.¹ Dr. Shri Nandan Prasad (Defence Ministry, Historical Research Section, New Delhi) examined in detail the Oudh Treaty of September 1847, which, as the writer noted, "was important as incorporating an agreed arrangement for correcting the growing misrule in Oudh without having recourse to annexation" and which in 1856 formed a matter of controversy.² This writer concluded that "the treaty of 1837 was still in force in 1856 when Oudh was annexed." Shri G. D. Bhatnagar presented an account of *Some aspects of Oudh administration under Wajid Ali Shah*.³ Some years back Prof. Shaikh Abdur Rashid of Aligarh threw new light on the *Judicial administration of Oudh during the time of Wajid Ali Shah (1847-68)* on the authority of a contemporary work, *Mirat-ul-Ausa*, written by one Lalji whose family was associated with the Kingdom of Oudh. He considers it to be a valuable original source for the study of the history of the Nawabs of Oudh.⁴ Shri Raj Bakshi (Lucknow) is preparing a thesis on *King Wajid Ali Shah, 1856-1888*. Shri Gaurishwar Dayal Bhatnagar got Ph. D. Degree of the Lucknow University for his thesis on *Oudh under Wajid Ali Shah, 1847-1856* and Dr. K. C. Nigam was also awarded Ph. D. Degree of the Lucknow University for his thesis on *Ghazi-ud-din Haidar*. The following works relating to Oudh are under preparation:—Shri Uma Shankar Singh (Banaras) on *Oudh and the East India Company*, Shri Ramlakhan S. Tiwary (Bombay) on the *Genesis of the Anglo-Oudh relations*, Shri S. P. Mathur (Agra) on *Oudh in the days of Nawab Asafuddaulah*, and Shri Aniruddha Gupta (Lucknow) on *Oudh and its Foreign policy, 1764-1856* and Ikramuddin Qidwai (Lucknow) on *Life at the Court of Oudh, 1722-1798*.

By a critical examination of Lord Canning's policy towards the Taluqdars of Oudh after the movement of 1857, Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee pointed out in 1941 the unsoundness of the view that Lord Canning was "the best friend of the landlords of Oudh." The writer's opinion is that Lord Canning wanted to wipe out the baronial class of Oudh but was prevented from carrying out his drastic policy by Lord Ellenborough, who in his capacity as President of the Board

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1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission 1942.
 2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1950.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1955.

of Control "made a timely intervention in their favour".¹ The writer discussed after a few years the subject of the "*Settlement of the Waste Lands in Oudh after the Mutiny*". The matter was finally settled in 1870 and a set of regulations was framed for purposes of lease and sale of waste lands.²

In 1952-53 Shri Shilendra Kumar Singh (then a Research Fellow in the Agra University) published an account of the relations of Minto, Baillie (the Company's Resident at Lucknow) and S'aadat Ali, 1807-1813, in several instalments.³ In conclusion he writes : "Minto's conduct in his relations with Oudh shows clearly how radically he had broken off from the traditions of non-intervention which Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow had tried to establish. The pendulum in its swing had reached the edge where it was kept by Lord Wellesley. Minto was clear that Oudh was a subordinate power and he, therefore, felt justified in interfering in its affairs whenever it suited his convenience and British interests. If the Nawab opposed his wishes, in the first place he was to be persuaded to confirm and obey, but if necessary Minto was prepared to go full length and compel the poor potentate. The right of might could not be challenged."

Situated between the Company's dominion in Bengal and Bihar, and Oudh, the kingdom of Benares was naturally involved in the relations between the two. We get incidental references about it in works like Strachey's *Hastings and the Rohilla War*, Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire* and Prof. Davies' *Warren Hastings and Oudh*. Its detailed history from the year 1764, with an account of its relations with the English East India Company, is yet to be prepared. Shri Kashi Prasad Shrivastava (Allahabad) has studied the *History and Administration of Benares Province from 1775-1810*. Shri Suprakash Sannyal of Maharaja Manindra Chandra College, Calcutta, is engaged in the preparation of a thesis on *Anglo-Benares Relations*. Some Articles on the history of Benares are :—

(a) *Sidelights on the history of Benares, Political and Social, thrown by the Selections from the Peshwa Daftar* by Dr. K. R. Qanungo.⁴

(b) *Chait Singh and Hastings* by Prof. S. H. Askari.⁵ Prof. Askari has made an attempt to throw fresh light on certain aspects of the Chait Singh affair on the basis of three

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1941.

2. Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1948.

3. Journal of Indian History, December, 1952, April, August and December, 1953.

4. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1937.

5. Ibid, 1954.

contemporary sources in Persian.—*Bulwanamamah of Ghulam Hussain Khan, Tufa-i-Taza of Khairuddin Muhammad and Miftah-i-Khazain of Shambhunath*. These writers were intimately associated with the affairs of Benares and Oudh and actually participated in some of the transactions described by them. Their accounts contain some interesting and important facts, not recorded elsewhere. They agree "in all essential points such as the origin of Hastings' hatred and spirit of revenge in the belief of Chait Singh's complicity with the hostile majority in the Supreme Council, the Governor-General's harassing tactics, vexatious demands and unjust arrest and overthrow of the Raja, despite the latter's innocence of many of the charges brought against him and his submissive, even servile, attitude and his anxiety not to cause any offence to Hastings. The writers while exposing the ignoble transactions in which the Company's officers then could enter for monetary gains, praise the high ethical standard and sympathetic attitude of men like Vansittart, and while emphasising the innocence of the Raja and his unjust victimization at the hands of Hastings, Graham, Markham and their hirelings, like Ausan Singh, the Chobdar, Maulavis etc., have not refrained from delineating the weak character of the Raja, who has been described as an inexperienced, wavering, extravagant, timid and coward man." The influence of Chait Singh's insurrection was felt on the neighbouring province of Bihar, where he had some sympathisers. Some of the Bihar zaminders, discontented with the English Company, rose against it and espoused the cause of Chait Singh. There were some references to it in an old work by Hand, entitled *Early English administration in Bihar*. Recently, I discovered some relevant records in the Shahabad Collectorate, which contain ample details regarding the disturbance in Bihar in the wake of Chait Singh's rising. In their race for political supremacy in India the English had to reckon with the hostilities of the French and the Dutch till both were overpowered by them. Though several volumes have been written in the past on the activities of the different European Companies in India during the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, more detailed studies relating to these on the basis of newly discovered sources in different languages are still due. Reference may be made in this connection to two works which came out during the last few years. One written by me on *The Dutch in Bengal and Bihar 1740-1825 A. D.* was published by the University of Patna in 1948. Another learned work, based on a comprehensive study of French sources, is *The French in India* by Dr. S. P. Sen.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century political ambition of the old European rivals of the English in India

were extinguished and most of the Indian powers had been brought under British control. But beyond the limits already reached by British authority, there were powers on the western, northern and eastern limits, whose thorough subjugation was necessary for the establishment of an all-India British empire on a firm and secure basis. This naturally involved a process of imperial expansion by the British, which brought them into conflicts with the Sikhs, the Sindhis, the Pathan and Baloch tribes of the north-west frontier and the Afghans beyond the Khyber Pass, with Nepal on the north and with the Assamese and the Burmese on the east. As for the Sikhs till the close of the career of their great chief Ranjit Singh, we have the valuable works of Dr. N. K. Sinha. In his *Rise of the Sikh Power* he traced the fortunes of the Sikhs from about 1738-39. He wrote an exhaustive and a critical account of Ranjit Singh's career and activity (second edition 1945) after a careful re-examination of the old materials used by Cunningham, Lepel Griffin and Latif, and a study of unpublished materials from various sources, particularly from the National Archives of India. In his concluding review of Ranjit Singh's career the learned author has significantly observed: "the one great external cause of Ranjit's failure is found in his relations with the British Government. Very early in his career he had entered into a treaty with the British Government. But in almost all cases, as Bismarck has put it, a political alliance means a rider and a horse. In this Anglo-Sikh alliance, the British Government was the rider and Ranjit was the horse. The English limited Ranjit's power on the east, on the south, and would have limited him on the west if that were possible. Evidently a collision between his military monarchy and British imperialism was imminent. Ranjit Singh, the Massinissa of British Indian History, hesitated and hesitated forgetting that in politics as in war time is not on the side of the defensive. When the crash came after his death under far less able men, chaos and disorder had already supervened and whatever hope there had been when he was living, there was no more when he was dead. In his relations with the British Government, Ranjit Singh is seen at his worst. He never grandly dared. He was all hesitancy and indecision.

But at the same time we must acknowledge that Ranjit's failure was inherent in the very logic of events. 'All causes that were not the causes of Rome were destined to be lost. The central power once dominant, could only grow and all the outside forces could only shelter themselves against Rome as enemies or augment the strength of Rome as vassals.' This remark about Roman Imperialism is true of British Imperialism in India as well."

Within a few years after the death of Ranjit in 1839, the inexorable logic of events led to the annexation of his country by the British. The contemporary parliamentary papers and the Punjab Government Records are full of information on this phase of Sikh History. As regards the recent writings of Indian scholars we may note that the causes of the First Anglo-Sikh War were critically examined by the late Dr. I. Banerjee (for some years Head of the History Department, Calcutta University) in an article published in the *Calcutta Review* of 1944. He observed that "to blame the Army alone for the coming catastrophe is as unjust as it is untrue: on the contrary, the soldiery were possibly the only party in the State who wanted to stave off the coming disaster. As rude and untutored men they might often have acted in mad and barbarous ways but the real tragedy was that none among the leaders could perceive that in the reawakened spirit of the Khalsa there was a great weapon, which, properly handled, might have rehabilitated the tottering Raj. But most of the chiefs, Sikh and non-Sikh, with their own vested interests to protect, desired nothing less than a British protectorate over the Punjab and could only think of edging the Army on to destruction. But the question arises as to why the Army, which had become its own master and which was guided solely by the decisions of its *Panchayats*, listened to the exhortations of such mercenary men as Lal Singh and Tej Singh, who had now become respectively the Wazir and the Commander-in-Chief. The *Panchayats* knew quite well that since the accession of Sher Singh, the chiefs now of one faction and then of another, had been intriguing for British intervention and it cannot be said that they received no encouragement at all from the other side. It was this apprehension, more than anything else, that had led the *Panchayats* to gather the reins of powers in their own hands and it seems rather strange that they now readily listened to the advice of leaders, whom they both distrusted and despised. No doubt their known hatred of the English was played upon and their cupidity excited by visions of plunder in the rich cities of Hindusthan, but what has been said above about the role that the Army took upon itself makes it doubtful whether these alone would have been enough to lead the *Panchayats* to decree an invasion of British India. It should not be forgotten that when the Sikh soldiery crossed the Sutlej, rightly or wrongly, they believed that they were going out on a defensive war and that their country was about to be invaded." Dr. I. Banerjee had contributed earlier¹ a paper on the "*The Kashmir Rebellion and the Trial of Raja Lal Singh*". By Article 4 of the

1. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1939.

Treaty of Lahore, concluded on the 9th March, 1846, Maharaja Dalip Singh "ceded to the Honourable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent of one crore of rupees, all his forts, territories, rights and interests, in the hill countries, which are situated between the rivers Beas and Indus, including the province of Kashmir and Hazara". By separate treaty with Maharaja Gulab Singh, the East India Company, in return for seventy five lacs of rupees, "transferred and made over, for ever, in independent possession, to the said Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs made of his body, all the hills, or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus, and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to provisions of article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846." Gulab Singh anticipated that he would get possession of Kashmir without any difficulty. But he received a rude shock when the transfer of Kashmir to him was resented by some. In the months of October, 1846, Shaikh Imamuddin, the Sikh Governor of Kashmir, rose against Gulab Singh at the instigation of Vizir Lal Singh. This insurrection was put down by a strong British force; Lal Singh was tried by a formal Court of Enquiry and his guilt being proved he was dismissed from the ministership and deported to Benares. A new treaty was signed on the 16th December, 1846, which made the British the real masters of the Punjab. Cunningham's chapters on Anglo-Sikh relations, which have a permanent value for students of history, were reprinted by Dr. A. C. Banerjee of Calcutta¹ with notes and an introduction containing short accounts about the Sikhs till the annexation of the Punjab by the British.

In 1939 Sardar Ganda Singh contributed a paper on the treaty concluded on the 31st March, 1785, between the Sikh Sardars and Ambaji Ingle, agent of Mahadaji Sindhia. Ambaji forwarded the terms of the treaty to Mahadaji for his approbation. In the meanwhile, Lieut. James Anderson, the British Resident with Mahadaji Sindhia, Colonel Sir John Cumming, the officer commanding the detachment of the Company's troops on the frontier, and Major Palmer, the Resident at Lucknow, had been reporting to Government in Calcutta their views about the Treaty. "They saw in its materialisation a danger to the political interests of the East India Company and to the territories of their friend, the Nawab Vizir of Oudh. Therefore, they directed their efforts towards its nullification by whatever means it could be

1. Published by A. Mukerjee and Co., Calcutta, in May 1949.

brought about." Mahadaji soon forced the Sikh *sardars* to amend the terms of treaty and a new definite Treaty was concluded on the 10th May, 1785. But the Sikh *sardars* were unhappy at this, particularly because of the detention of their ambassador Sardar Dulcha Singh by Mahadaji Sindhia. So they decided to break away from Mahadaji and opened negotiations with the British officers. The Calcutta Government did not like Maratha-Sikh alliance and conveyed necessary instructions to Sir John Cumming. They wanted to keep the two disunited for their own interest. In fact, the treaties of Mahadaji Sindhia with the Sikhs and the proposed Anglo-Sikh alliance in 1785 "fell through and did not come to fruition."¹ Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe pointed out in an article² that "it was during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh that the Marathas under Yaswant Rao Holkar received from the Sikhs such powerful support as compelled the British Government to restore a large part of the territories sequestered from Maharaja Yaswant Rao Holkar by the Treaty of Bias." In 1940 Sardar Ganda Singh threw new light on the circumstances leading to the conclusion of the Treaty of Bhyrowal (December 16, 1846) by studying some private letters of Sir Henry Hardinge.³ In about two years after that Dr. G. L. Chopra (then Keeper of Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore) wrote a paper in which he tried to examine all available evidence, with a view to arriving at a definite conclusion, about the tragic death of Kunwar Nau Nihal Singh. His conclusion was: "We must acquit the Dogras of having ever conceived or committed this supposed crime which was really an unfortunate accident and nothing else."⁴ In 1948, Sardar Ganda Singh (then Professor of History, Khalsa College, Amritsar) drew our attention to some letters of Maharajah Duleep Singh, which throw much light on the history of his career after the annexation of the Punjab and deal with the following topics:—

(a) *Disillusionment of Maharajah "that he had been cheated out of his kingdom and out of the private estates which his father had possessed."*

(b) *Details of the ancestral private estates and property that he had inherited from his father, not as ruler of the kingdom of Lahore, but as a Sardar and head of the Sukkar-Chakkia family.*

(c) *The Maharaja's differences with the British Government*

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1939.

2. Ibid.

3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1940.

4. Ibid, 1942.

in England and India on the interpretation of the terms of the Treaty of March 29, 1894, in respect of

1. the confiscation of his private estate, jewels, and other property, of which there is no mention in the Treaty and

2. the amount of pension payable to him.

(d) Restrictions as to the place of his residence in India after he had decided to leave England for good and settle down permanently in India.

(e) His arrest and detention at Aden without a warrant and his public renunciation of Christianity in favour of the faith of his father.¹

Next year Dr. Sri Nandan Prasad (working in the Historical Research Section, Defence Ministry, Simla) wrote on the nature and circumstances of the Punjab Rising of 1848. He observed in conclusion that "the factors mainly responsible for the Punjab outbreaks of 1848 were the policy of the Government of India, the resultant discontent among the soldiery and series of fortuitous mischances."² In 1950 Sardar Ganda Singh discovered and collected three letters of Maharani Jind Kaur (popularly known as *Mai Jiban*) for the Sikh History Research Department of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, which throw much light on the story of her tragic fate, her incarceration in the fort of Lahore, her removal from there to the fort of Sheikhpura as a State prisoner and her ultimate banishment from the Punjab (1846-47)³

In 1949 came out a book, entitled "*Circumstances leading to the Annexation of the Punjab 1846-49*" by Shri Jagmohan Mahajan (*Kitabistan, Allahabad*). Utilising fresh information, particularly from the Currie correspondence, the author critically examined the circumstances under which the British annexed the Punjab and their real motives behind it. He tried to prove that there was no evidence to charge Mulraj with the first attack on or the subsequent murder of Agnew and Anderson. Dalhousie was, in fact, determined to destroy the Sikh power and to annex its kingdom. "The task before me", he wrote to Henry Lawrence on the 15th October, 1848, is "the utter destruction and prostration of the Sikh power, the subversion of its dynasty and the subjection of its people. This must be done promptly, fully and finally."

In 1950 Shri Sita Ram Kohli (then Principal of the Ranbir College, Jind State, Pepsu) studied a manuscript, entitled "*Fateh Namah Guru Khalsa Ji ka*" and containing

1. Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 1948.
2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1949.
3. Ibid., 1950.

three long ballads, composed by one Ganesh Das to celebrate the three important victories won by the Sikhs over the Pathans, at Multan in 1818 A. D., near Tiri Hills (Naushehra) in 1823, and at Saidu near Akora on the banks of the river Lunda in 1827. Comparing this work with some contemporary historical works, Principal Kohli wrote that its "accuracy is unchallengeable"¹. For the Peshawar Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, held in 1945, Dr. I. Banerjee (then Professor of History, Calcutta University) indicated in his paper on *Nau Nihal Singh and the Nepalese Mission to Lahore* that "some sort of negotiations were going on between the Courts of Lahore and Nepal". In 1954² Dr. Hari Ram Gupta (Professor of History, Punjab University) wrote a paper on *Sikh-Nepal Relations, 1839-40*, in which he tried to show how the Court of Nepal was keen on establishing diplomatic relations with the Lahore *Darbar*, but the British Government closely watched their proceedings and prevented the formation of any alliance between the two. Recently³ Shri Sita Ram Kohli gave an account of a trained Infantry Battalion in the Punjab, on the basis of some papers preserved in the State Records Office at Simla. It was Ranjit Singh who first introduced the employment of trained infantry in the Punjab armies. He persuaded his *jagirdars* to do so, and the writer, referred to above, deals with the trained infantry battalion of one of those chiefs, Sardar Hari Singh Nawla. He has also brought to light a document, which was drawn up on the 27th November, 1840, to settle the preliminaries connected with the question of succession to the Lahore throne on the death of Prince Nau Nihal Singh.⁴ Shri M. L. Ahluwalia (National Archives of India) has reviewed in a paper the rule of *Mai Chand Kaur*⁵ who succeeded as the Maharani of the Kingdom of Lahore after the death of her husband Maharaja Kharak Singh. The writer has made an attempt "to throw further light on the circumstances which brought forward a lady to claim the throne of Lahore for herself, as against prince Sher Singh, a reputed son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the consequent rivalry between Raja Dhyan Singh, the famous *dogra* Chief Minister of Lahore, and the Sindhanwalia brothers Attar Singh, Lehna Singh and Ahit Singh; the part played in the above drama by Raja Gulab Singh, the *dogra* Governor of Jammu and the elder brother of Raja Dhyan Singh, and lastly the weakening of the civil authority and the increasing

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1950.

