

Congress and Swadeshi Movement

The growing rift between the 'Moderates' and the 'Extremists' cast its shadow over the Congress attitude towards the Boycott-cum-Swadeshi Movement. In 1903 and 1904 the Congress passed resolutions condemning the proposal for Partition of Bengal. Early in 1905 it proposed to wait upon the Viceroy in a deputation to explain its case, but he refused to receive any deputation. G. K. Gokhale and Lajpat Rai were sent to England to appeal to the higher authorities, but they had to return disappointed.

In 1905 the Congress, with G. K. Gokhale as President, 'recorded its emphatic protest against the Partition of Bengal (which was already an accomplished fact) in the face of the strongest opposition on the part of the people of the province'. But the 'Moderates' were not prepared to extend open support to Boycott which was in conflict with their policy of 'petition and persuasion'. Under pressure from Bengal delegates a colourless compromise resolution was passed, leaving it unclear whether the boycott of British goods was approved or not.

In 1906 the 'Extremists' were able to secure better terms from the 'Moderates'. The Congress, with Dadabhai Naoroji as President, recognized Boycott as 'legitimate' and 'accorded its most cordial support to the *Swadeshi* Movement'. Another resolution asked the people 'to take up the question of national education for both boys and girls'. After the open split in 1907 the Congress, firmly in the grip of the 'Moderates', never reiterated or even discussed the resolutions passed in 1906. They looked upon the movement in Bengal as a local issue and ignored it because it meant a direct confrontation with the Government.

Although Surendra Nath Banerjee was a 'Moderate' he was the topmost leader of the *Swadeshi* Movement in Bengal and he had to seek the co-operation of the 'Extremists' on this issue. Two non-Bengali 'Extremist' leaders, Tilak and Lajpat Rai, rendered great services to the movement by their visits to Bengal and their work on the all-India political platform.

women. Meanwhile it had spread to other provinces. It had a permanent impact on the development of several industries. Textile mills, soap and match factories, handloom weaving concerns, etc., were founded. Banks and insurance companies were started. In this respect the greatest beneficiaries were Bombay and Ahmedabad where enterprising industrialists came forward to fill the vacuum created by the decrease of British imports. On the whole, however, the movement had no really serious impact on crucial sectors of British economy in India.

Although boycott *cum* *Swadeshi* was primarily an economic *cum* political crusade against the British Government, it had a direct impact on cultural development in Bengal. There was 'a sudden literary outburst in the shape of songs, poems, dramas and *ya/tras* (a sort of popular drama) which bred a new spirit of nationalism and patriotism'. The literary work of Rabindranath Tagore was supplemented by several other powerful writers. Painting became a national art.

The students played a very important role in the movement, undaunted by official efforts to discipline them by penal measures. The University of Calcutta, which supervised education in schools and colleges, was denounced as a *golam-khana* (house for manufacturing slaves) and a 'National Council of Education' was established with a view to organizing a system of education—literary, scientific, technical—on national lines and under national management. National schools were established. An engineering college sponsored by the National Council of Education developed into the Jadavpur University after Independence.

A Bengali nationalist leader, speaking at the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1906, described 'Swadeshism' as a 'three-faced goddess': 'The one face or aspect of the goddess is political, the second face is industrial, and last, but not the least, is the educational'.

Ramsay Macdonald, who later became the first Labour Prime Minister of England, commented on the contribution of the *Swadeshi* Movement in Bengal to the development of Indian nationalism. He wrote: 'The Bengalee inspires the Indian nationalist movement . . . It is translating nationalism into religion, into music and poetry, into painting and literature . . . It is creating India by song and worship, it is clothing her in queenly garments . . . from this surging of prayer and song and political strife will come India, if India does ever come'.