2. Ibid, 1954.

3. Ibid, 1955.

4. Ibid, 1956.

5. Ibid, 1955.

interference of the military in the affairs of the civil administration. In other words it was during this period that the seeds of the future disintegration of the Kingdom of Lahore were sown which could not survive for more than ten years after the death of its founder in 1839". From a study of some records of the National Archives of India, he also contributed a paper¹ on *Sher Singh and the First War of succession for the Lahore Throne, 1841*. Further, Shri M. L. Ahluwalia has written a thesis on *Foreign Policy of the Sikh Darbar, 1800-1849*, and Shri Barket Ram Chopra (Punjab) is also preparing a thesis on *Kingdom of the Punjab, 1839-1845*. Shri Suraj Narain Rao (Punjab) has prepared a thesis on *Cis-Sutlej States, 1800-1839*. Reference may be made to works on the *Sikh Army* by Sri Sita Ram Kohli, *Punjab News-Letters, 1844*, by Dr. Hari Ram Gupta and to some works of Dr. Ganda Singh, viz., (i) *A Short History of the Sikhs 1469-1765, Vol. I (Orient Longmans Ltd., Bombay, 1950)*, (2) *Patiala and East Punjab States Union, Historical Background (Directorate of Archives, Patiala, 1951)*, (3) *A Bibliography of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union*, (4) *Ahmad Shah Durrani—His Life and Work*. Shri Chandan Gupta (Punjab), Shri G. A. Chabra (Punjab), Shri Fauja Singh (Delhi), Shri Gurubaksh Singh (Punjab), Shri Gurucharan Singh (Punjab), Shri Jati Ram Gopta (Punjab), Shri Karam Singh (Punjab), Shri Krishna Narain Malik (Delhi), Shri Mahesh Chandra (Punjab), Shri Nirmal Kanta (Punjab), Capt. C. L. Vasudeva (Punjab), Shri Ram Sahai Mathur (old Pepsu Archives) and Shri Jogendra Singh (Punjab), respectively devoted themselves to studies regarding *Position of Women under the Sikh Rule, Social and Economic History of the Punjab, 1849-1901, Military and Political Activities of Ranjit Singh, History of the Sikhs, 1849-1947, Administration of the Punjab, 1849-1947, Social and Economic History of the Punjab under the Sikhs 1800-1849, Circumstances leading to the First Sikh War, Public Administration in the Punjab, 1848-1919, Social and Economic conditions in the Punjab in the 19th century, Sikh-Afghan Relations under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 1800-1839, Part played by the Punjabis in British Indian Army, 1849-1947, Raja Gajpat Singh of Jind, History of the Sikhs, 1845-1849*. Mention may also be made of works like *Decline of the Sikh Empire, 1839-45* by Shri B. R. Chopra, *Military System of the Sikhs during the first half of the nineteenth century* by Shri Fauja Singh (Ph. D thesis of the Delhi University), *Social legislation in the Punjab* by Shri Iqbal Nath Chaudhuri (Punjab), *Administration*

1. Ibid, 1956.

of the Punjab under the Lahore Darbar, 1800-1849, by Shri Nand Kishore Seth (Punjab), *Freedom Movement in the Punjab 1801-1901*, by Shri Kripal Singh (S. H. R. D. Khalsa College, Amritsar). An article on 'The Tragedy of Maharaja Duleep Singh' by Shri Balwant Singh appeared in the *Indian Review* of March, 1957. Two interesting papers on *Some Facts behind the Second Anglo Sikh War* have been contributed by Shri M. L. Ahluwalia¹ on the authority of some unpublished records.

Along with the history of the Punjab one must try to understand the history of Sind during the later years of the eighteenth century, its relations with the Afghans and the Sikhs and its conquest by the British. In his book on *British Policy Towards Sind up to the Annexation* (published in 1941), Shri P. N. Khera (then Lecturer, D. A. V. College, Solhapur) tried to trace the relations of the British Indian Government with Sind from the earliest connections in the seventeenth century to the annexation in the middle of the nineteenth. In the *Foreward* to this book, Dr. Sir Sha'afat Ahmad Khan observed that "Mr. Khera's treatment of a highly controversial subject is essentially judicious and temperate and his analysis of the treaties contracted by the British Government with the Amirs of Sind is marked by a spirit of powerful moderation and sane criticism". Some years back Mr. Gope R. Gur-Bux (Hyderabad—Sind) began to study the history of Sind. In 1939 he wrote a paper on *Some historical records relating to Sind*² and drew our attention to the value of some Persian and Arabic manuscripts for studying the history of Sind. In the same year Mr. K. A. Chishtie (then of Anglo-Arabic College Delhi,) examined the motives and results of Lord Ellenborough's policy relating to Sind. In 1941³ Miss B. M. Batliwala (Bombay) contributed a paper discussing therein *Contemporary Press attack on Lord Ellenborough's policy towards Sind*.

The mid-eighteenth century political revolutions made the English masters of Bengal and Bihar. But the defence of Oudh, situated on the north-west frontier of Bihar, became from 1764-65 a vital matter for the English East India Company, who dreaded till the close of the eighteenth century an Afghan dash towards the east. The Afghan bid for supremacy from the middle of the eighteenth century, on the dismemberment of the Mughal empire, was then a potent factor in the history of this country. So a clash between the Afghans and the English, who also were seeking to build up their own dominion at the cost of the moribund Mughal

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1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1960-1961.
 2. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1939.
 3. *Ibid*, 1941.

empire, lay almost in the logic of history, as was the case with the Afghan-Maratha collision of 1761. It was favourable for the English that owing to troubles at home after the battle of Panipat in 1761, Ahmad Shah Abdali could not push further east. After the death of Ahmad Shah Abdali in June, 1773, his second son Timur Shah seized the throne. He was too weak and indolent to pursue the vigorous policies of his father. But Timur's son and successor Zaman Shah, who was an able ruler, cherished the ambition of invading India like Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. Though some writers, old and new, have expressed the view that an invasion of India by Zaman Shah at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century had not much chance of success in view of the changed political circumstances, the Company's government in Calcutta could not then consider "the idea of an invasion from Cabul (Kabul) as a more visionary danger". As I have already pointed out, some discontented rulers and chiefs sought Zaman Shah's alliance, and "from northern Oudh and from southern Mysore had gone forth invitations to the Afghan monarch".¹ It is true that the prospect of Zaman Shah's invasion of India "kept the British Indian Empire in a chronic state of unrest during the administration of Sir John Shore and Lord Wellesley".² Dundas, President of the Board of Control, who was confirmed in the "belief of his (Zaman Shah's) hostile designs", wrote to Lord Wellesley to keep a very watchful eye upon the motions of that prince, whose talents, military force, and pecuniary resources, afford to him the means of being a formidable opponent".³ To counteract the apprehended invasion of Zaman Shah, Wellesley not only maintained a British force in Oudh under Sir J. Craig for the defence of that kingdom, but also sent two missions in 1799 to Persia, whose relations with Afghanistan were then strained. The pressure of Persian military operation against Afghanistan forced Zaman Shah to retire from Lahore to Peshawar to the great relief of the English Company's Government. Revolts at home, due chiefly to the quarrels between the Sadozais (members of the royal family) and the Barakzais under Payendesh Khan and his eldest son, Fateh Khan, caused the overthrow of Zaman Shah, who being blinded fled to Bukhara, then to Herat and ultimately to India. Here at Ludhiana the once "dreaded Afghan monarch whose threatened invasion of Hindustan had for many years been a ghastly phantom haunting the council-chamber of the British Indian Govern-

1. Kaye, History of the War in Afghanistan, Vol. I, pp. 2-8.

2. Ibid.

3. Owen, Wellesley Despatches, p. 688.

ment" survived his blindness for many years under pathetic conditions hearing with deep mortification his successor's misfortunes.

Zaman Shah's removal threw the kingdom of Afghanistan into a welter of disorder and confusion, aggravated by strifes of the rival claimants for the throne. Mahmud Shah (brother of Zaman Shah, ruler from 1800-1803), Shah Shuja, a grandson of Ahmad Shah Durrani, and Dost Muhammad, an able member of the Barakzai clan. The course of European politics from the early years of the nineteenth century began also to exercise a decided influence in reshuffling the political relations among the powers in Asia. In place of the French menace for the British which was disappearing, appeared Russian designs in Asia, especially since the treaty of Gulistan, concluded between Russia and Persia in 1813, and the anti-Russian policy of the British Government. Though it would not have been an easy task for Russia to fulfil her Asiatic designs from distant Moscow and to advance into India by overcoming the various geographical barriers, yet the Russian movements increased British suspicions and alarm. In fact, this '*Russo-phobia*' was largely responsible for the Anglo-Afghan Wars, which seriously affected India in various ways.

In 1934 Dr. N. K. Sinha (now Ashutosh Professor of History, Calcutta University) wrote a paper on *The Durrani Menace and the British North-West Frontier Problem*. He discussed in it the real nature of this problem and the policy of the British Indian Government in relation to it till the end of the eighteenth century.¹ In 1939 Dr. Hari Ram Gupta studied about 75 letters of Mohan Lal (Assistant of Sir Alexander Burnes), written from Kabul in the year 1842. As this writer points out, these letters furnish a "minute description of the day to day affairs of the Capital (Kabul), together with a lucid exposition of the state of various political parties".² The same writer contributed in 1942 a paper on *Afghanistan at Zaman Shah's accession*.³ Recently,⁴ Dr. Jata Shankar Jha of K. P. Jayswal Research Institute, Patna, brought to our notice an *Unpublished Correspondence relating to the First Anglo-Afghan War*, found in the records of the Divisional Commissioner's Record Room at Patna. It covers the period of the Anglo-Afghan War from April, 13, 1839, to April 26, 1839—a period when the British Army was pushing forward with all possible speed towards Qandahar where it

1. Indian Historical Quarterly, 1934.

2. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1939.

3. Ibid, 1942.

4. Ibid, 1 55,

actually reached on the 25th April. The correspondence gives the dates and the time of the British Army's march, and the places of its halt, besides describing the preparation and advance of the opposing forces of the Barakzai Sardars, difficulties which the British Army had to encounter, defection in the Sardar's camp, their retreat and finally the reception of Shah Shuja at Qandahar by the inhabitants of the place. Qandahar was occupied by the British Army in April and Ghazni was stormed on the 23rd July, 1839. A first hand account of the fall of Ghazni is contained in a letter of Lt. Col. R. Macdonald, dated Ghazni, 23rd July 1839, to Colonel Egerton.¹ Macdonald noted in this letter that the fall of Ghazni "will be most acceptable news throughout all India, that is, to all those well disposed to the British Rule: it will have a great effect on Burmah and Nepaul, and I may add Persia, both showing the strongest symptoms, of a desire to break with us". He observed in another letter, dated Kabul, 14th October, 1839: "the moral effect of what we have done in Afghanistan is not confined to that country but extended to the many discontented spirits in India and to the neighbouring states, who were eagerly looking forward to our arms meeting with disaster in this country, which would have been the signal for them to have raised their rebellious forces and to have struck a blow at our power".

It is well known how Dr. Brydon, wounded and utterly exhausted, reached Jalalabad on the 13th January, 1842, to narrate the painful story of the tragic retreat of the British troops. There is also a reference in Macdonald's letter, dated 17th June, 1842, to an account in the *Journal of the Sergeant of the 37th Native Infantry*, who was an eyewitness of the events that happened from the date of the departure of General Elphinstone's force from Kabul till its final destruction, and his escape to Jalalabad. "It is a far better account than Brydon's, who seems scarcely yet to have recovered his reason, which in his fright he certainly lost for the time being".²

In 1942 Dr. A. C. Banerjee of Calcutta contributed an article on *Neutralisation of Afghanistan, 1869*, on the basis of some unpublished records of the Imperial Records Department (now National Archives of India). During the last few years, Dr. Dilip Kumar Ghose of Calcutta wrote some original papers on *British policy towards Afghanistan from 1880*, by carefully utilizing various contemporary sources.³ The World

1. *Journal of Indian History*, August, 1938.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Some issues of *The Calcutta Review*.

Press of Calcutta published in 1960 his successful D. Phil. thesis on *England and Afganistan : A Phase in their Relations*. It is a critical work of considerable merit, in which the author has carefully analysed England's policy in Afghanistan as it slowly developed after the conquest of the Punjab in 1849 till the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1887. Dr. R. S. Rastogi was awarded Ph. D. Degree of the Lucknow University for his thesis on *Indo-Afghan Relations 1880-1900*. Shri V. S. Suri, Keeper of Records, Government of the Punjab, has carefully studied some original documents relating to the *Kabul War* (February 1837 to September 1840).¹ In 1959 Dr. Dilip Kumar Ghose contributed an original paper based on archival records, analysing therein the measures recommended by the Defence Committee for the defence of India's North-West Frontier in 1837.² Shri Ganga Prasad Tripathi (Delhi University) has prepared a thesis on *Indo-Afghan Relations (1882-1907)*.

The North-West Frontier of India, represented by the mountainous tracts lying between Afghanistan and the Punjab, has ever presented "both an international and a local problem of enormous complexity and difficulty" After the annexation of Sind and the Punjab, the British Indian Government had to be on their guard against the frontier troubles, and in 1901 Lord Curzon created the North-West Frontier Province. Lord Curzon's system collapsed under the strain of World War I, and the Government of India had to think of various other measures to keep the N. W. Frontier under their control. The Punjab University awarded Ph. D. Degree to Shri K. R. Prabhakar on the merit of his thesis on the *North-West Frontier Policy of the Government of India*. One work about the North-West Frontier is *Indo-British Policy towards the North-West Frontier Tribes, 1864-1905* by Shri Daya Prakash Rastogi (Agra).

India's relations with the countries on her northern frontier, that is, with Nepal and Tibet, deserve very careful study. As the English East India Company was gradually establishing its authority over Bengal and Bihar during the post-Plassey period, the Gurkhas rose to power in the territory skirting the northern frontier of Hindusthan, and finally subjugated the Nepal valley under the leadership of Prithvi Narayan. A collision between the Gurkhas and the new rulers of Bengal was thus inevitable, particularly because the former occasionally reached the northern frontier of Bihar and the latter also wanted to push upward. The

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1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1960.
 2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1959.

relations between the rulers of Nepal and the rulers of Bengal and Bihar (first the Nawabs and then the English) have not yet been studied with adequate references to the original materials from various unpublished contemporary records. There are brief accounts of these in the *Siyar-ul-Matvkherin* by Ghulam Husain, the *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* by Kalyan Singh, Markham's edition of Bogle's narrative, *Account of the Kingdom of Nepal* by Kirpatrick (published in 1871), *Wright's History of Nepal*, *Prinsep's History of political and Military transactions in India during the administration of Marquis of Hastings* (published in 1825),¹ *Edward Thornton's History of the British Empire in India* (published in 1846).² and *Cornwallis Correspondence* by Ross. Some modern writers have written about Anglo-Nepalese relations mainly on the authority of Prinsep's narrative.

Of late, some Indian scholars have tried to study Indo-Nepalese relations from the mideighteenth century on the basis of original documents. In 1930-32 Prof. S. C. Sarker of Calcutta University contributed highly interesting articles on the early relations between Nepal and the English. He drew our attention to the object and nature of the mission of Surgeon James Logan to Nepal and the text of the *Logan Memorandum* was published by him in 1932.³ In his book on *Verelst's Rule in India* (published in 1939), Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee included a chapter on *The First English Expedition to Nepal under Captain Kinlock in 1767*. Referring to the Logan mission he remarked: "All efforts to remove misunderstanding caused by the last expedition, and come to an agreement with Prithvi Narayan on the question of trade proved abortive, and Mr. Logan's mission undertaken with every hope of success produced no tangible results". The same year Prof. S. C. Sarker wrote a fuller account⁴ of the affairs on the Nepal Frontier in the second half of the eighteenth century. In concluding it he observed: "..... the last quarter of the eighteenth century did not, unlike the third, mark any very great activity on the Nepal frontier. But still it was not entirely eventless. The Gurkhas apparently invaded Tibet and attacked Sikkim in 1788. Tribute was exacted by them from Tibet,.....It was on this occasion that the Dalai Lama sent an embassy to Bengal..... Cornwallis apparently administered a rebuff to the Tibetan

1. Vol I, pp. 54-80.

2. Vol. IV, pp. 251-60, Champaran District Gazetteer by L. S. S., O' Malley, pp. 26-31; C. H. I. Vol. V., pp. 877-879; Mehta, Lord Hastings and the Indian States, p. 8.

3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1930 and Bengal: Past and Present, 1932.

4. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1939.

embassy which was followed by a breakdown in the northern intercourse. In 1790, the Gurkhas again penetrated Tibet and sacked many places. This provoked, however, a Chinese counter-intervention against the Gurkha invaders. Duncan, the Resident of Benares, had concluded a commercial treaty with Nepal in 1792. Probably on the strength of this, Nepal in her turn appealed for English help against China. Cornwallis turned down this application also as he had done the previous Tibetan overture. Kirpatrick was sent, of course, on a mission of mediation, in 1792-93, but evidently became too late to produce much impression. The Chinese closed the passes leading from Nepal to Tibet and blocked the Gurkha progress to the north. The British had already blocked their southern expansion and Nepal, therefore, began to settle down within these limits". About three years later, Shri K. P. Mitra (then Principal of the Monghyr College in Bihar) contributed a paper on *Nepalese Relations in the last decade of the eighteenth century*.¹ Dr. G. N. Salefore read a paper in the meeting of the 32nd session of the Indian Historical Records Commission on *Indian Trade Delegation to Kathmandu in 1795*. During the closing years of the eighteenth century the English East India Company ascertained through the British Residents the possibilities of extending its commerce in certain parts of India and the neighbouring countries. In 1795, however, they deputed one Indian named Maulavi Abdul Qadir Khan to Nepal to collect necessary information. Abdul Qadir was instructed "to negotiate with the Rajah of Nepal as private merchant and not as Government agent". The Maulavi left Benares about May, 1795, and returned in December next, having collected information on trade and certain other affairs relating to Nepal, Tibet and China.

In the year 1939 I discovered some unpublished English records at Patna, which enabled me to write on *Anglo-Nepalese Relations in the beginning of the nineteenth century*.² These refer to the arrival of some deputies from Nepal to meet the Company's officers at Patna in 1802, after the conclusion of a commercial treaty between Lord Wellesley's Government and the kingdom of Nepal in 1800. But the deputies soon returned and their visit did not produce any tangible effect. The alliance of the English with the Nepal Government was soon dissolved, and Captain Knox, the British Resident, was recalled from Kathmandu. The undefined frontiers and rival claims of the Gurkhas and the English made the outbreak of a serious conflict between the two only

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1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1942.
 2. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1939.

a question of time. It came, as is well known, in the time of Lord Hastings.

Some works on Nepal in the modern period have been written during the last few years and a few are under preparation. Dr. D. R. Regmi's valuable work on Nepal has been recently published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay of Calcutta. A volume on *Anglo-Nepalese Relations* (from the earliest times of the British rule in India till the Gurkha War) which secured for its writer Dr. K. C. Chaudhuri of Scottish Church College, Calcutta, the D. Phil Degree of the Calcutta University, came out in 1960. Shri Ramakant of Allahabad University recently obtained Ph. D. Degree of this University on the merit of his thesis on *Anglo-Nepalese Relations from the Treaty of Sugauli 1816 to 1877*. Shri Satish Kumar Agarwal of the School of International Affairs, New Delhi, has prepared a thesis on *Political System of Nepal under the Ranas, 1846-1901*, for which he has been awarded Ph. D. Degree of the Delhi University. The thesis consists of eight chapters besides Introduction and Preface. Chapters one and two present an account of the Political History of Nepal till the year 1846, which marked the beginning of the Rana rule, as a sort of background to the main topic relating to the constitutional and administrative aspects of the post-1846 period. The writer has mentioned the factors which helped the growth in Nepal of what he describes as "a more or less feudal polity, sustained by feudal economy". Chapter three contains a discussion about the position of the king in the pre-Rana period and under the Ranas. We read how the king was relegated into the background during the Rana period so much so that the "monarch could no longer command the Prime Minister, on the contrary he was commanded by the Prime Minister". In fact, the king conferred Maharajaship and sovereignty on Jang Bahadur and alienated his real powers under duress retaining only some formal functions. Chapter four deals with the position of the Maharaja Prime Minister who developed an untempered autocracy with "absolute powers over the entire field of national activity overriding the king and all officers of the State". Chapter five is an account of the Rana administration beginning with a short note on the pre-Rana system some features of which could be traced in the Mughal administrative system. In the opinion of the writer the "Rana administration, as distinguished from the earlier ones, was characterised by the existence of a powerful oligarchy hedged in between the King at the top and the lesser civil and military officers at the bottom". Some prerogatives of the Rana were based on a special *Ain* made by Jang Bahadur. The sixth chapter describes law and justice with particular

reference to the major contribution of the Ranas to the development of Nepalese law with regard to its codification as a written *Ain* and its reform (codification by Jang Bahadur, revision by Bir Shamser) and characteristic features of Nepalese law. Merits and peculiarities of Jang's *Ain* have been elucidated. Whatever existed as the machinery for the administration of justice in the pre-Rana and Rana periods has been noted by the writer with a chart. In the seventh chapter we get an account of the economic and social conditions of Nepal. The economic condition, in which a few flourished at the cost of the many, was not at all conducive to the development of agriculture and industry. Though there was improvement in trade, it "served the interests of the rulers". The Ranas exploited the traditional land system of *Birta*. The writer holds that the "agriculture was static, the industrial growth was negligible, the improvement in trade benefited only the ruling class, and the pattern of taxation was favourable to the rich and burdensome to the poor". Society also was static. There were no adequate facilities for education of the common people and progressive and liberal literature could not flourish. The people "lived in a social milieu in which the values of equality and dignity of human being were non-existent".

Shri Kanchan Majumdar of Orissa, for some time attached to the School of International Affairs New Delhi, has written a thesis on the history of Nepal during the first-half of the nineteenth century. Shri Tara Prasad Lal Das, Lecturer in History, B. N. College, Patna, is also writing a thesis on *Indo-Nepalese Relations from 1804 to 1859*. Some other works on Nepal under preparation in the School of International Studies, Delhi, are *History of Nepal* by Shri L. S. Baral, *Nepal's Relations with British India, 1816-1877* by Shri K. P. Panth, *A Study of Political Development in Nepal since the overthrow of Rana Regime* by Shri K. P. Sharma and *Nepal's Relations with the British Government in India, 1768-1816*.

In 1958 I wrote a paper on *Correspondence of Edward Roughsedge (Commanding Ramghar Battalion) Relating to Nepal War*.¹ Dr. S. V. Suri, Keeper of Records, Government of the Punjab, contributed a paper on '*British Campaign against the Gurkhas in the Simla Hill States*' after studying a bundle of papers salvaged from the Commissioner's Office, Ambala², and Dr. Q. Ahmad of the K. P. Jayswal Research Institute, Patna, contributed a paper on '*Early Anglo-Nepalese Relations with particular reference to the principality of the*

1, Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1958.

2. Ibid.

Raja of Mukwanpur on the basis of some records of the Controlling Committee of Revenue, Patna (1771-73).¹ Dr. R. N. Chowdhary (now at Kathmandu) has written a paper on *Anglo-Nepalese Relations, 1816-1858*.² We have an interesting paper on *British activities in India during the Gorkha-Tibetan War II (1854-56)* by Shri Suniti Kumar Pathak of Visva Bharati.³

Dr. Hira Lal Gupta of Saugar University has been engaged in a study of *British relations with the States on the Northern frontier of India in the 19th century* and Shri Birendra Chandra Chakrabarty (Calcutta University) has prepared a thesis on *British Relations with the Hill Tribes on the North-Eastern Frontier*.

British relations with the Bhutanese in the eastern Himalayas, began since 1772, when in helping the local chief of Cooch Behar they expelled them from that principality. Bhutan was a dependency of Tibet, and after the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Teshu Lama in 1774, Warren Hastings sent George Bogle to Lasha for trying to open commercial relations. But nothing definite was achieved due to the premature death of the Teshu Lama. Another commercial mission was sent in 1783 under Turner, but it proved a failure. The British acquisition of Assam in 1826 brought them into closer contact with the Bhutanese, who carried on dopradations into the *Duars* or doors leading into Assam. Several unsuccessful negotiations, e. g. Pemberton's mission in 1838, followed; but affairs remained unsatisfactory. In 1951 Dr. H. K. Barpujari of Assam contributed a paper describing early British relations with Bhutan (1825-1840)⁴. Dr. P. L. Mehra of Chandigarh wrote two parts of his paper on *The Younghusband Expedition, an Interpretation*, in 1955 and 1961 respectively. In 1958 he contributed a paper on *Lord Curzon's Despatch of January 8, 1903: its impact and his Tibetan Policy*⁵. In 1959 Prof. Suniti Kumar Pathak of Visva Bharati reviewed in a paper *Indo-Tibetan Relationship During the British Rule in India*⁶ and Prof. Miss. K. S. Rijhsinghani studied *India's Relations with Tibet (1885-1905)*.⁷ Dr. P. L. Mehra has also written a paper on *The Lasha Convention and Younghusband's Defiance of Authority*⁸.

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1. Ibid,
 2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1960.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1951.
 5. Ibid, 1958.
 6. Ibid, 1959.
 7. Ibid.
 8. Ibid, 1961.

A considerable gap in our knowledge regarding the north-eastern frontier of India, and her relations with Burma, has been filled up by the publication of Dr. S. N. Sen's *Prachin Bangala Patra Sankalan*, a highly useful collection of Bengali letters of the early nineteenth century preserved under the custody of the National Archives of India. Dr. A. C. Banerjee's books on the *Eastern Frontier of British India* (first published in 1934), and *Annexation of Burma* (first edition in 1944) are also highly useful publications in this respect. Both the books are based almost entirely on contemporary original documents in English, Bengali, Assamese and Burmese languages, and so they contain plenty of authentic information greatly supplementing the narratives of earlier writers like Sir Edward Gait, Sir Arthur Phayre and Mr. G. E. Harvey. The Eastern University Press, Singapore, published in 1960, a valuable work on *The Annexation of Upper Burma* by Shri D. P. Singhal. In the opinion of this author the annexation of Upper Burma was not a sudden action but it was deliberate and pre-planned. Shri Indrajit Chawala (Punjab) is engaged in preparing a thesis on *Indo-Burmese Relations*. Dr. R. M. Lahiri's book on *Annexation of Assam* is a valuable contribution, based on a critical study of original sources, and it throws new light on some important points. A connected history of Manipur, written by Prof. Jotirmoy Roy of D. M. College, Imphal, was published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay in 1958. In 1959 Dr. H. L. Gupta of Saugar drew our attention to *An Unknown Factor in the Annexation of Assam*.

For several years, some scholars of Assam have written important works regarding their country in the modern period. These are Dr. S. K. Bhuyan's *History of Assam*, Shri K. N. Dutt's articles on *Early British relations with the Hill Tribes of Assam*,¹ *Assam in 1835*,² *Assam in 1838*³ (an eye-witness's account based on Captain Francis Jenkin's diary), and Dr. H. K. Barpujari's articles on *Documents relating to the History of Education in Assam in the days of the Company*,⁴ on *papers relating to the annexation of Jayantia*,⁵ on *The Tariff Walls in the North-East Frontier in the Early Days of the Company*,⁶ the *Khasi Insurrection of 1829* by Prof. K. N. Dutt⁷ and the *Real Cause and Character of the Insurrection of the Khasis* by Dr. H. K. Barpujari.⁸ A comparative study of the

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1958.
2. Ibid, 1951.
3. Ibid, 1952.
4. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1958.
5. Ibid, 1954.
6. Journal of Indian History, 1959.
7. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1959.
8. Ibid.

Socio-Religious customs of the Hill Tribes of Assam by Shri Tajendra Chandra Das (Government of Assam in the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies) was undertaken some time back. Bina Deka (Delhi) was engaged in writing on *History of Education in Assam in the British Period*, and Shri Sudhir Chandra Gupta (National Archives of India) was studying the history of the *North-East Frontier Tribes*.

FOREIGN POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

Foreign policies of British India and then of nationalist India are subjects of absorbing interest and profound significance for students of modern history. Growing British political supremacy in India during the second half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century was exposed to the invasions by land and sea of the French, then engaged in a deadly conflict with England in Europe and elsewhere and also to those of the Afghans from the North-West. To counteract these, Wellesley strengthened the defence in the north-western border of their dominions in Bihar by coercing Oudh, and secured the friendship of Persia by sending a mission under Malcolm to the Court of Teheran leading to the conclusion of the Anglo-Persian commercial and political treaty of 1808. Fall of Tipu, followed by British annexation of the Carnatic Payen Ghat, and the fall of Tanjore, gave the English East India Company "the full command of the Coromandal sea-board and so diminished the danger of a hostile landing on that coast."¹ Further, the destruction of the military power of the Northern Maratha States and the alliance of the English with the Peshwa secured for them the control over the western sea-board from Goa to the Narmada and also over Gujrat and Bundelkhand. After their occupation of Orissa as a result of the Second Anglo-Maratha War, Bengal and Madras sea-boards were linked.

We must note that the wars of the European powers outside India exercised a tremendous influence on the course of Indian politics from the middle of the eighteenth century. Voltaire significantly observed: "The first cannon shot fired in our lands was to set the match to all the batteries in America and in Asia". The War of Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War, the War of American Independence, and the Napoleonic Wars had their echoes on the distant shores of India and had a large share in reshaping her political destiny. The battle of Wandiwash (1760) no doubt dealt a severe blow to the French in India. But even after this, the Frenchmen tried to pursue their political ambitions here. So the English

1. Owen, Wellesley Despatches, Introduction, XXI.

East India Company had to reckon with what they considered to be a French menace to them.

The fall of Napoleon eliminated this menace for the English, but Russia now stepped into the place of France. The eastern ambitions of Russia and her designs in Asia, particularly since the conclusion of the Treaty of Gulistan between Russia and Persia in 1813, deeply influenced the course of the foreign policy of the British Government in India at least till the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907. Some years back Shri S. R. Tyagi (Agra) obtained Ph. D. Degree by submitting a thesis on *Influence of European Politics on India 1838-1914*, which he prepared in consultation with me.

It is significant that Indian scholars have now turned greater attention than before to the study of this important aspect of the history of modern India in the background of world history. In 1939 Prof. S. N. Banerji (then in Maharaja's College, Patiala) wrote a paper on the *Beginning of an Asiatic policy of the Company's Government in India in 1798-1800*.¹ In 1945 I wrote a paper on *The French Menace and Warren Hastings, 1778-1779*, in which I pointed out how in view of the apprehended recrudescence of war between England and France, Warren Hastings suggested a plan in a minute, dated 26th January 1778, "to avert the threatened danger" of a Franco-Maratha alliance. After the news of the actual outbreak of war between England and France had reached India on the 7th July, 1778, Hastings felt that "it was no longer a time to temporise, but to take speedy and decided measures". Mr. Elliot, a civilian, was deputed to Nagpur on the 18th July, 1778, to fix up the intended alliance with the Raja of Berar. But he died on the way on the 12th September, 1778. Colonel Goddard was then directed by the Calcutta Government to take charge of this affair. But this policy of the Governor-General, "projected", in his own opinion, "for the aggrandisement of the British name and dominion" did not materialise for various reasons. His plan was superseded by a plan from Bombay. Dr. S. P. Sen (Calcutta University), who has brought to light during the last few years many important French documents, wrote a paper in 1953² giving therein a connected account of the diplomatic intrigues of Chivalier, Governor of Chandernagore (1767-1778), based on his own letters to the Minister of Marine and Colonies preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. "Chivalier was a colourful personality. He kept himself in constant touch with the Princes of North India and with the

1. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1939.

2. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1953.

French military adventures scattered all over the subcontinent, intrigued at every Darbar and never doubted for a moment that it was possible for France even at that hour to drive the English out of Bengal with the help of some of the Indian princes." But for certain reasons his plans could not be successfully executed. Shri Krishna Saxena of the National Archives of India has shown how taking advantage of the unexpected arrival in Calcutta of two Chochin-Chinese Mandarins of high rank in February 1778, Warren Hastings sent a mission to Cochin-China for forming an alliance with the ruling power there to prevent spread of French influence in that area and to have a base for the East India Company's trade with China. Nothing tangible came out of this mission as that country was in the grip of a civil war. Chapman made certain recommendations for the future which were not found acceptable for various reasons, "Chapman's mission", notes the writer, "was one of a series of experiments carried out by the Company to secure a line of independent bases (to link England, India and China), to guard the sea passage across the Bay of Bengal and through the straits of Malacca, which operation concluded successfully with the occupation of Penang in 1786 and Singapore in 1819"¹. The same writer has drawn our attention to the memoranda of some governors and statesmen as also sea-Captains and traders, during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth century, pointing out the advantages which the Indo-British commerce could derive by establishing relations with Cochin-China². He has quoted in a paper one such important memorandum by Sir Robert Townsend Farquhar, Lieutenant-Governor of Penang. In a paper, entitled *Captain Forrest in Rhio*, Dr. S. N. Das Gupta of Lucknow University noted how in 1784 Warren Hastings, in order to carry into effect his unfulfilled plan of selecting a settlement on the east coast of the Bay of Bengal to watch the doors of the Archipelago, deputed Captain Thomas Forrest, an English Officer, holding the rank of Captain in the East India Company's Navy to enter into treaty terms with any of the Malaya princes. Captain Thomas Forrest went to Rhio, the King of which place had already sent overtures of amity to the Bengal Governor. But his mission to Rhio "ended in a fiasco. The Dutch had forestalled the English move by a few months"³. In 1960 the *Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institution* Hoshiarpur, published a Volume on *The Foreign Policy of Warren Hastings*. Shri Shilendra Kumar Singh (Agra) pointed out in 1953 in his paper on *Minto and Goa*

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid, 1954.

3. Proceedings. Indian History Congress, 1958.

how the English Company's Government in India sought to control Goa under Portuguese Government. Wellesley had arranged for a British detachment to protect Goa and also appointed a British Envoy there. In the time of Minto, Captain Courtland Schuyler was the British Envoy at Goa. Napoleon's policy in relation to Portugal from 1807 had repercussions on India. The Company's Government here considered whether to occupy Goa or leave it as before. Minto "adopted a middle course taking the entire defences of Goa into British hands but leaving the local administration".¹ The same writer has studied Minto's policy in relation to Turkish Arabia (Baghdad-Bussora area).² In a thesis entitled *Napoleon ET L'Orient*, (Napoleon and the East), published in 1957, which secured for its writer General Aryana a Doctorate Degree of the Paris University, one gets an account of Napoleon's plans regarding the East, which included a march into India by using Iran as a stepping stone. He has also discussed the causes of the failure of Napoleon's Eastern dream. In 1943 Shri Dharampal (then in D. A. V. College, Lahore) studied *British Relations with the Arab tribes near Aden, 1864-1868*³ and pointed out that Sir John Lawrence was not an advocate of aggressive foreign policy though the British Resident at Aden and Sir Bartle Frere, the Governor of Bombay, were anxious to follow an aggressive policy towards the Arab tribes. The Government of India thus laid down their policy for the guidance of the Resident and the Bombay Government: "under any circumstances, the principle of refraining from interference with the neighbouring tribes and abstaining from concern with their internal quarrels, must be vigorously maintained. The course of action hitherto observed of maintaining our relations beyond the walls of Aden, but not by direct operations on our part, but by operating through friendly chief, must still be considered a paramount obligation. Our concern is purely with the security of the fortress and its immediate approaches; and no system which would go beyond this object can receive the countenance and support of the Government of India." In his work, entitled *Side-Lights on Auckland's Foreign Policy*, published in 1958, Shri K. Sajun Lal of Osmania University has reproduced some Newsletters relating to the Afghan Policy of Lord Auckland.

In 1942 Shri Ganpat Rai (then Professor of History, Hindu College, Delhi) examined in a paper Lord Mayo's

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1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1958.
 2. Ibid, 1954.
 3. Proceedings, Indian History Congress. 1948.

diplomacy.¹ The basis of Lord Mayo's foreign policy was suggested by him in a private letter to a friend written by him shortly after the Ambala Darbar in the following words: "Surround India with strong, friendly and independent states, who will have more interest in keeping well with us than with any other power, and we are safe." After quoting this general remark, the writer examined Lord Mayo's diplomacy and foreign policy with reference to Anglo-Bhutanese relations from 1869 to 1870 mainly on the basis of some records of the Imperial Record Department (subsequently National Archives of India). During the last few years some other scholars have contributed papers on this aspect of modern Indian History. These are,—*India and the Persian Gulf during East India Company's Period* by B. M. Lalwani (Bombay University), *Diplomatic History of Modern India* by Shri N. M. Shewalay (Bombay University), *Foreign Policy of Lord Curzon* by N. C. Datta (Calcutta University), *Influence of Russian Diplomacy in Central Asia on India's Foreign Relations 1856-1907*, by Shri B. D. Burman (Delhi University), *India's Policy towards South Africa, 1860-1919*, by Shri B. S. Krishnamurthy (Delhi University), *Anglo-Iranian Relations, 1919-1939*, by Shri Hari Singh (Delhi University), *India and the Persian Gulf* by Shri Ravinder Kumar (Punjab University), and *British Relations with Tibet from Warren Hastings to Lord Minto II* by Shri S. C. Bajpai (Saugar University).

To the Indian Council of World Affairs we owe the preparation of a book of the title *India in World Affairs, August 1947-January 1950*, by one of its Research Associates, Shri K. P. Karunakaran (first published by the Oxford University Press in 1952). By tracing in its earlier chapters the political and ideological background of the main lines of India's foreign policy, the author has described India's relations with Pakistan and other countries of Asia in the light of her awakening in recent times. The subject of racial discrimination in South Africa from 1891 has been critically discussed by him. He has also studied India's role in the United Nations with particular reference to the freedom of the dependent nations and political matters in the United Nations, and security problems in a divided world. After describing the organizational questions relating to the United Nations, he has reviewed in the concluding chapters the external economic relations and economic reconstruction of Asia and the Far East. Prof. Karunakar Gupta of City College, Calcutta, has also brought out recently through the World Press Ltd, Calcutta, an interesting volume presenting therein an analytical study of Indian Foreign Policy, 1946-54. The

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1942.

introduction of this book contains a critical analysis of the ideological, geographical, economic, strategic and administrative factors that have moulded India's foreign policy. We get in this volume discussions about Indian policy vis-a-vis the Commonwealth and the West, Indian policy vis-a-vis Colonialism and Racialism and India's role as a peace-maker.

Some years back, a book, entitled *Foundations of India's Foreign Policy, Vol. I, 1869-1882*, by Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, was published by Orient Longmans Ltd. This valuable work was prepared under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, which has planned to bring out a comprehensive history of India's Foreign Policy from the nineteenth century till the attainment of Independence in 1947. This volume is the first of the contemplated work. The other volumes, expected to be shortly written, will cover highly interesting periods of the successive phases in India's struggle for freedom. In fact, the basis of new India's foreign policy is to be sought in the attitude and policy of the nationalist organisations, particularly the Indian National Congress from 1885. A valuable work dealing with the *Origins of India's Foreign Policy* during the period from 1885 to 1947, written by Dr. Bimala Prasad of Patna University, was published in 1960. The learned author observes in the Introduction: "It remains to add that the purpose of this study is neither to praise India's Foreign Policy, nor to criticise it, but simply to point out its origins so that it may be better understood. The Congress reacted to world affairs mostly as they arose through its resolutions and the speeches, statements and writings of its leaders. These have been analysed and suitably arranged and pattern discernible in them brought out". We may refer to some recent articles, viz—*Curzon and Anglo-Russian Negotiations about Persia (1895-1901)* by Shri Ravinder Kumar¹, *British Policy of Non-Intervention in Sino-Nepalese Affairs* by Shri P. C. Roy and *Mortimer Durand's Memorandum on the Internal Relation of the Government of India* by Sri B.N. Tandon (Lucknow).

The Indian National Congress has continued to maintain an international outlook from its early days. With its conviction in the principle that freedom like peace is indivisible, the Indian National Congress proclaimed Indian support for the forces of democracy and progress and conveyed her messages of goodwill and sympathy for tormented humanity groaning under the ravages of the volcanic cataclysm of 1914-1918, under the wild triumphs of Fascism and Nazism roughly speaking from 1930, and during the Devil's Dance as it were on the surface of the kindly earth from 1939-45. The follow-

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1961.

ing resolution was passed at the session of the Indian National Congress, held at Madras in 1927 : "The Congress has noted with deep resentment that Indian troops have again been used by the British Government to further their imperialist designs in China and to hinder and prevent the people of China from gaining their freedom. The Congress demands that Indian troops and police forces still in China be recalled immediately and that no Indian shall go to China in future as an agent of the British Government to fight or work against the Chinese people, who, in the opinion of the Congress, are the comrades of the Indian people in their struggle against imperialism.

"The Congress declares that the people of India have no quarrel with their neighbours, and desire to live at peace with them and assert their right to determine whether or not they will take part in any war".

1930-31 was a crucial year in human history. Dr. Toynbee has characterised it as *annus terribilis*. World-wide economic depression and financial distress, attack of Japan on Manchuria in September, 1931, and the rise of new totalitarian forces in Germany and Italy, brought fundamental changes in the international situation. During this period too, the people of India expressed considerable sympathy with the victims of aggression and the Indian National Congress denounced it in clear terms. The people of India watched keenly the struggle between the Republicans and Franco's forces in Spain and responded in large numbers to the appeal of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru for despatch of food materials to the Republican Spain. When Japan attacked China in July, 1937, the Congress passed resolutions expressing its sympathy with the Chinese people. In protest against Japanese imperialist expansionism, the Congress in its session, held at Haripura in February, 1939, urged the people of India to give up purchasing Japanese goods. Subsequently, the Congress Working Committee decided to depute to China an ambulance unit with Indian doctors. On the sad fate of Czechoslovakia after the appeasement agreement of Munich, signed in September, 1938, the Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution in October, 1938 : "The Working Committee send their profound sympathy to the brave people of Czechoslovakia in their struggle to preserve their freedom. Being themselves engaged in a war, though non-violent but none the less grim and exciting, against the greatest Imperialist power on earth, India cannot but be deeply interested in the protection of Czechoslovakian freedom."

India became an international entity in the strict sense of the term from 15th August, 1947, on being admitted to

the British Commonwealth of Nations as a self-Governing Dominion and an equal partner. But even before this India's voice was heard in the Councils of the world, particularly after the formation of the Interim Government in September, 1946, Shri Nehru being Vice-President and Member of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations in the Governor-General's new Executive Council which was expected to work as a Cabinet. Shri Nehru then said: "It is because of this expectation of an early realisation of full independence that we have entered the Government and we propose to function so as progressively to achieve that independence in action both in our domestic affairs and our foreign relations. We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation." India began to play an important part in the General Assembly of the United Nations, which was well recognised abroad. Mr. H. V. Evatt, Australian Minister of External Affairs, observed in a speech in the Australian House of Representatives on the 26th February, 1947: "India has achieved an independent national status in international affairs as evidenced by her active part at recent International Conferences."

After Independence, India has definitely assumed an important role in world affairs. In spite of the threat to world harmony due to the emergence of two power blocks, the Korean crisis, the regrettable apartheid policy in South Africa, and the lingering remnants of imperialism in South East Asia, India's foreign policy has been characterised by emphasis on peace and harmony and emancipation of down-trodden nations from the shackles of imperialism or the exploitation of the powerful. Replying to a debate on foreign policy in the Constituent Assembly, India's Foreign Minister observed in March, 1948: "Because of our past record in India, that is the anti-imperialist record, we have not been *persona grata* with any groups and peoples outside." It is clear to all that the chief objective of India's foreign policy has been raising her voice for the restoration of sanity in human affairs. Shri Nehru observed in his own characteristic way in a speech delivered by him in our Parliament on the 14th May, 1953: "The world is full of problems and a tortured humanity seeks anxiously for some relief from its fears and burdens. In this tragic drama a measure of responsibility comes to us in this great country. We have enough of our problems here and they consume our thoughts and energy, but we cannot isolate ourselves from the great brotherhood of the nations and from the common problems that affect humanity. Whether we wish it or not, fate and

circumstances have cast this responsibility upon us and we must discharge it. In the manner that we, in common with other countries, discharge it will depend whether our generation and the next will live in peace and bring about the progressive happiness of mankind or suffer irretrievable disaster. That responsibility we can only discharge if we are united and hold together remembering always our high ideals and objectives and not allowing ourselves to be swept away by the fear or passions of the moment."

In the world to-day humanity, not yet relieved of the malignant ravages of the two World Wars fought in the course of three decades, is panting for peace. There was formal cessations of hostilities some years back. But where is peace yet in the true sense of the term? The lessons of Vienna, Berlin and Versailles do clearly tell us that mere paper agreements are not sure guarantees for peace, harmony, and human happiness. With all that has been debated upon or adumbrated at Geneva or Locarno or the U. N. O. or in the recently convened conferences, International amity still remains an unrealised dream. The recent Geneva agreement raised hopes in the certain minds but the S. E. A. T. O. Pact of eight members Australia, France, New-Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, Britain and the United States and the Baghdad Pact caused misgivings here and there.

Moreover, in the conditions as they continue to prevail, the spiritual values of life seem to be jeopardised. The mad race for armaments on the part of the major powers still forms a grave menace to humanity and the threat of another cataclysm seems to be hanging over its destiny almost like the sword of Damocles. The efforts made on several occasions, in 1919, 1930, 1932-34, 1935, 1936 and 1948, and afterwards, for the limitation of armaments have produced no positive results. Further, the nuclear weapons and destructive armaments acutely perturb saner minds as to whether their effects would not produce a total devastation. Civilization is, in fact, faced with destruction and fear oppresses mankind. Towards the end of November 1954, Prince Louis de Broglie, a leading French Physicist and Nobel prize winner, warned the world against the reckless hydrogen experiments because the danger point had already been reached for the world's human, animal and plant life. There is America's cry of "atoms for peace." On the other side is the demand for International agreement to reduce armaments and ban the atom and hydrogen bombs. On the 18th February, 1955, in a statement broadcast by the Moscow Radio, Russia proposed that Nations should pledge

themselves (1) to destroy stock of atom and Hydrogen weapons and use atomic power exclusively for peaceful purposes, (2) not to increase their armed forces or armaments or their military budgets above the level of January 1, 1955.

On this vital matter and against the disastrously misleading conception of security on the part of some nations, India has asserted boldly her time honoured convictions. Our veteran patriot and statesman, Shri C. Rajagopalachari, spoke at Madras on the 17th February, 1955: "Whatever the politics of the issue of nuclear weapons may be, the world has some right of protection against the proved and admitted consequences of these tests." Writing from Madras to the *New Statesman and Nation*, he declared: "The only way to get control over this hellish power that has been created is not the retaining of the power for the purposes of retaliation, but unilaterally giving it up on your part". The truest ideal of India to promote world peace and harmony was splendidly expressed by our President in his speech at the inaugural joint sitting of the two chambers of the Parliament on the 21st February, 1953, when he observed: "These five principles which are sometimes referred to as the *Panch Shila*, are mutual respect for each other, territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. I commend these principles to you and earnestly trust that they will increasingly form the basis of international relations, thus ensuring peace and security all over the world."

Peace is the most imperative need of the hour. But unfortunately there has been a prolonged stalemate in great power relations. What the world wants for peace is not a mere stroke of pen or an assemblage at Geneva or Washington, but a change of spirit, a genuine reorientation of outlook. Modern India is playing a vital role for their development.

SECTION IV

FREEDOM MOVEMENT

Since the attainment of Independence a new spirit of awakening has stirred Indian minds. Under its stimulating influence earnest efforts are being made for the last few years to study and interpret correctly the growth of political consciousness in renaissance India and the various stages of the Indian National Movement, roughly speaking, from the early years of the nineteenth century. This is indeed a stupendous but a sacred task. The scheme for writing an authentic and comprehensive history of the different phases of the Indian national struggle was originally recommended by the Indian Historical Records Commission at its Jaipur Session in 1948, and when Dr. Rajendra Prasad invited the attention of the Government of India to the urgency of this work, the Ministry of Education, Government of India, took necessary steps for the planning and execution of this project. An Experts Committee, consisting of some prominent historians of our country, was constituted to suggest ways and means to facilitate the collection of materials for this purpose. The Experts Committee soon made various valuable recommendations. A Central Board, with its Office at New Delhi, was set up for this work, and Committees were also formed in the different States to search for and collect materials from all possible sources. Recently it has been decided that the materials collected for this work would now be stored in the National Archives of India. The state Committees continued to function.

It is significant to note that the Bihar Government was the first to formulate a plan for the preparation of a well documented and detailed history of freedom movement in this historic state and entrusted this important work to me. As a result of my hard work and intensive search for records of all kinds from various sources, official as well as non-official, valuable materials were unearthed¹ and the work was published by the Bihar Government in three volumes in 1957 and 1958. In January 1961 the Government of India brought out Volume One of a work on '*History of the Freedom Movement in India*' by Dr. Tara Chand. This Volume presents a general account of the history of India till the close of the eighteenth century and is probably meant to be a background for the

1. These have been preserved in the State Central Archives, Patna.

succeeding volumes which are expected to deal with the actual history of India's struggle for freedom from British domination.

The movement of 1857-59 has been generally considered to be the starting point for writing a history of Indian freedom movement. But students of history have justly felt inclined to study also the earlier background for about a century during the period of the rapid expansion of the British dominion in India. Besides the activities of Mir Qasim in opposing the English, to which reference has been made already, it may be noted that Raja Nanda Kumar's anti-British policy also deserves careful study and a colleague of mine, employed at the Ranchi College, has been entrusted by me with the task of making a careful study of it. In 1938 I wrote a paper on the *Conspiracy of Wazir Ali in 1798-99*, in which I pointed out how an attempt was then made to organise an all-India opposition against rising British supremacy in this country. In 1940 the University of Calcutta published my work, entitled *The Santal Insurrection of 1855-57*, based on various sources, including unpublished government records found at Bhagalpur and Dumka. The expansion of the British dominion in India and the growth of an Indo-British administrative system, naturally conducted India through manifold processes of transition, political, economic and social. This, for diverse reasons, generated fumes of discontent among various sections of the people in different parts of India which burst into flames in the movement of 1857-59. But already before this wide movement, a considerable insurrection had broken out in the year 1855 in the areas now represented by the Bihar district of Santal Parganas, a part of the Bhagalpur district and also a portion of the Birbhum district. All these apparently unconnected disturbances were really the manifestations of the reaction against the new political fact of British dominion and government. My work on *Biography of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh* was published by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, in 1957. It is based on a comprehensive study of various contemporary sources and presents a detailed account of the role of Bihar in the Indian Movement of 1857-59 under the inspiring leadership of Kunwar Singh, who was ably assisted by his brother Amar Singh and some other local leaders.

In 1953 came out a volume on *Civil Disturbances in India, 1765-1857*, written by Dr. S. B. Chaudhury, now Professor of History, Burdwan University. Chapter I of this book is a historical background. Chapter II contains descriptions of the disturbances in Bengal and Upper India.

viz. *Revolt of the Rajas of Dhalbhum* (1769-74), *Major Hannay's Black rule in Bihar* (1778-81), *Rebellion at Rangpur* (1783), *Rebellion at Bishunpur* (1789), *Rebellion of the Chuars* (1799), *Disturbances in Sylhet* (1799), *Revolt of Vizier Ali* (1799), *Disturbances in Bundelkhand* (1808-12), *Commotion at Benares* (1810-11), *Rising at Bareilly* (1816), *Conquest of the fort of Hathras* (1817), *Insurrection of the Paiks at Cuttack* (1817-18), *Rising of the Cujars* (1824), *Rebellion at Baraset* (1831), *Explosion of the Kols* (1831-2), *Revolt of Ganganarayan of Mambhum* (1832), *Explosion of the Khasis* (1829-33), *Insurrection of the Pagal Panthis at Sherpur* (1833), *Explosion of the Kukis* (1844-50), *Disturbances in Assam* (1830-50), *Explosion of the Khonds* (1846), *Ferazi disturbances* (1838-47), *Explosion of the Santals* (1855-56).

In Chapter III we have an account of the risings in Madras and Southern India viz., *Revolt of Vizieram Rauze* (1794), *Revolt of Dhundia in Bednur* (1799-1800), *Revolt of the Pyche Raja* (1796-1805), *Struggle of the Poligars in Tinneveli* (1801), *Suppression of the Poligars in the Ceded District* (1801-5), *Struggle of the Poligars in North Arcot* (1803-5), *Struggle for independence in Travancore* (1808-9), *Rebellion at Mysore* (1830-31), *Disturbances in Parlakimedi Estates* (1813-34), *Disturbances in Vizagapatam District* (1830-34), *Struggle in Ganjam* (1800-5) and *Cumsur* (1835-7), and *Rising of Narasimha Reddi* (1846-7).

Chapter IV deals with the risings in Bombay and Western India, such as *Risings at Kittur* (1824 and 1829), *Rising of the Ramosis at Poona* (1826-9), *Explosion of the Bhils* (1818-31), *Disturbances in Cutch* (1815-32), *Gadkari rising at Kolhapur* (1844), *Koli Outrages* (1828-30, 1839 and 1844-48), *Outbreak in Savantvadi* (1844-50), *Survey Riot* (1852), *Disturbances in the Bombay Presidency*, *Disturbances in Jat, Rajput and Maratha countries*, *Disturbances in the Frontier Provinces*.

Chapter V contains an account of the incidents in Ceylon, Burma and Malacca. The author has given his concluding remarks in the last (VI) Chapter.

In the Appendix we get a note on the communal Disturbances in India (1765-1857) and a Political Map of India.

This volume is a critical historical work prepared after a searching scrutiny of authentic sources of different kinds. The author has in fact unfolded a new chapter in the history of British Rule in India by describing the reactions to the growing political authority of the English in India among

various sections of the people during about a century of gigantic transformation in the political destiny and the varied conditions of life in this vast country. Dr. Chaudhury has rightly noted that "*the Pax Britannica* in India was only a very relative peace and that there was plenty of opposition from substantial sections of the common people often enough" (*Introduction*).

Popular commotions and discontents, finding expression in civil disturbances in all parts of India as a sort of resistance to British rule, have been critically examined by him with reference to the various socio-economic forces, which were generated by the Industrial Revolution and penetrated into this land in the wake of British Political Supremacy. The author does not want to give the impression that those who organised the disturbances mentioned by him had any "comprehension of the conception of patriotism and national sentiment :.....". In his concluding remarks he observes significantly : "While, therefore, there is not much to show that the Indian masses in the eighteenth century took any serious view of the change in the political complexion of the country, it would be idle to maintain that the socio-economic system of the alien rule did not impinge on them and that they had no specific grievance to allege, though for obvious reasons there did not follow any general outcry against the intrusive elements. However much the Indian peasantry was impoverished under the long pressure of grievous oppressions; so much so, that they could not be stirred up to sedition even by illegal exactions as Moira, Malcolm and Munro would have us believe, the Indian peasant returned to the attack on the foreigner who was pressing him in all directions, political, social and economic, for, such tremendous explosions like the insurrections of Bengal, the insurrection at Mysore and the Poligar revolts of South India cannot be traced by any stretch of imagination to the grievances only of a particular class of individuals, namely the zamindars. Even in the revolt of 1857 which was an upheaval chiefly of a military character, the leaders of the movement had the support of the masses of Indian peasantry in their struggle, though as a class they did not break out in any open rebellion during these critical days. But soon after, a violent agitation of indigo cultivators swept like a tidal wave over the province of Bengal (1859-60)".

In his another book, entitled *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies*, published by the World Press, Calcutta, in 1957, Dr. S. B. Chaudhury has tried to present "the history of the civil rebellion in the Indian mutinies" in a connected form, "its scope, and character, the class of the people participating in it

and the effect produced in the direction and dimension of this vast conflagration and in the prolongation of the conflict and its consequences."

Scholars in different parts of India have tried to collect materials for the history of freedom movement in their respective areas and have contributed articles relating to it. References may be made in this connection to the following: (a) *The rebellion of Man Singh Rao Patankar*¹ by Dr. Hiralal Gupta, (b) *The Early Phase of the Resistance Movement in the North-east Frontier*² by Dr. H. K. Barpujari, (c) *Political significance of the movement of Syed Ahmed Brailvi*³ by Prof. S. H. Askari (d) *The Mysore Rising of 1830*⁴ by Dr. B. A. Saletore, (e) *New Light on the Resistance Movement in the North-East Frontier (1829-31)*⁵ by Dr. H. K. Barpujari, (f) *The Patna Conspiracy of 1857*⁶ by Dr. Jata Shankar Jha (Patna), (g) *Indigo in North Bihar and Mahatma Gandhi*⁷ by Dr. Hari Ranjan Ghosal (Muzaffarpur), (h) *The Indian National Movement and Anglo-Russian Rivalry*⁸ by Dr. Bimla Prasad (Patna), (i) *The Contribution of the Press to the development of National ideas and disaffection against the British rule*⁹ by Dr. K. L. Srivastava (Bhopal), (j) *Freedom Movement in Assam in the Nineteenth Century*¹⁰ by Shri K. N. Dutt, (k) *An Anti-British Plot in Bihar in 1845*¹¹ by Dr. K. K. Dutt, (l) *Pre-Mutiny Raij-Mels of Assam*¹² by Shri K. N. Dutt, (m) *Chadr Rebellion in the Punjab*¹³ by Shri Kripal Singh, (n) *Early Rebellions against Company Rule in Baghelkhand (1802-14)*¹⁴ by Shri Kameshwar Jha, (o) *A Pioneer of the Freedom Movement, Gajula Lakshmi Narsu Setti* by Shri Y. Vitpel Rao, (t) *The First Phase of the History of Freedom Movement in Bhopal State* by Dr. K. L. Srivastava, A

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1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1953.
 2. Ibid, 1955.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid, 1956.
 6. Ibid.
 7. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1952.
 8. Ibid, 1958.
 9. Ibid, 1954.
 10. Ibid.
 11. Ibid.
 12. Ibid, 1955-56.
 13. Ibid, 1954.
 14. Ibid, 1955-56.

A contemporary Account of the Indian Movement of 1857-59 by Dr. K. K. Datta¹, *Nature of the Indian Revolt of 1857-59* by Dr. K. K. Datta², *Indian Movement of 1857-59 and its Reactions Abroad* by Dr. K. K. Datta³, *Popular Discontent in Bihar on the eve of the Movement of 1857-59* by Dr. K. K. Datta⁴, *Rebellion of the Raja of Khurda against the British* by Dr. Bhavani Charkin Ray of Cuttack⁵. In his paper on *Some Mutiny Telegrams in the Bihar State Archives*⁶, Shri Narayan Saran, Record-keeper in this Archives, has studied the telegrams received and despatched by the Commissioner of the Patna Division during the period of 1857-59, which present a first-hand day to day account of the movement throughout the Lower Provinces. Shri M. H. Rizawi, Keeper of Records, National Archives, Bhopal, wrote a note on *Tatya Tope in Bhopal*⁷, on the basis of some unpublished documents of his Archives which furnish a graphic account of Tatya Tope's march from Bhilsa to Pathuri Ghat on the Narmada and of some of his other activities. In his papers on *New Aspects of the Santal Insurrection of 1855-56* and *More Lights on the Santal Insurrection*⁸, Prof. N. B. Ray of Visvabharati brought to light a few important letters relating to the subject. Dr. A. P. Jha, a Research Assistant of the State Central Archives, Patna, has contributed some interesting papers on (a) *The Nature of the Santal Unrest of 1871-75*, (b) *Origins of the Sapha Hor Movement* and (c) *Sir Charles Metcalfe's Views on the Nature of Civil Disturbances in India*⁹. Dr. M. N. Das of Cuttack has contributed a paper on *Pre-Mutiny Revolts in Princely States of Orissa*¹⁰. We may refer to the paper on *The Impact of the Mutiny on British attitudes to India* by Mr. Thomas R. Metcalf¹¹ and Prof. N. B. Ray's paper on *Bahadur Shah II as reflected in his Diwan*.¹²

Dr. N. L. Chatterjee has drawn our attention to an interesting *Mutiny Paper of Mirza Birjis Qadir Ramzan Ali Bahadur*¹³ which shows the connection of the Army Officers with the Mughal Government of Delhi. Shri P. N. Chopra,

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1. Journal of the Bihar Research Society, 1950.
 2. Bengal : Past and Present, 1954.
 3. Journal of the Bihar Research Society, 1958,
 4. Bengal ; Past and Present, 1945.
 5. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1958.
 6. Ibid, 1960.
 7. Ibid, 1961.
 8. Ibid, 1960.
 9. Ibid, 1961.
 10. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1959.
 11. Ibid, 1960.
 12. Ibid.
 13. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1960.

Compiler, Gazetteer Unit, New Delhi, has contributed a paper on the *Character of the Wahabi Movement*¹ in which he observes that the Wahabi movement, "though sectarian, never came into conflict with the Hindus after the extinction of the Sikh State." Dr. R. C. Majumdar has critically studied an unpublished document which reveals some new facts and instances relating to the Rebellion in Manipur in 1891². Dr. Amallesh Tripathi of Presidency College, Calcutta, has studied the attitude of the British Government to the newly founded Indian National Congress on the basis of a few letters of Kimberley and Cross, the Secretaries of State for India in the 1880's, to Lord Dufferin³. Shri R. P. Patwardhan, Professor of History, Poona University, has studied some correspondence between Sir George Birdwood and Dada Bhai Naoroji, which throws interesting light on their personalities and mutual relations⁴.

Some works relating to India's freedom struggle which have been under preparation in the Calcutta University, are *National Awakening in India (Pre-Congress period)* by Shri Sudhangshu Bhushan Chandra, *The Evolution of Social, Economic, Cultural and Political Organisation in Bengal from Rammohan to Surendranath* by Subrata Majumdar, and *Bepin Chandra Pal and His Times* by Pushpita Mukerjee. Reference may be made to the papers on *Some unpublished Documents regarding the Mutiny of 1857* by Dr. R. C. Majumdar⁵, *Western innovations and the Rising of 1857* by Dr. Manmatha Nath Das⁶, *Political Unrest in Bengal, 1906-1918* by Shri Hirendra Nath Chakravarty, *Origin and Development of the Indian National Congress, 1885-1909*, by Smt. Kalyani Chatterjee, *The Growth of Political Consciousness in India, 1858-1885*, by Smt. Sujata Ghosh, and *The Nationalist Movement in Bengal in the early years of the twentieth century* by Smt. Uma Mukhopadhyay. Smt. Sujata Roy Chowdhry, Smt. Damayanti Saran, Shri Bireshwar Nath Mandal, Shri Haridev Sharma, Shri Uma Shankar Srivastava and Usha H. Chandra have been engaged in working respectively on the subjects like *Public Opinion in Bengal in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* and *Social and Political Role of the Brahmo Samaj*, and *Public Opinion in Bengal from 1870-1905*, *Non-Co-operation Movement (1919-1920)*, *The Ideological Basis of the Indian National Movement*, and *History of Political Movement in India, 1906-1919* (Delhi University). Shri Sitaram

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1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid.
 8. Ibid.
 4. Ibid, 1961.
 5. Bengal : Past and Present, 1957.
 6. Ibid.

Singh of L. S. College, Muzaffarpur, is writing a thesis on *Nationalism and Social Reforms in India*.

Reference may be made to some other works on India's Freedom Movement undertaken in the Punjab University. These are,—*History of Freedom Movement in India from 1920 to 1937* by Shri M. K. Dhawan, *Role of women in the Freedom Movement of India* by Kum. M. Kaur, *History of Indian Freedom Struggle during 1937-1947* by Shri J. L. Mehta and *History of Freedom Movement in India, 1909-1919*, by Shri J. Mitter.

In 1957 Dr. Hira Lal Gupta wrote a paper on *The Revolt of 1857 and its Failure*¹ emphasising the national character of this movement. Analysing the causes of its failure, he writes: "In short, the war of liberation was fought with incomplete plans and a disunited country, scanty resources and unscientific methods, and worn-out principles and worn-out arms." In 1958 he contributed a paper on the *Revolt of 1857 in the Saugar and Narbada Territories*². A paper on *Guracharan Singh's Mission in Central Asia* by Shri P. C. Roy brings "to light the figure of a little known Kuka patriot, who suffered immense hardship to keep alive the flame of rebellion against British rule in the Punjab following the suppression of the anti-British uprisings of the Kukas in 1872." Shri J. M. Surpakar (Bombay University) has written an account of the *Movement of 1857 in Maharashtra*. In his article on *The Congress and Russophobia*³ Dr. N. L. Chatterjee has pointed out how the Indian National Congress "was ushered into existence to mobilise the public opinion in favour of the British connection, sing the praises of Pax Britannica and counteract the possibility of Russian intrigue in India." In 1960 he wrote an article on *The Congress Session of 1907*⁴. An article on *Motilal Nehru—An estimate* by Dr. Lal Bahadur⁵ came in the same year, and Dr. M. M. Ahluwalia of National Archives, New Delhi, contributed a paper on *Press and India's Struggle for Freedom, 1858-1909*. Two scholars of Agra University, Shri R. S. Tiwari and Shri R. C. Tripathi have studied respectively the subjects like *The War of Independence in Oudh 1857-58* and *The Mutiny of 1857 at Kanpur with special reference to the role of Nana Sahib Dhondu Pant*. *The Revolt of 1857 in Bundelkhand* has been studied in the Allahabad University by Shri S. N. Sinha. Some interesting papers contributed in 1961 are—*Nature of*

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1. Journal of Indian History, December, 1957.
 2. Ibid, April, 1958.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid, April, 1960.
 5. Ibid.

the Kol Insurrection of 1831-32 by Dr. J. C. Jha (Patna), 1857 in Bombay by J. M. Surpakar (Bombay University), *Growth of Nationalism in 19th century India, seen from the Particular Aspect of the Idea of Nation* by Mr. Johannes Voigt (Chandigarh), *The Racial Question and Liberal English Opinion as Reflected in the Friend of India, from the Mutiny to the Ilbert Bill*, by Shrimati Sujata Ghosh (Calcutta) and *The British View of the Hindu-Muslim attitude towards the Partition of Bengal and its Result* by Dr. M. N. Das (Cuttack). Shri Debendra Nath Panigrahi (Delhi University) is preparing a thesis on *Resistance to British Rule in India, 1800-1857*. In an article on *New Light on the Revolt of 1857 at Azamgarh*, published in 1956¹, Dr. N. L. Chatterjee asserts on the basis of some contemporary official documents that during the Revolt of 1857 the town of Azamgarh and the adjacent countryside became independent of British authority for some months.

We get a detailed account of the important role of the Indian Association in India's freedom struggle from its inauguration in 1876 till 1951, in a volume on the Indian Association prepared by Shri Jogesh Chandra Bagal, well-known for his valuable contributions in the field of historical research, and published by the Council of Indian Association, Calcutta, in 1953. In 1959 Prof. M. S. Jain of Aligarh discussed in a paper the organisation and activities of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association.

The Government of Assam published in April, 1956, an account of the materials, collected in that State till the 15th November, 1955, for the History of Freedom Movement and compiled by Shri K. N. Dutt, Research Officer of the Assam Government, for this work.

In his book, entitled *Landmarks of the Freedom Struggle in Assam*, which came out in January 1958, Shri K. N. Dutt has indicated the landmarks in the history of Freedom Movement in Assam from the early years of the 19th century. The State Committee for compilation of History of Freedom Movement in Orissa has brought out some volumes containing valuable information collected from original sources. A connected account of the freedom struggle in Hyderabad was prepared by the Hyderabad State Committee for compilation of such a work and two volumes of it were published in 1956. The first volume deals with the period from 1800 to 1857, and the second, with the period from 1857 to 1885. A volume containing records relating to the Freedom Movement in the Uttar Pradesh, edited by Shri S. A. Rizavi and Shri M. L. Bhargava, came out in 1957.

1. Journal of Indian History, December, 1956,

The Indian National Congress has, from its very origin, rendered immense services to the cause of nationalism. The history of India's freedom movement from 1917, when Mahatma Gandhi by undertaking a mission to Champaran, an area of historic importance in Bihar, made his first successful experiment in India's new nationalism, till 1942, is full of inspiring episodes. The Indian Revolution of 1942 is one of the most stirring movements of modern history. In this epic struggle of India for liberty there was a thrill of inspiration and a spontaneous and marvellous response from one end of the country to the other. The people boldly courted imprisonment and braved severest ordeals through immense sacrifices. The logic of events following it facilitated India's march to freedom and attainment of Independence in 1947.

For the long history of Indian nationalism we have, besides some general works, such as *Indian National Evolution* by Shri A. C. Mazumdar, *Landmarks in India's Constitutional and National Development* by Shri G. N. Singh, etc., records of personal experiences of some great leaders, whose sincere efforts and sacrifices contributed to its growth and ultimate success. Chronologically viewed such works are *Speeches of Gokhale* (1908), Dr. Annie Besant's two books, *India A Nation* (1915) and *How India wrought Her Freedom* (1915), Shri Balgangadhar Tilak's *Writings and Speeches* (1922), *Shri Aurobindo's Speeches* (1922), Sir Surendranath Banerjee's *A Nation in Making* (1925), B. C. Pal's *Memories of My Life and Times, Vol. I* (1932) and *Vol. II* (published in 1951 though completed earlier). The autobiographies of Mahatma Gandhi, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Rajendra Prasad are extremely valuable records for the study of this subject. Dr. Rajendra Prasad's *Champaran Satyagraha* was the first detailed work describing Mahatma Gandhi's mission in Champaran which was an event of the utmost significance in the history of Indian nationalism, as it not only freed the ryots of this area from age-long tyranny of the indigo planters but generated in their minds feelings of regard for truth and fearlessness and also taught them self help. All these qualities stood them in a good stead in their fights for freedom during the subsequent periods. *The Diary* (first published in 1953) of Shri Mahadev Desai, who became Gandhiji's Secretary towards the end of 1917 and died a martyr's death in prison on the 15th August, 1942, contains lot of important correspondence and notes in relation to our national struggle. Shri D. G. Tendulkar's eight volumes on *Mahatma* is a monumental work of great value, containing Mahatma Gandhi's writings and speeches in full or in extracts, and with numerous important illustrations collected from different sources and arranged by Shri Vithalbhai K. Jhaveri. Shri Pyarelal, who was for a long

time Mahatma Gandhi's private secretary, and, after Shri Mahadev Desai's death, editor of the *Harijan* weeklies, which Mahatma Gandhi was conducting, has dealt with the last phase of Mahatma Gandhi's career in ample details in the two volumes of his monumental work on *Mahatma Gandhi : The Last Phase* (published by the Navajivan Press, Ahmadabad, Vol. I in 1956 and Vol. 2 in 1958). I have edited a volume containing the writings and speeches of Mahatma Gandhi relating to Bihar, 1917-1949, which was published by the Bihar Government in 1960. Growing literature on Shri Aurobindo unfolds many thrilling incidents and deals with his religious devotion to the cause of nationalism during a very critical phase. Some works of importance in this respect are *Shri Aurobindo on Himself and the Mother* (1953), *Shri Aurobindo and His Ashram* (1951), *Mahayogi* (August 1953) by Shri R. R. Diwakar, and two books by Shri Sisir Kumar Mitra, entitled (1) *Shri Aurobindo and Indian Freedom* and (2) *The Liberator*.

The history of the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1906-1909) has been critically described in a book on *India's Fight for Freedom*, written by Prof. Haridas Mukherjee and Prof. Uma Mukherjee and published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay of Calcutta in August, 1958. A paper on *Curzon's successors and the Partition of Bengal : A conflict in Conscience*, written by Dr. M. N. Das of Utkal University, has come out recently¹. The writer discusses here the "problem which Curzon's successors had to face in working out the Partition." Shri R. P. Saksena of Rajasthan University has written on *The contribution of the Religious Movements to the Political Renaissance in India*. In 1959 Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya wrote a paper on *An Intercepted letter of Keir Hardie* (M. P. from 1900 till his death in 1915 and the first socialist member to be elected to the British House of Commons) to Bal Gangadhar Tilak² on the 31st March, 1911, with a proposal to hold a session of the Indian National Congress in London "to educate public opinion of Britain on Indian questions".

One phase of Indian nationalism is the struggle abroad of some prominent patriots and their followers. This is being exhaustively studied by Prof. Arun Coomar Bose of Visvabharati University on the basis of original sources available in India and outside. In 1959 Mr. John W. Spellman contributed a paper on *The International Extensions of Political Conspiracy, as Illustrated by the Ghadr Party*.³ Shri K.K. Moitra has

1. *Journal of Indian History*, December, 1961.

2. *Ibid*, April, 1959.

3. *Ibid*.

prepared a thesis on *History of the Terrorist Movement in India from the beginning to 1919 (with special reference to Bengal)* in the Rajasthan University. Shri D. N. Chaturvedi has been engaged in studies relating to the *Origin and Growth of Terrorist Movement in India with special reference to U. P.* some years back appeared a volume on *The Indian Revolt of 1942* by Dr. Amba Prasad of Delhi University.

Dr. Lal Bahadur of Agra College brought out (October, 1954) a volume on the history, activities and achievements of the Muslim League in India by utilising all available sources of information. In this main thesis the author has discussed the political and social conditions of the Mussalmans before the Muslim League, the Simla Deputation and birth of the League, attitude of the League towards the Partition of Bengal, World War I and the League's attitude in relation to it, the Home Rule Movement and Hindu-Muslim concordat, the League's attitude towards the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals, Khilafat and Non-Co-operation Movements, Mr. Jinnah's personality and political views when he joined the League, the Simon Commission, Nehru Report and the Round Table Conference, the Act of 1935 and after and the Congress-League conflict, Congress Ministries and the League's opposition, World War II and its repercussions on the political condition in India, the Pakistan Resolution of Lahore in 1940 and the League's propaganda till 1945, the Simla Conference and the Cabinet Mission, the communal riots and the League's responsibility for these and the partition of India. In the epilogue he has estimated the success and failure of the League by describing it as a "Fascist Body" and by what he calls 'a psycho-analysis' of its propaganda.

ADMINISTRATION AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

The history of the Indian National movement is very much linked up with the administrative and constitutional changes in this country. For exhaustive studies on the successive stages in the development of the British Indian administrative system prior to 1858, which is a significant landmark in this respect, the testimony of the famous British contemporaries like Shore, Munro, Malcolm, Metcalfe, Elphinstone, Rickards, Sleeman, Colebrooke, Grant, Russell, Scott-Waring, Tucker, Gleig and Kaye, has to be utilised with due care and scrutiny along with the evidence supplied by various other published and unpublished documents of the period. Some such works as Henry Cotton's *Memorandum on the Revenue administration of Chittagong* (1880), Rev. W. K. Firminger's edition (1917) of the *Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, Mr. F. D. Ascoli's *Early Revenue History of Bengal and the Fifth Report* (1917), Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham's *Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal*, 1769-1787 (1926), M. E. Monckton Jones' *Warren Hastings in Bengal* (1918), and Dr. A. Aspinall's *Cornwallis in Bengal*, contain useful information regarding the various branches of the administrative system that was built up as a concomitant of the rising British political authority in India. Mr. B. H. Baden-Powell's three volumes on *The Land Systems of British India* (1892) is full of information relating to this aspect of administration, and his another valuable work on *The Indian Village Community* came out in 1896.

Among the Indian scholars, Shri D. N. Banerjee, Professor of Political Science, University of Calcutta, has made notable contributions during several years in this branch of study. His two companion volumes, entitled *Early Land Revenue System in Bengal and Bihar, Volume I, 1765-1772* (published in 1936) and *Early Administrative System of the East India Company in Bengal, Volume I, 1765-1772* (published in 1943), are valuable works containing plenty of illustrative original documents with critical comments on them. Some years back Shri S. C. Ray wrote a book on land revenue administration in India. In his monograph on *The Supreme Court in Conflict*, Dr. I. Banerjee (Professor of History, University of Calcutta, many years back) ably discussed certain aspects of the relation between the Supreme Council and the Supreme

Court. A few years back Dr. B. B. Mishra (Principal, Siwan College, Bihar) wrote a comprehensive and critical account of the judicial administration of the East India Company on the basis of original documents. It was published in several instalments in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* and has been reprinted in the form of a book. In 1954 the Government of Bihar published a volume on *Selections from Unpublished Correspondence of the Judge-Magistrate and the Judge of Patna, 1790-1857*, compiled and edited by me with a critical introduction.

For the study of the administrative system after 1858, in continuation of the preceding period, we have the old works like George Chesney's *Indian Policy* (1870), J. Chailley's *Administrative Problems of British India* (1910), Sir John Strachey's *India: Its Administration and Progress* (1911), the volumes of Sir W. W. Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer*, two volumes of Buckland's *Bengal under the Lieutenant Governors* (1902), Lady Betty Balfour's *The History of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration, 1876-1880* (1899), H. Fawcett's *Indian Finance* (1880), John Strachey and Richard's *The Finances and Public Works of India from 1869 to 1881* (1882), Sir Richard Temple's *India in 1880* (1880), two volumes on *the Speeches of the Marquis of Ripon in India* (1883), W. S. Blunt's *India Under Ripon* (1909), two volumes of L. Wolf's *Life of the First Marquess of Ripon* (1921), T. Raleigh's *Lord Curzon in India*, (1906), Lovat Fraser's *India under Curzon and After* (1911), Lord Curzon's *A Selection from his speeches as Viceroy* (1906), Lord Ronaldshay's *Life of Lord Curzon*, Vol. II (1928), O'Malley's *The Indian Civil Service, 1601-1930* (1931), McNeile's *Report on the Village Watch on the Lower Provinces of Bengal, and the Moral and Material Progress Reports brought out year to year from 1881-82 to 1915-16*.

Of the Indian writers, Dr. J. Mathai has contributed a learned work on *Village Government in British India* (first published in 1915). Prof. Kale's book on Indian Administration is also a useful publication. Dr. Dharmapal wrote some years back a book on the Administration of Lord Lawrence. Recently the Oxford University Press has brought out a book by Dr. Gopal on the *Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon 1880-1884*, which was a very important period in the history of modern India for its liberal outlook and varied reforms. It is based on various printed books, Parliamentary papers and reports and specially on some valuable manuscript sources found in England viz., the *Ripon Papers*, the *Ilbert Papers*, and *Commonwealth Relations Office Papers*. Besides dealing with the problem of Indian defence in relation to Russia, Central Asia and Afghanistan, and the relations with Burma,

the author has discussed critically some significant administrative matters, such as the *Factory Act*, *Repeal of the Vernacular Press Act*, *the Problem of the Arms Act*, *Local Self-Government*, *the Ilbert Bill*, *Civil Service*, *Education*, *Famine and Public Works*, *Agriculture and Land Revenue* and *Finance*. In conclusion the author has given a critical estimate of what he calls a "momentous viceroyalty".

In his book on *Central Administration of the East India Company* Dr. B. B. Mishra has presented a critical study of this subject. An important original work on *Justice and Police in Bengal 1765-1793*, written by Dr. (Miss) N. Majumdar of Lady Brabourne College, Calcutta, was published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay in 1960. Dr. N. K. Sinha justly observes in his Foreword to this work that it "fills an important gap in our knowledge of the history of Bengal. It helps us to understand how the system of Mughal justice and police broke down. The history of some aspects of administration during the period from 1765 to 1793 is based on a thorough study of available records. It also throws new light on the evolution of British sovereignty in Bengal. Dr. (Miss) Majumdar emphasises the slow operation of British imperium". A Research Assistant of mine, Dr. Aditya Prasad Jha of Bihar State Central Archives, has obtained Ph. D Degree of the Patna University on the merit of a thesis on *Police and Criminal Administration of Bengal and Bihar, 1793-1835*. This work forms a laudable supplement to the work of Dr. (Miss) N. Majumdar for the immediately preceding period. A few months back the Asia Publishing House published a learned work of Dr. Hira Lal Singh, Professor, Gorakhpur University, on *Problems and Policies of the British in India, 1885-1898*. It is based on a vast body of materials, published as well as unpublished.

In 1937 Shri L. P. Dutt, then Keeper of Records of the Bengal Government, wrote a paper on *Administration of Justice in Bengal in the last decade of the 18th century* by studying some relevant records under his custody¹. In 1939 we had a paper on the *Naib Nazims of Dacca during the Company's administration* by Shri S. C. Banerjee, Keeper of Records of the Government of Bengal, and another paper on the *Committee of Circuit at Krishnanagar* by Dr. A. P. Das Gupta of Calcutta University.² Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad reviewed in a paper some *Early post-Mutiny schemes of Decentralization*. Shri Nirmal Chandra Sinha wrote on *First Public Service Examinations, 1845-52*,³ and Shri Ramesh

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1987.

2. Ibid, 1989.

3. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1989.

Chandra Banerjee contributed a paper on *the Sepoy Army of the East India Company in the 18th Century*.¹ Next Year² Dr. B. S. Baliga, then Keeper of Records of the Madras Government, wrote a paper on the *Amani System of Land Revenue Administration in Madras* and Prof. D. N. Banerjee discussed in another paper the question of the *Location of the Sudder Nizamut Adalat in Bengal*. Then³ followed a paper regarding the *Criminal Jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court* (established in India by the Royal Charter of 24th May, 1726) by Prof. D. N. Banerjee and another paper on the *Qanungo in the North Western Provinces (1801-1833)* by Dr. R. N. Nagar of Lucknow University. In 1943⁴ Dr. B. S. Baliga wrote on *Prison Administration in Madras, 1802-1840*, and Shri M. C. Subramaniam, Special Assistant, Madras Record Office, traced in a paper the *Attempts to introduce Judicial Reforms in Madras, 1763-1800*. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Torick Ameer Ali of Calcutta High Court contributed a paper on *Bolaqui Das' Account with the East India Company and the trial of Nuncumar (Nanda Kumar)* and Prof. D. N. Banerjee discussed (he wrote about it in the preceding year too) for the second time the question of Warren Hastings' *Supposed resignation of the office of the Governor-General of Bengal*. In 1944⁵ came out some interesting papers on certain topics of administration, viz. *Village Settlement of Land Revenue in Madras, 1807-1822* by Dr. B. S. Baliga, *Warren Hastings and the Suppression of Dacoity in Bengal* by Prof. D. N. Banerjee, *The Office of the Qanungo in Bihar* by Shri K. P. Mitra, then Principal, Monghyr College, *Some facts Regarding Customs Administration in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, 1810-1825*, by Mr. Saiyid Nurul Hasan, then Lecturer, Lucknow University, *Some curious cases of the Supreme Court in the quinquennial period of its Existence at Fort William* by Mr. J. S. Rawat of B. R. College, Agra, and *Some Unpublished Documents relating to Gang-Robbery and Thuggee in the Company's Lower Provinces in Bengal during the early nineteenth century* by Dr. H. R. Ghosal of Muzaffarpur. Our eminent historian, Dr. S. N. Sen, discussed the real cause of Tod's resignation from the East Indian Company's service on the basis of contemporary evidence. In the next year Professor C. S. Srinivasachari contributed a paper on *The Sovereign Status of the Nawabs of the Carnatic Discussed in the Recorder's Court and the Supreme Court at Madras in the years 1798-1891*. Prof. D. N. Banerjee wrote another note on *Suppression of Dacoity in*

1. Ibid.

2. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1940.

3. Ibid, 1942.

4. Ibid, 1948.

5. Ibid, 1944.

Bengal by Warren Hastings, Mr. J. S. Rawat discussed the topic of *The Herrinbarah and the Supreme Court of Fort William, 1777*, Prof. S. N. Banhatti studied *Colebrooke's Observations about the State of Affairs in the Kingdom of the Bhonslas of Nagpur, April, 1799*, and Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao of Mysore contributed a paper on *East India Company and its Public Servant*. In the next year¹ the subject of the *Abolition of the Titular Dignity of the Nawab of the Carnatic* was studied by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, Prof. D. N. Banerjee wrote on *the Early Military Establishment of the East India in Bengal*, Shri Nani Gopal Chaudhury, then at Hugli, reviewed some *Excerpts from unpublished Records Relating to the Trial of Riza Khan*, Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee wrote on *A Forgotten Controversy of the Salt tax* and Shri R. C. Mitra dealt with *Some Aspects of Judicial Administration for Indians in Chandernagore in 1791-93*.² In 1959 Shri K. Rajayan got M. Litt. Degree of the Madras University on the merit of his thesis, entitled *Edward Lord Clive in Madras (Governor, 1798-1803)*. In 1961 the Madras University awarded M. Litt. Degree to Shri Jayadev Rajkumar for his thesis on *The Governorship of Lord Pigot*. In the volumes prepared in the course of the last few years on the regimes of some of the Governors-General, there are interesting accounts about administrative matters. Such volumes (not yet published) are *India under Lord Amherst* by Dr. Hfra Lal Gupta of Saugar University, *Indian Administration under Hardinge* by Mr. Virendra Kumar, *Administration of India under Lord Mayo* by Dr. K. S. Srivastava of B. R. College, Agra, *Paramountcy under Lord Dalhousie* by Dr. Shri Nandan Prasad, Historical Section, Defence Ministry, Government of India, *India Under Lord Elgin I* by Kumari Brij Saigal, M. A., Ph. D. (Lucknow), a thesis on *The Administration of Lord Lansdowne (1884-1894)*, on the merit of which Smt. Madhvi secured Ph. D. Degree of Lucknow University in 1959, *Administration of Sir Charles Metcalfe* (also a Ph. D. thesis of the Lucknow University) by Dr. Dayal Dass, and *The Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon* by Smt. Aloka Guha (Calcutta University). Several other scholars are working on Lord Curzon, viz. *The Foreign Policy of Lord Curzon in India* by Shri Nirmal Chandra Datta (Calcutta University), *The Internal Administration of Lord Curzon* by H.D.C. D'Souza (Bombay University), *Lord Curzon* by Miss L. R. Rastogi (Bombay University), and *The Administration of Lord Curzon* by Shri V. C. Bhutani (Delhi University).

1. Ibid. 1945.

2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress. 1946.

Studying a file of 1868 among the old district records of Lucknow, Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee brought to light in 1948 some details illustrating a line of policy proposed by the revenue authorities of Oudh regarding the disposal of villages "to which no one could establish an unquestionable proprietary right". That year Shri Dasarath Sharma, a Senior Technical Assistant in the National Archives of India, indicated the general character and importance of the *Proceedings of the Survey Department, 1867-1873*.¹ Next year Shri Tapan Kumar Ray Chaudhury of Calcutta revealed an *Old Custom of Estate Division in Bihar from an interesting record of the Sadar Diwani Adalat*, found in the possession of the Calcutta High Court.² Dr. H. R. Ghosal threw new light on *The famine of 1783-1784 in Bihar* chiefly on the basis of some unpublished English documents discovered by him in the record room of the Muzaffarpur Collectorate.³ Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee discussed the question of *Oudh Loans in the time of Lord Hastings* and Shri Tapan Kumar Ray Chaudhuri wrote on *Rent-Evasion in Bengal in the Seventeen Nineties*.⁴ In 1950 we got some interesting papers⁵ on certain administrative matters, such as *Notes on Communication in the Early Nineteenth Century*, by Shri Arun Kumar Das Gupta, Lecturer in History in the Central Calcutta College, *Oudh and the Question of Salt Tax in 1897* by Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee, *The Recorder's Court at Madras (1789-1801) and Some of its Findings* by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari and *Visual Telegraph, Calcutta to Chumar, 1816-1828*, by Colonel R. H. Phillimore (late Royal Engineers and Survey of India). Dr. H. R. Ghosal wrote a paper tracing in it briefly the history of the *Resumption of Rent-Free tenures in British India by the Company's Government between 1819-1830 with special reference to the province of Bihar*⁶ and Dr. K. N. V. Sastri made a critical review of the *Administration of the Mysore State from 1926 to 1941*. Some years back I wrote a paper on the *Genesis of the Diwani grant of 1765* and Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee reviewed the question of *Second Oudh loan in the time of Lord Hastings*.⁷ In 1953 Shri Sushil Chandra De of Orissa State Archives wrote a paper on *Salt Monopoly in Orissa and Its Effects During Early British Rule* on the authority of some old Orissa records. He observed in conclusion that "the introduction of salt monopoly in Orissa was highly detrimental to the

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1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1948.
 2. Ibid, 1949.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1949.
 5. Proceeding, Indian Historical Records Commission 1950.
 6. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1950.
 7. Ibid, 1952.

interests of the people of Orissa, especially of poorer classes".¹ Next year Dr. H. R. Ghosal presented *A Study of the Land Revenue Records of Tirhut (1783-1838)*, discovered by him in the record room of the Muzaffarpur Collectorate. A study of these records "reveals", he rightly observes, "very many important and interesting details in connection with the land revenue history, not only of Tirhut but of Bihar and Bengal as a whole". A few other papers on the administrative aspect written that year were: *The East India Company's Law Courts in the opening years of the 19th Century* by Dr. Nandalal Chatterjee, *Some Records on the early British policy towards the Tributary Mahals in Orissa* by Prof. P. Mukherjee and *The Social and Political bearing of Criminal Trials in French India in the 18th Century* by Dr. R. C. Mitra.² In 1955 Shri L. P. Mathur, Assistant Archivist, National Archives, wrote a paper on *Land Revenue Settlement in North-West Provinces, 1801-1880*. He discussed in it different aspects of the problem while tracing the history of land revenue settlement policy, and has shown how the Government finally abandoned the idea of introducing permanent settlement in the North-West Provinces³. Dr. Qeyamuddin Ahmad, Research Fellow, K. P. Jayaswal Institute, Patna, discussed in a paper the influence of *Local Public Opinion in the appointment of Qanungoes in paragana Sasaram, Bihar, during the reign of Muhammad Shah*. Shri Sailen Ghose, Assistant Archivist, National Archives of India, prepared *Some Stray Notes of Calcutta Police in 1791*. Prof. Shaikh Abdur Rashid of Muslim University, Aligarh, brought to light *Contemporary Account of Judicial Administration during the time of Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh (1847-1868)*. Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya of University Grants Commission wrote an article on *Lord Curzon's Impressions of Indian Administration 1898-1901*, entirely on the authority of the private letters written by Lord Curzon to Lord George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India from 1895 to 1903, and Shri Nani Gopal Chaudhuri contributed a paper on *Sir George Barlow's Interference in the Internal Affairs of Hyderabad*.⁴

Dr. Dharma Bhanu's thesis on *History and Administration of the North-Western Provinces, 1801-1858*, is a valuable original contribution. It describes the administrative organisation of this area at the various stages from 1801. Some theses or dissertations relating to the different aspects

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1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1958.
 2. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1954.
 3. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1955.
 4. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1955-56.

of administration have been recently completed and some are under preparation. So far as my information goes these are as follows; *British Administration in Assam (1825-45) with special reference to the Hill Tribes in the Frontier* by Dr. H. K. Barpurjari (Assam), *Some aspects of the Internal Administration of Lord William Bentinck* by Prof. O. P. Bhatnagar (Allahabad), *Development of Bombay, (1797-1827)* by Shrimati P. S. Bhedwar (Bombay), *Madras District Administration under the East India Company* by Mr. K. J. Jacob (Madras), *Early Land Revenue Settlements in the Madras Presidency, 1750-1800* by Shri Narsimha Rao (Madras), *Local Administration in Madras* (published by Shri V. Venkat Rao; Madras), *Land Revenue Administration in the Madras State, 1765-1878*, by Shri S. Krishnamurthy (Madras), *A study in Some Aspects of Administration of the Nagpur State, 1818-1854*, by Prof. Rammohan Sinha (approved for Ph. D. Degree of Nagpur University), *Indian Railways (1921-1951)* by Dr. Amba Prasad (Delhi), *Administration of Lord Northbrook* by Shri Virendra Pal Singh (Delhi), *Military History of the East India Company before the Mutiny of 1857* by Shri Amiya Sen (Calcutta), *The Excise Policy of the Government of India, 1858-1900* by Shri S. C. Bhatnagar (Lucknow), *Lord Canning's Administration (civil side only)* by Shri Bhupen Qanungo (Banaras), *Army of the East India Company in the Presidency of Bengal, 1756-1824*, by Shri J. P. Gupta (Agra), *Land Revenue Administration of the North-Western Province, 1801-1833*, by Dr. R. N. Nagar (Lucknow University), *Administration of the Punjab, 1849-1947*, by Shri Guarocharan Singh (Punjab), *Development of Famine Policy, 1858-1918*, by Shri Hari Shankar Srivastava (Agra), *Legal History of British India* by Shri M. P. Jain (Delhi), *Civil Services in India, 1853-1934*, by Shri B. S. Khanna (Punjab), *Public Administration in the Punjab* by Shri Krishna Narain Malik (Delhi), *Administration of Lord Elgin II* by Shri Madan Lal Gupta (Agra), *Local Self-Government in India, 1858-1901*, by Shri H. N. Mathur (Lucknow), *Administration of Lord Hastings* by Shri Motilal Jain (Agra), *The Administrative System of the East India Company in Bengal, 1774-1797*, by Shri Niranjan Dhar (Calcutta), *Administration of Sir George Barlow in India, 1805-1807*, by Shri Nirote Chandra Dhole (Lucknow), *The Internal Administration of Lord Canning* by Shri R. C. Pathak (Allahabad). *Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay*, by Shrimati S. N. Pradhan (Bombay), *Military History of India* by Shri Pran Nath Khera (Punjab), *Land System in Madhya Bharat* by Shri Prem Prakash (Delhi), *Judicial Administration in North-Western Provinces, 1773-1857*, by Ramkumari Shastri (Lucknow), *History of the Judicial Administration in the East India Company's territories in Madras, 1640-1861*, by

Shri K. A. Ramanathan (Madras), *Development of the Judicial System in India, 1838-1858*, by Shri Ramesh Chandra (Lucknow), *Social Welfare Administration in Madras State* by P. Sarojini Devi (Madras), *Beginnings of Post, Telegraphs and Telephone Communications in the Andhra Country* by Shri M. Somashekhara Sharma (Madras), *The Mayor's Court at Bombay, 1726-1800*, by Shri R. S. Srivastava (Gujrat), *Agrarian Relations in U.P. in the 19th Century* by Shri Suleka Chandra Gupta (Delhi), *Jail Administration in Madras with special reference to women and children* by G. Sundari (Madras), *Development of Social Legislation in India* by Usha Roy (Allahabad), *A Short History of the Madras Secretariat* by S. Vijayalakshmi (Madras), *Unions and Associations of Public Servants with special reference to Madras* by N. R. Visalakshi (Madras), *Administration of Lord Curzon* by Shri M. P. Yadev (Agra), *Local Self-Government in India with particular reference to Gujrat* by Shri S. Satyanarayan Sampatrao (Gujrat), *Development of the Bombay Municipal Corporation* by Shrimati N. J. Bharucha (Secretariat Record Office, Bombay), *Historical Record of the Early Surveys of India* by Colonel R. H. Phillimore (Survey of India), *Police and Judicial System in Bengal* by Shri Jyotsna Kumar Mitra (West Bengal Record Office), *Permanent Settlement in Bengal ; especially on the point of imposition of tax on agricultural income* by Shri Mihir Kumar Sen (West Bengal Record Office), *Rise and Development of Bombay with special reference to Local Self-Government, Legislation and Administration from 1865-1950* by Shri D. R. Murudeshwar (Secretariat Record Office, Bombay), *Law and Justice in British India* by Shri Phatik Chandra Raychaudhuri (West Bengal Record Office), *History of Indian Railway Policy* by Shri A. Cheriyan (Madras), *Social Legislation in the Punjab* by Shri Iqbal Nath Chaudhuri (Panjab), *Military History of India, 1859-1918*, by Dr. Dharam Pal (Punjab), *History of the Growth and Development of the Posts and Telegraphs services under the East India Company* (a Ph. D. thesis of the Punjab University) by Dr. B. L. Grover, *Agrarian Conditions in Bengal and Bihar on the eve of the Permanent Settlement* by Shri Ranjit Guha (Calcutta), *History of the Indian Armed Forces between the two World Wars, 1918-1939*, by Shri Prem Nath Khara (Punjab), *History of Social Legislation in India in the 19th Century* by Shri Gopal Malaviya (Allahabad), *Revenue Administration of Orissa, 1803-1860*, by Usha Ray (Utkal), *History and Administration of the Banaras Province, 1775-1870*, by Shri Kashi Prasad Srivastava (Allahabad), *Administrative History of Bengal, 1813-1853*, by Shri Anadi Chandra Banerjee (West Bengal Record Office), *The Administration of Lord William Bentinck, 1828-1835*, by Dr. Dharmabhanu (S. D. College, Muzaffarnagar), *Baroda Administration*.

under Raja Sir T. Madhav Rao, 1775-1883; by Shri V. G. Joshi (Secretariat Record Office, Bombay), *History of the Post Office in India* by Shri B. L. Grover (Punjab), *India and the Public International Unions* by Shri A. R. Rao (Delhi University), *Revenue Administration of the East India Company in the North-Western Provinces, 1835-1858*, by Shri Kripa Dayal Dagg (Lucknow), *The Internal Administration of Lord Dalhousie* by Shri Girija Shankar Tripathi (Banaras), a critical study of the *Thugs and their activities* by Dr. Hira Lal Gupta, and *Suppression of the Thugs in Bihar* by Dr. K. K. Datta, *Administrative and Judicial History of Bengal from 1793 to 1835* by Shri Subhashsinchan Roy (Calcutta University), *Indian Administration (1872-1897)* by Shri Jitendra K. Jain (Delhi University), *The Government and Administration under Lord Elgin* by Shri P. L. Malhotra (Delhi University), *Earl of Dufferin—his Indian Administration* by Sowmini Raman (Delhi University), *The Administration of Lord Lansdowne* by Shri Rajesh Kumar Peruverjy (Delhi University), *The Growth of Judicial Administration in Malabar under the British Rule 1792-1861* (Bombay University) by Shri T. K. Ravindran, *Genesis of Legislative Machinery in India 1772-1806* (Bombay University) by Kumari R. Sulochana, *Administrative and Judicial History of Bengal, 1793-1835* by Shri S. Ray (Calcutta University), *Some Aspects of the Indian Administration in the last quarter of the Nineteenth century* by Shri Dharam Dutt (Delhi University), *Changes in the Administrative System of the Punjab, 1849-1875* by Shri Y. B. Mathur (Delhi University), *Land Revenue Policy in the North-West Provinces, 1833-1853* by Mohammad Imtiaz Husain (Delhi University), *Central Administration of India, 1835-1848* by Shri Mohan Lal (Delhi University), *Central Administration in India, 1856-72* by Smt. S. Seigal, *Administrative Policies of the Government of Madras 1800-1835* by Shri S. N. Balasundaram (Madras University), *The Internal Administration of Lord Lytton* by Shri V. C. P. Chaudhury (Patna University), *Organisation of the Army from the Mutiny to the Great War* by Shri K. M. L. Saxena (Punjab University), *The Administration of Jodhpur State from 1800 to 1947* by Smt. N. K. Acharya (Rajasthan University), *Udaipur and the East India Company 1877-1857* by Shri B. D. Sharma (Rajasthan University), *Udaipur and the British 1857-1947* by Shri D. L. Paliwal (Rajasthan University), *The Administration of Rajasthan from 1858-1949* by Shri K. V. Viswanathaiah (Rajasthan University), *Internal Administration of Lord Dalhousie* by Shri G. S. Tripathi (Saugar University), *History and Administration of Saugar and Narbada Territories 1818-1861*, by Shri N. K. Vaidya (Saugar University) and

British Administration of Orissa, 1850-1900, by Shri A. K. Das (Utkal University).

Studies on the following topics were undertaken in the Agra University :—*Administration of Lord Hastings, 1813-23* by Shri M. C. Jain, *Administration of India under Lord Minto, 1905-1901*, by Shri B. D. Saxena, *Administration of Justice in the N.W.P., 1858-1901* by Shri P.L. Saxena, *John Malcolm in Madhya Bharat* by Shri B. G. Sharma, *The Administration of N.W.P. under James Thomason, 1843-53* by Shri K.N. Srivastava, *East India Company's Regulations regarding Robbery and Perjury* by Dr. R. C. Mitra of Chandernagore, *Administration of Lord Auckland, 1836-42* by Shri U. S. Srivastava, *Indian Administration of Lord Dufferin, 1884-88* by Smt. V. Bhatnagar, *Consolidation of Land Holdings* by Shri O. P. Gupta and *A Study of Revenue History of Kanpur, 1801-1921* by Shri R. K. Gupta, and *Some Features of Famine Administration in Bihar in 1873* by Shri V. C. P. Chaudhury, Research Fellow, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute.

In 1960, Dr. H. R. Ghosal, Head of the Department of History, Bihar University, discussed the problem of effecting Permanent Settlement in Tirhut¹. Shri Jagdish Raj of the National Archives, New Delhi, has studied the views of Sir John Lawrence about the Oudh cultivators². Reference may be made to Dr. K. K. Basu's interesting paper on *Early British Administration in Bhagalpur*³. Dr. N. K. Sinha has revealed the evidence of an old Qanungo of Hugli, named Kriparam Sinha from an India Office manuscript paper, dated 16th June, 1776, which "gives us a very clear picture of some aspects of the Zamindari system of Bengal from Murshid Quli to Alivardi"⁴. Shri Aditya Prasad Jha of Patna has discussed in a paper the question of the *Tenants' Rights in Bengal and Bihar after the Permanent Settlement (1793-1819)*.

In 1961 Dr. Barun De (Calcutta) critically examined in a paper the *Arguments of the East-India Company in favour of a Decentralised Form of Administration in India at the time of the Passage of Pitt's India Act, June-July, 1784*. Reference may be made to the papers on *An Interesting Trial of Rama Kamati in Bombay in 1720* by Shri V. S. Kamat (Bombay), *A Note on the Kotwali of Poona in the last quarter of the eighteenth century* by Shri P. L. Saswadkar (Poona), *The Board of Commissioners in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces under the East India Company* by Dr. R. N. Nagar

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1960.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, 1961.
4. Ibid.

of Lucknow University, *The Mutiny of the 47th Bengal Native Infantry Regiment* (1824) by Shrimati Amiya Barat (Calcutta), *Awadh's Loans to the English East India Company* by Shri K. C. Chaturvedi (Agra) and *Postal Systems in India* by Dr. B. L. Grover, *Lord Carmichael in Bengal* by Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya¹. *Indo-British Racial Antipathy during the Morley-Minto Era* by Dr. M. N. Das², *Some unpublished Bhagalpur Records* by Dr. K. K. Datta³, *The Indian Currency Problem, 1885-1900*, by Dr. Hira Lal Singh⁴, *Foundations of Indian Financial Policy*⁵, *A plan for the abolition of the Supreme Council 1859-1861* by Dr. Hira Lal Singh⁶, and *The European Officers of the Bengal Native Infantry* by Dr. (Miss) Amiya Barat⁷.

Detailed studies on Indian Administration are now being conducted in the recently started Institutes of Public Administration at Delhi and Patna.

As regards the Constitutional aspect, some Indian authors have produced books of general nature, which are useful for the average readers. We have, besides these, some original studies, for example, Sir P. C. Sivaswami Ayer's *Indian Constitutional Problems*, Sardar K. M. Panikkar's *Introduction to the Study of the Relations of Indian States with the Government of India* (1927) and *The Evolution of British Policy towards Indian States* (Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1929), Shri Gurumukh Nihal Singh's *Landmarks in India's Constitutional and National Development* and Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad's *Origins of Provincial Autonomy*, critical editions of Indian Constitutional Documents and several well written papers. In 1915 came out Shri Panchananda Mukherji's work on *Indian Constitutional Documents*, edited with an introduction. Some years back (1949) Messrs. A. Mukherjee and Co. of Calcutta published three volumes of Dr. A. C. Banerjee's *Indian Constitutional Documents* till 1939. In another volume, entitled *The Making of the Indian Constitution*, by the same author, the documents for the period 1939-1947 have been edited. Two other similar works of the same author are on the *Constituent Assembly of India* and on the *Cabinet Mission*. All these works have been critically edited with introductions and are very helpful for students of the subject. Prof. Tripurari Chakravarty of the Calcutta University has contributed some learned articles covering the

1. Bengal : Past and Present, July-December, 1960.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, January-June, 1961.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid, July-December, 1961
7. Ibid.

period till 1947 in different issues of the Calcutta Review. These are :—(1) *Parliamentary Privilege: Its application to Indian Legislatures*, (2) *The Problem of India's Constitutional Status*, (3) *The Indian Constitution (of 1935) Flexible or Rigid?*, (4) *New Light on the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909*, (5) *India's Demand for a Constituent Assembly*, (6) *A Nation in Making: The Unity of India*, (7) *The Reserve Powers of the Governor and Responsible Government in Bengal*, (8) *Double Government of Bengal*, (9) *The Calcutta Review and the Problem of Indian Constitutional Reform in the Nineteenth Century*, (10) *The Evolution of Political Franchise in British India*, (11) *Lessons from the Constituent Assemblies of the Dominions*. Two volumes on *Speeches and Documents on the Indian Constitution from 1921 to 1947* by Sir Maurice Gwyer and Dr. A. Appadorai were published by the Oxford University Press in 1957. In the Introduction of about seventeen pages the learned authors have given a lucid summary of the important political developments during this period.

We have also good many well written and critical articles on Indian Constitutional problems from the pen of Prof. D. N. Banerjee of Calcutta University, most of which have been published in the *Modern Review*. Some of these are :—*The Rajagopalachari Formula and the Congress (1944)*, *The Negotiations and After (1944-1945)*, *The Sapru Committee and leading Principles of a New Constitution for India (1946)*, *The Swiss System of Government and its Applicability to India (1946)*, *A Note on Fundamental Rights and Constitutional Safeguards (1947)*.

A book of mine on *India's March to Freedom*, dealing with the period from 1939 to 1947, was published by Orient Longmans Ltd. in 1949.

Some papers on this aspect have been contributed by Indian scholars in the course of the last few years. In 1940 an article on the *Board of Control* was written by Dr. Prakash Chandra.¹ In 1953 Dr. S. Gopal threw fresh light on the *Relations between the Governor-General, the Cabinet and the Court of Directors during Lord Ellenborough's tenure of Office* by studying some original records in the British Museum². In his book on *The Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon* Dr. S. Gopal has tried to present a critical account of these highly stirring years in the history of India, and his work on the *Viceroyalty of Lord Irwin* is an important contribution based on original papers. Some theses or dissertations completed or under preparation are,—*Madras Legislature*,

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1940.
2. Ibid.

1861-1903, by Shri K. C. Markandan, *States and Civil Liberty in India*, 1878-1947, by Shri M. Sreenivasan (Aligarh), *Democracy in Practice in India* by Shri Umar Wadia Mahesh Batubhai (Gujrat), *Development of the Doctrine of Paramountcy* by Shri Antia Jamshed Phiroz (Gujrat), *Growth of Indian Judiciary* by Shri Akshoy Kumar Ghosal (West Bengal Record Office), *Presidentship of Indian Legislative Assembly* by Ramesh Narain Mathur (Delhi), *Centralised Legislation in the Government of India*, 1853-1861, by Shri S. Venkata Desikachar (a Ph. D thesis of the Delhi University), *Growth and Development of Governor-General's Executive Council 1958-1919*, by Shri R. B. S. Jain (Agra), *The Imperial Legislative Council of India*, 1861-1901 by Dr. Paramatma Saran (Agra University Ph. D thesis), *The Secretary of State for India—A Historical Survey* by Shri E. Suryanarayan Murty (Andhra University thesis), *Presidentship of the Indian Legislative Assembly* by Shri R. N. Mathur (Delhi University), *The Origin and Development of the Second Chamber in India* by Shri Radha Gobinda Kar (Calcutta University).

Relations between the Indian States and the British Government form a subject of immense importance in the history of modern India. How Lord Hastings sought to establish British paramountcy over them has been well narrated by Dr M. S. Metha in his work on *Lord Hastings and the Indian States*. In 1910 came out a volume on the *Native States of India* by Mr. Lee Warner, who had long experience of Indian affairs. The subject was critically studied after some years by Shri K. M. Panikkar in his two learned works, entitled *Introduction to the Study of the Relations of Indian States with the Government of India* (1927) and *Evolution of British Policy towards Indian States 1774-1858* (Calcutta University Readership Lectures 1929). The Indian States Committee, usually known as the Butler Committee from the name of its Chairman, Sir Harcourt Butler, was appointed in December, 1927, to enquire into the relationship between the Government of India and the Indian States and "to make any recommendations that the Committee may consider desirable or necessary for their most satisfactory adjustment." The Report of this Committee is an important document. A contribution on this subject has been made by Shri G. N. Singh in his book on *Indian States and British India*. Dr. Raghubir Sinha has discussed the position of the Indian States in the proposed Federation according to the Act of 1935 in a volume entitled *The Indian States and Federation*.

The position and status of the Indian States have been entirely transformed in free India since 1947 through the

processes of merger and integration. In 1949 I wrote something about it in my book on "*India's March to Freedom*." Shri V. P. Menon has made a valuable contribution in his volume on *The Integration of the Indian States* published in March, 1956. *End of an Era* by Shri K. M. Munshi, who had a leading role in Hyderabad affairs, is another important work containing detailed information about its post-1947 relations with the Government of India.

Some works on this subject under preparation during the last few years are *Baroda's Political Relations with Central Government, 1875-1920* by Shri V. K. Chavada (M. S. University of Baroda), *Lord Wellesley and the Indian States* by Dr. Dharma Bhanu, *Relations of Scindia Dynasty with the British Power in India* by Shri H. K. Kodesia (Agra University), *Relations between the East India Company and Bharatpur* by Shri G. S. Vashishtha (Agra University), *The Central Indian States and the British Crown, 1858-1905*, by Shri C. B. Upadhyaya (Banaras Hindu University), *The Doctrine of Lapse and Lord Dalhousie* by Shri K. K. Sen Gupta (Calcutta University), *Government and the Indian States, 1880-1905*, by Smt. J. Kaur (Delhi University), *The Relations between Travancore and the British East India Company and the British Crown, 1600-1900* by Mr. P. G. Edwin (Kerala University), *British Relations with the Punjab Hill States 1803-1949* by Shri S. S. Lal (Punjab University), *British Relations with Indore, 1802-1858* by Shri J. P. Saksena (Saugar University), *British Relations with the states of Bundelkhand and Bagelkhand, 1836-1842*, by Shri K. Jha (Saugar University), *British Relations with Gwalior, 1802-1161*, by Sri G. Sharma (Saugar University). *Travancore and the Carnatic in the XVIII century* by Shri A. P. Ibrahim Kunju (Trivandrum), *Two Records Relating to the Administration of Travancore in the 19th century* by Shri P. David Thomas (Trivandrum). *Some letters relating to the Correspondence between Lt. Osborne and Dewan Dinbandh Bahadur of Rewa* by Prof. Abinash Chandra Srivastava (Rewa), *Extract from a letter of Pratap Singh (of Kashmir) to Lord Lansdowne* by Dr. Dilip Kumar Ghose, *The Background of Diplomatic Contact between the Gaiikwar and the East India Company* by Shri Sankar Kumar Datta of Calcutta, *Bhopal State's Political Relations with East India Company (1818-1825)* by Shri Iqbal Kaul of Bhopal, *A Study in British Paramountcy—Baroda, 1874—75* by Shrimati M. P. Kamerkar (Bombay). Dr. R. P. Shastri has obtained a Ph. D Degree of the Rajasthan University for his thesis on *Zalim Singh of Kotah*. Four other theses prepared under the auspices of the same University are *Rajasthan between the two World Wars* by Shri P. S. Choudhry, *Growth of Administration in Bikaner*,

1818—1939 by Shri B. P. Gupta, *Inter-State Relations in Rajasthan*. 1669—1818 and *Bharatpur's Struggle for Independence* by Shri V. P. Sehgal, *The Rajput States and the East India Co., from the close of the 18th century to 1820* by Shri Sukumar Bhattacharya (Calcutta University), *British Government and the Indian States*, 1880—1905, by Shri Joginder Kaur (Delhi University), *British Relations with the Princely States of Orissa (1803—1887)* by Bejoy Chandra Bhanja Deo (Delhi University), *The Relations of the House of Bikaner with the Central Powers from 1465—1949* by Shri Karam Singh (Bombay University). Dr. Hira Lal Gupta has recently contributed two interesting papers on (a) *Dungarpur Succession in 1846*¹ and (b) *Kotah Succession Affairs, 1820—1838*².

1, *Journal of Indian History*, April, 1959.

2. *Ibid*, December, 1959.

ECONOMIC CONDITION

Over and above all is the supremely important task of preparing a true history of the people of India since her contact with the West. Their economic condition, social life, education, literature and culture must be studied in details with due emphasis on original sources. Genius, judgement and technique of master-artists must be applied to the outcome of investigations conducted on scientific lines by zealous and well-trained scholars to draw out an accurate picture of the varied aspects of life of the teeming millions of India during the eventful periods of modern history. We must try, by the application of proper methods of historical research, to ascertain, as perfectly as possible, the material conditions and economic resources of the common man, the tillers of the soil, the workers in the looms and the ordinary day-labourers, and also the nature and extent of our country's mercantile and financial transactions, so that knowledge of the past can be fruitfully utilised for the formation of sound plans of economic reconstruction.

The importance of the study of modern India's economic history was well realised by the great pioneer writer, the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, who opened our eyes to it through his highly valuable works, entitled *India under Early British Rule, India in the Victorian Age, Famines and Land Assessments in India*. Subsequently some others devoted themselves to the study of this aspect, and the few important works that have come out are *Commercial Relations between India and England and Industrial Decline of India* by Dr. Balkrishna, *Economic Annals of Bengal* (1927) by Dr. J. C. Sinha, three volumes of Dr. P. N. Banerjea, viz. *Indian Finance in the days of the East India Company* (1928), *A History of Indian Taxation* (1930), *Fiscal Policy in India* (1922), Major B. D. Basu's *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries* (1935), *Trade, Tariffs and Transport* (1923) by Prof. K. T. Shah, *Indigenous Banking in India* (1922) by Shri L. C. Jain, *Early European Bankiny in India* (1927) by Dr. H. Sinha, *Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah : Social and Economic* (1935) by Dr. K. K. Datta, *Indo-British Economy, Hundred Years Ago* by Dr. N. C. Sinha, *Industrial Evolution of India in Modern Times* (1938) by Shri D. R. Gadgil, *Foreign Trade of India since 1870* by Dr. P. Ray, *Growth of Trade and Industry in Modern India* by Vakil, Bose and Deolalkar.

Social Background of Indian Nationalism by Dr. A. R. Desai (1948), and *The Evolution of Indian Industries* by Shri R. Chaudhuri. In 1950 the Patna University published a very important work on economic history, entitled *Economic Transition in the Bengal Presidency (1793-1833)* by Dr. H. R. Ghosal of L. S. College of Muzaffarpur. This volume is based on a comprehensive study of all kinds of original documents and has deservedly earned high appreciation of scholars. "The period from 1793 to 1833", writes the author significantly, "formed a momentous epoch in the history of India. It was marked by changes of far-reaching consequence which vitally affected the social and political conditions of the Indian people. In the midst of these mighty changes the eighteenth century saw its burial and the nineteenth century its birth. In other words, the era was the meeting-ground of two different sets of historical forces, a link between the old and the new". The author has carefully and critically examined all these changes, which caused a veritable economic revolution in our country. In 1954 Dr. Sukumar Bhattacharya (University Grants Commission) brought out a volume on *The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal from 1704 to 1740*. He has based his account on the *Fort William Consultations, or the Bengal Public Consultations*, as they are called, which "recorded the day to day transactions and developments of the Company's affairs in Bengal" and have been carefully preserved in the India Office Library (now the Commonwealth Relations Office). The idea of preparing such a work struck me when I studied in the thirties of this century copies of such records, found in the Imperial Record Department (now National Archives of India), and I wrote a relevant paper on *Some unpublished English Letters relating to the History of Bengal during the regimes of Shujauddin and Sarfaraz* for the seventeenth session of the *Indian Historical Records Commission*, held at Baroda in December, 1940. I am gratified that the idea has materialised through the efforts of my friend Dr. Bhattacharya, whose work forms a valuable contribution to our studies on India's economic history. He has rightly pointed out that "the period under review was a crucial one, for it was this period which saw the changes and developments that led to Plassey in 1757."

We get also a critical study of Indo-British economic relation between 1813-1833 in Dr. Amalsh Tripathi's book on *Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency (1793-1833)*, published by Orient Longmans, Calcutta, in 1956. Shri Tarasanker Banerjee (Calcutta University) has written a thesis on *Inland Trade of India (1834-1900)*.

Economic History of Bengal from Plassey to Permanent Settlement Vol. I by Dr. N. K. Sinha was published by the author in 1956. It is a learned contribution based on original records. Volume II of this book dealing with "economic-social history and administrative practices of a period of transition" has come out recently. Dr. A. V. Raman Rao's book on *The Economic Development of Andhra Pradesh, 1766-1957*, was published by the Popular Book Depot, Bombay, in 1958. Written in four parts, this work presents a general account of the economic condition of this area for a period of two hundred years. Dr. V. A. Narain's Ph. D. thesis of the London University on *Jonathan Duncan and Varanasi* was published by Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay at Calcutta in 1959. It is a valuable work based on both official records and private papers, which contains a detailed account of the life and career of Jonathan Duncan upto 1795 when he left Banaras to take up his new post as Governor of Bombay. In Chapters IV-VI we get a critical discussion about Duncan's economic policy (1785-95), Justice, Law and Order, and Duncan and Indian society. In the same year this Publisher brought out a volume of *Studies in the Economic and Social Development of Modern India : 1843-56*, which also was a Ph. D. thesis submitted in the London University by Dr. M. N. Das of Cuttack. In ten chapters and conclusion this work contains a detailed account of the economic and social changes during the administration of Lord Dalhousie, which, as the author rightly points out, forms "a significant period of the modern Indian history". A book of mine, entitled *Survey of India's Social Life and Economic Condition in the Eighteenth Century (1707-1813)*, was published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay in 1961,

We can also refer to some papers contributed during the last three decades on the different aspects of India's economic condition. In a paper on *The English Monopoly in Indian Spices*, written in 1937, Dr. Balkrishna indicated how the English secured monopoly of Indian spices by the end of the 18th century and for "fifty years this monopoly was developed by securing exclusive rights of purchase and sale of pepper from the princes of the Malabar, so that in the beginning of the 19th century both Indian and European merchants were excluded from purchasing pepper in the territories of the western coast of India."¹ In 1940 Dr. J. C. Sinha reviewed the *Economic condition of the Ceded Districts from 1800 to 1807.*² In about two years, Shri B. B. Chakravarty traced in a paper the *Introduction of tea-plantation in India.*³ In

1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1987,

2. Ibid, 1940.

3. Ibid, 1942.

1945 Dr. H. R. Ghosal brought to light some facts regarding *Danish Trade in Bengal at the close of the 18th century* and Shri U. N. Sarkar (of Imperial Record Department) contributed a paper on *The Merchandise of Peshawar and of the Neighbouring Markets in 1838*.¹ Next year Dr. H. R. Ghosal studied some old documents relating to *Saltpetre Manufacture in Bihar in the early nineteenth century* and Khan Chaudhury A. Ahmed (of Cooch Behar) wrote on *Slavery in North-East India*.² In 1948 Dr. A. C. Banerjee (of Calcutta University) reviewed *India's Trade with Turkestan in 1873* on the basis of some records of the National Archives, and Dr. H. R. Ghosal gave an account of *Indo-South African Trade 1797-1819*.³ Next year Dr. Amallesh Tripathi (Calcutta) wrote a paper on *Some reflections on the East India Company's Charter of 1813*.⁴ We had in 1951 a paper on *Trade Union Spirit among the weavers of Bengal towards the close of the eighteenth century* by Dr. H. R. Ghosal, and another paper on *Political and Commercial Relations of the French in India before 1777* by Shri R. C. Mitra⁵. In 1953 I indicated in my study of *An Old village Survey Report* how valuable materials for the study of economic conditions of our old villages can be gleaned from such reports⁶. A similar paper was written in 1954 by a Research Fellow of mine, Shri Qeyamuddin Ahmad.⁷ In 1954 Dr. H. R. Ghosal wrote a paper on *Indo-Portugues Commercial relations in the early nineteenth century*⁸, and next year⁹ he studied some records relating to *The Company's Commercial Residencies in the Bengal Presidency*. In 1956¹⁰ he discussed the activities of the *Americans in East India Trade (1794-1819)*. Some theses in progress are *Studies in Socio-Economic and cultural History of Delhi* by Shri K. L. Sachdev, (Agra University), *Economic History of Tamil Districts, Early British Period*, by Shri K. K. Krishna (Poona), *Social and Economic conditions in the Punjab in the nineteenth century* by Shri Mahesh Chandra (Punjab), *Inter-Asiatic Trade in 17th and 18th centuries* by Manu Dutt (Calcutta), *Economic Development of Hyderabad, 1921-50*, by Nagalakshmy Venkataswamy (Delhi), *Indo-British Relations in the Economic Field* by Shri Satya Narain (Delhi), *Social and Economic Conditions of Bengal in the 18th Century* by Shri Ranjit Guha (West Bengal

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1. Ibid, 1945.
 2. Ibid, 1946.
 3. Ibid, 1948 (Delhi).
 4. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1949.
 5. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1951.
 6. Ibid, 1958.
 7. Ibid, 1954.
 8. Proceedings, Indian History Congress, 1954.
 9. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission. 1955.
 10. Ibid, 1956.

Record Office), *Socio-Economic History of Midnapur, 1760-1803*, by Shri Narendra Nath Das (Calcutta), *Indo-Chinese Trade Relations, 1750-1850*, by Shri Kamal Kumar Ghatak (Calcutta), *Social and Economic Survey of N. W. P.* by Shri S. N. Sinha jointly with Shri Radhe Shyam (Central Record Office, Allahabad), *Socio-Economic Conditions in India in the 18th and 19th centuries* by Khwaja Ahmed Faruqi (Delhi), *Private Commercial Dealings of East India Company, 1757-67* (National Archives, New Delhi), *Economic Development of Assam* by Shri D. N. Sharma (Delhi University), *Economic Impact of the West on Indian Industries* by Dr. Hira Lal Gupta and the paper on *Sir Louis Mallet's Mission to Lord Northbrook on the question of the Cotton Duties* by Dr. Lalit Gujral, *Evidence of some correlations of Rents and Prices in Bihar under early British Rule* by Shri Ranjit Guha, *Some Unpublished Documents relating to Horse and Cattle Breeding in Tirhut (1794-1804)* by H. R. Ghosal, *The Surveys and Operations at the Petroleum Springs and Oil-Beds in Assam (1826-58)* by Dr. H. K. Barpujari, *The British Indian Association and the Indigo Disturbances in Bengal* by Shrimati Sujata Ghosh (Calcutta), *Cultivation of Cotton in Bengal* by Dr. Barun De, *Manchester, India Office and the Tariff Controversy, 1858-1882* by Dr. Amalesh Tripathi, *The Company's Saltpetre Revenue in Bihar : A Historical Sketch based on unpublished Records* by Dr. H. R. Ghosal, *Some unpublished records on the State of Currency in Bihar* by Dr. Jata Shankar Jha, *The Struggle for Trade in South-East Asia and India's Trade with Malaya and Indonesia (1793-1819)* by Shri Basanta Lal Mandal of Katihar College, Bihar, *An Experiment at Tea Plantation in Uttar Pradesh* by Dr. Dharma Bhanu, *Factors influencing India's ability to maintain its Monopoly of the Cotton Export Trade after 1845* by Dr. Frenise A. Logan (Madras), *The System of Indigo Cultivation in North Monghyr* by Shri Surendra Prasad Sinha (Patna), *Early British Commercial Adventures to Japan* by Prof. Shyam Behari Singh (L. S. College, Muzaffarpur), *Attempted Traffic with the Chinese Through the North-East Frontier (1831-38)* by Dr. H. K. Barpujari, *Economic Measures of Lord Ripon's Government (1880-84)* by Shri Sunil Kumar Sen (Calcutta), *The Indian National Congress and The Problem of Poverty* by Dr. Bimla Prasad (Patna University), and *Indians in East Africa* by Shri Ambika Charan Kundu (Calcutta). Original works on certain topics relating to India's economic history are under preparation in the Calcutta University. These are *Some aspects of British Fiscal Policy with special reference to Tariff Policy (1858-1895)* by Shri Sabyasaahi Bhattacharya, *Agrarian History of Bengal in the second half of the 19th century* by Shri Gautama Chattopadhyay, *Indigo Plantation in Bengal—*

Its political, economic and social effects by Shri Amalendu De, *Agrarian Conditions in Bengal from 1885 to the beginning of the 20th century* by Shri Saugata Mukherjee, *Economic Development of India (1880-1914)* by Shri Sunil Kumar Sen, *British Trade in the Bombay Presidency (1787-1833)* by Shri Suprovat Kumar Sen, and *The Agrarian History of Bihar (1757-1793)* by Shri Pradip Sinha. In the Delhi University some scholars have been engaged in original studies on the following topics,—*History of Indigo Plantations in India in the 19th century* by Bharati Roy, *Development of Trade and Industry in Northern India (1833-1860)* by Shri Suresh Chandra Sehgal, and *The Economic Policies of Indian National Leadership* by Shri Bipin Chandra. In his papers on *Malabar in 1740* and *The Makings of Travancore*¹ Dr. Ashim Das Gupta of Calcutta has examined the development of trade in Malabar in the eighteenth century.

1. Bengal : Past and Present, July-December, 1960 and July-December, 1961

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL

The nineteenth century proved to be a marvellously creative age, marked not only by the growth of new political consciousness in human minds in different parts of the world but also by brilliant achievements in the domain of knowledge, varied currents of thought and wonderful triumphs of science and culture causing a remarkable transformation in social life. In spite of India's political dependence, one can notice from the early years of the 19th century the advent of new forces, which being nourished by various influences, caused a splendid awakening of Indian minds, a luxuriant unfolding of India's intellect in manifold petals, and the renovation of her society by the purging of those evils and anomalies which had accumulated through unwholesome and adverse influences of the preceding periods, particularly during the dark days of the eighteenth century.

The birth of the new age, and its progress on various lines, were caused and facilitated by certain factors, exotic as well as indigenous. These were India's growing contact with the West, full of vitality in knowledge, ideas and actions. The inspiring political and scientific thoughts of master-minds like Bacon, Locke, Voltaire, Burke, Bentham, Mill and Newton, and the humanitarian ideas of the philanthropists like Wilberforce and his friends, which penetrated into this country through various agencies, created stimulating forces in favour of progressive changes in Government, society and culture.

But no reform can be successful unless there is also an urge from within for it. By a happy coincidence of events, this too appeared in India at this time due to a spirit of renaissance or a new consciousness, seeking to discover correctly and reveal the true glory and majesty of her past culture and thus inspiring successive generations for onward march. Mingling of the progressive ideas of the West and the revived classical lore of India produced brilliant results in the spheres of society and culture. The Indian Reformation Movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and Indian nationalism have accelerated further progress in these respects. In fact, the new India of today is the culmination of the various processes generated and fostered by these forces.

Study of this aspect of our modern history is indeed highly fascinating and instructive. For it we can glean precious materials from the *Reports of the Social Conferences* which met along with the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress, the *Reports and Presidential Addresses of the Indian National Congress from year to year*, *Reports and other publications regarding the activities of the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramkrishna Mission and the Vivekananda Movement, and the Servants of India Society, etc.*, *Memoirs, autobiographies and biographies* of those, who were the leaders of these activities from Rammohan to Mahatma Gandhi, are also full of relevant information of great interest. Writings of the Christian missionaries, then working in India, contain accounts of Indian social life, which can be utilised with due care and scrutiny. *Old newspapers and journals, Census Reports* and other state papers supply us with valuable materials. One must also study carefully the different literatures of modern India for proper appreciation of her social changes. Literature is indeed the most ruthless mirror of a country's life.

It is gratifying to note that Indian scholars have been devoted to study of this aspect for some years. In my volume on the *Bengal Subah*, already referred to, I have tried to present a picture of the *State of education and Social Life in Bengal* in the transitional years of the mid-eighteenth century by a scrutiny of all available sources. In 1936 came out another book of mine, entitled *Education and Social Amelioration of women in Pre-Mutiny India*; also written on the authority of various original sources, such as, contemporary unpublished and published English records, contemporary histories, pamphlets, tracts etc., both in English and Bengali, contemporary journals, magazines, gazettes and reviews in English as well as Bengali, and biographies or autobiographies of eminent personalities who flourished during that period. In February-March, 1950, I delivered a series of lectures under Mahadeo Hari Wathodkar Memorial Lectures scheme of the Nagpur University, which soon published these in the form of book of the title *Dawn of Renascent India*. After carefully utilising all kinds of relevant original sources, I have discussed in it the beginnings of those changes in Indian society, education and thought which ultimately transformed her into the new India of modern times. I have written some chapters describing Indian social life from 1707 to 1813, in my work, entitled *Survey of India's social Life and Economic Condition in the Eighteenth century*.

Some years back Dr. V. P. S. Raghuvansi (now on the staff of the History Department of the University of Saugar)

obtained Ph. D. Degree of the Allahabad University on the merit of a thesis on *Indian Social life 1750-1813, from European Sources*. He is at present engaged in the preparation of another work on *Indian Society in the 19th century as affected by European influences*. Dr. G. S. Sahay (of Christian College, Lucknow) wrote for his Ph. D. Degree a thesis on *Christian Missionaries and Indian Education* by utilising for it Government records and reports of the Christian missionaries. In 1956 a colleague of mine, Dr. Rai Shivendra Bahadur (of Nalanda College, Bihar Shariff, Bihar) was awarded the Ph. D. Degree of the Patna University on the merit of his thesis on *Indian Social Life and Education (Female) from 1813-1856*. In 1961 Dr. Jata Shankar Jha, a Research Fellow of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, was awarded Ph. D. Degree of the Patna University on the merit of a thesis on *Education in Bihar (1813-1859)*. This work, prepared after a careful study of different kinds of unpublished and published sources, presents a comprehensive and detailed study of the state of Education in Bihar from 1813 to 1859. Both these dates are highly significant not only in the political history of India, but also from social and cultural points of view. As a matter of fact, this period was marked by momentous changes in India's social life and in the condition of her education and culture. The works noted in this para have not been yet published.

Reference may be made to the articles contributed during the recent years by Indian scholars regarding this aspect of our life. In 1937 Dr. K. R. Qanungo (lately Head of the Department of History, Lucknow University) threw some side-light on the *History of Benares, Political and Social*, from a study of the *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*¹. In 1939 Prof. C. V. Joshi (of Baroda) wrote on *Social Reform under Maharaja Anand Rao Gaikwad*². In 1942 Dr. B. S. Baliga (Curator, Madras Records Office) contributed a paper on *Humanitarian Ideas in Madras, 1800-1835*, and Dr. K. K. Basu (Professor, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur) gave an account of some *Sati* cases.³ In 1945 Dr. P. C. Gupta (of Calcutta University) prepared a note on the *Early Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.⁴ In 1948 we had a paper on *Some aspects of Education in Madras in the Early Nineteenth Century* from Dr. B. S. Baliga.⁵ In 1953 Dr. H. K. Barpujari (of Assam) brought to light some documents relating to

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1. Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission, 1937.
 2. Ibid, 1939.
 3. Ibid, 1942.
 4. Ibid, 1945.
 5. Ibid, 1948.

*Education in Assam in the Early Days of the Company.*¹ Next year Shri S. C. Gupta (of National Archives, New Delhi) discussed *Some Views on Moral Education culled from the Records of the Government of India*. In 1960 Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay published a book, entitled *Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century* by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. It consists of three learned lectures delivered by this eminent historian at the Visvabharati, Santiniketan, on certain important aspects of Bengal's history during the creative period of the nineteenth century.

Some theses recently completed or under preparation, relating to Indian society and culture in modern times are: *A Chapter of the Early History of Education in Bombay Presidency* by Shri R. N. Jog (deposited in the Secretariat Record Office, Bombay), *Education in Gujrat during the first half of the nineteenth century* by Shri R. K. Pathak (Baroda, deposited in the Secretariat Record Office, Bombay), *Social Legislation in Mysore, 1850-1919*, by S. Anasuya (Mysore), *Beginning of Western Education in Assam* by Bena Deka (Delhi University), *Social Conditions in Northern India in the Second half of the 19th century with special reference to the position of women* by Kum. S. Dua (Delhi University), *Social and Economic History of the Punjab under the Sikhs, 1800-1849*, by Shri Joti Ram Gupta (Punjab), *Social and Economic History of the Punjab, 1839-1901*, by Shri Gurubaksh Singh (Punjab), *Social and Economic History of the Punjab, 1900-1950*, by Shri Gurdial Singh (Punjab), *History of Women's Education, 1880-1935*, by Miss Labanya Bose (Allahabad), *Social Life in Northern India in the first half of the nineteenth century* by Lalita Panigrahi (Delhi University), *Social and Cultural History of Rajputana from 1500-1800* by Shri Nath Ram Khadgawat, *University Education in India from 1850-1954* by Shri B. N. Pandeya (Delhi University), *An Educational Survey of the Thana District, Bombay State*, by Shri N. R. Parsinis (Bombay), *Indian Society in the Eighteenth Century* by Sarala Baijal (Delhi University), *History of Education in India during 1904-1937* by Shri R. C. Srivastava (Allahabad), *Development of Social Legislation in India since 1858* by Miss Usha Roy (Allahabad), *A Source Book of the History of Education in the Bombay Province* by Shri R. V. Paruckar (Bombay), *Social Legislation in the Punjab* by Shri Iqbal Nath Chaudhuri (Punjab), *History of Social Legislation in India in the 19th Century* by Shri Gopal Malaviya (Allahabad), *Bengal Renaissance, 1800-1854* by Amitabha Mukherjee (Calcutta), *Social Welfare Administration in Madras* by Sarojini Devi (Madras), *Control of Primary Education in India with special reference to U. P.* by Shri Satya Prakash (Allahabad).

1. Ibid 1958.

History of Missionary Educational Enterprise in India by Shri J. C. Sehgal (Punjab), *Art Education in India, 1840-1900*, by Shri M. R. Achrekar (Secretariat Record Office, Bombay), *Social life in N. W. P. 1805-1858*, by Shri Onkar Prasad Bhatnagar (Central Record Office, Allahabad), *A Comparative Study of the Socio-Religious Customs of the Hill Tribes of Assam* by Shri Tajendra Chandra Das (Assam), *Christian Missionary Activities during the time of the East India Company* by Mr. C. S. Franklin (Lucknow University), *Religious Life in India at the advent of British Rule* by Dr. V. P. S. Raghuvansi, *Religious Movements of the 19th century with special reference to Radha Swami Sect* by Shri A. P. Mathur (Agra University), *History of Education in U. P., 1835-1846*, by Kum. S. Srivastava (Agra University), *Muslim Society in Northern India in the 18th century* by Muhammad Umar (Aligarh Muslim University), *Role of Women in Indian Social Reform* by Smt. U. Raina (Allahabad University), *Harijan Problem in India, 1900-1947*, by Shri G. P. Saksena (Allahabad University), *History of Vernacular Education in Bengal in the 19th century* by Shri N. L. Basak (Calcutta University), *Social and Religious Reforms in Bengal in the First Half of the Nineteenth century* by Shri Amitabha Mukhopadhyay (Calcutta University), *Education in U. P., 1853-1900*, by Kum. M. Mishra (Lucknow University), *Educational Policies in the Madras Presidency, 1800-1900*, by Shri M. Sargurudass (Madras University), *Social Aspects of British Rule in Gujrat* by Shri M. J. Mehta (University of Baroda), *Social and Educational Amelioration of Women in Post-Mutiny India, 1857-1947* by Sudha Rani (Punjab University), *History of Education in the Madhya Pradesh, 1858-1900*, by A. C. Srivastava (Saugar University), and *Social Reforms in Orissa during British Rule* by Shri N. R. Hota (Utkal University), *Evidence of unpublished Documents on E. E. Trevelyan's Ideas on Education* by Shri V. N. Datta, Compiler, Gazetteer Unit, New Delhi, *Education in the Darbhanga Raj 1880-1900*, by Dr. Jata Shankar Jha, *Early Thoughts of the British Government to suppress Human Sacrifice in the Ghumsar Hill Tracts of the Ganjam District of Orissa, 1838-1845*, by Sri S. C. De, *The Native Education System in Delhi in 1824* by Shri Krishna Lal (Jaligar), *State of Vernacular Education in the Patna District* by Shri Jadunandan Prasad (Patna), *Standards of Social Morality in India at the advent of British Rule* by Dr. V. P. S. Raghuvansi (Rajasthan University), *The Ryotwari Settlement and the Institution of caste in the Madras Presidency (1792-1827)*, by Dr. Nilmani Mukherjee of Burdwan University, *The Census of the Delhi Territory, 1823*, by Shri Krishan Lal (Jaligar), *Sanskrit Education in Bengal in the Nineteenth*

century by Shri R. C. Mitra (Calcutta), *Wall-Paintings at Baharu* (19th century) in the District of Twenty-four Parganas, West-Bengal by Shri Shailendra Nath Samanta (Calcutta) and *Development of Bahaism in India 1844-1960* by Shri Hiralal Chopra (Calcutta , *History of social reform in the 19th century* by Shri G. A. Bhatt, (Bombay University) *Sati as a social institution in Bengal* by Shri Amitabha Chaudhury, *The Institution of Slavery in Mithila* by Dr. Upendra Thakur.

In my volume on *Selection from Unpublished Correspondence of the Judge-Magistrate and the Judge of Patna, 1790-1857*, I have quoted some significant references relating to Education, Sati and Widow Remarriage and also the activities of the Christian Missionaries.

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