ship was provided by 'Moderates' like Surendra Nath Banerjee, Krishna Kumar Mitra and Aswini Kumar Datta. Rabindranath Tagore composed stirring songs. *Bande Mataram* 'overnight became the national song of Bengal' and soon became the national song for the whole country. Side by side with constitutional agitation developed Militant Nationalism which had its origin in the pre-Partition years. While the militant nationalists worked in secret and used violent methods, 'Extremist' political leaders like Bepin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh openly promoted the anti-Partition movement. A few Muslim leaders, such as Abdul Rasul, Liaquat Husain and A. K. Ghaznavi, supported the movement. At the early stages it was generally supported by the Muslim masses of East Bengal; but gradually their attitude became hostile. The foundation of the Muslim League at Dacca in December 1906, in which Nawab Salimulla took a leading part, was followed by anti-Hindu riots in some Muslim-majority districts. The British officers had a large share in instigating the Muslims against the Hindus. Many upper and middle class Muslims were won over to the imperialist cause by the propaganda that they would have more jobs in the new province. Appeals to Muslim religious feelings embittered Hindu-Muslim relations.

The 'Extremist' leader, Bepin Chandra Pal, pointed out that the failure to prevent the Partition proved the 'utter futility of our so-called methods of constitutional political agitation'. When the official decision on Partition was finalized the 'Moderate' leaders realized that its annulment could not be secured through mere peaceful demonstrations, public meetings and passing of resolutions. The urge for more positive action led to the Boycott-cum-Swadeshi Movement which was initiated through a crowded public meeting held in Calcutta on 7 August 1905. This new nationalist programme was a two-edged weapon. The boycott of British goods, particularly cotton goods, was intended to bring pressure upon the British manufacturers and workers—and, through them, upon the British Government—by inflicting upon them serious pecuniary loss. *Swadeshi* (use of indigenous goods) was intended to promote indigenous industries and thereby to stimulate the country's economic progress.

The movement, supported by the Hindu masses, had considerable success for about five years, even though the Government took severe repressive measures. By 1910 it was on the

mal consultation with the non-official members of the Bengal Legislative Council. The legislation to give effect to it was 'carried through at Simla at a hole and corner meeting of Curzon and the official members of the Governor-General's Legislative Council at which not a single Indian member was present'. Parliament was informed after the approval of the scheme by the Secretary of State, and even then full facts were not placed before it.

Behind the scheme, which was officially represented as an administrative measure, lay a political purpose which Curzon explained to his superiors in London. He wanted 'to split up and thereby to weaken a solid body of opponents' to British rule. 'Bengal united was a power', that power was to be broken by partition. 'Calcutta is the centre', Curzon wrote, 'from which the Congress party is manipulated throughout the whole of Bengal and, indeed, the whole of India'. Therefore, Calcutta was to be 'dethroned from its place as the centre of successful intrigue' and the path was to be cleared for the growth of 'independent centres of activity and influence' such as Dacca. A cleavage would develop between the Hindus, who were looked upon as a 'solid body of opponents' to British rule, and the Muslims, won over by the offer of a 'preponderating voice' in 'Eastern Bengal and Assam'. 'The Hindu West was neatly balanced by the Muslim East'.

The policy of rallying the Muslims against the Hindus was steadily pursued by the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam during the years following the Partition (1905-12). Sir Bamfylde Fuller, the first Lieutenant-Governor of the new province, described the Muslims as his 'favourite wife'. The Partition of 1905 foreshadowed the Partition of 1947.

Swadeshi Movement

Surendra Nath Banerjee warned the Government that the country would not 'acquiesce in this monstrous proceeding without a strenuous and persistent struggle'. Curzon and the bureaucrats failed to realise the strength of the solidarity which characterized the Bengali Hindus. Their mistake was proved by the *Swadeshi* Movement. Those who believed in constitutional methods carried on the struggle through continuous agitation and boycott of British goods. Different sections of the population—zamindars, lawyers, merchants, students, the poor people in towns and villages, even women—came forward spontaneously to oppose the partition of their province. Leader-

ing States). Its area would be 141,580 square miles with a population of 54 millions (Hindus numbering 42 millions).

The Secretary of State sanctioned the scheme in June 1905. It came into effect on 16 October 1905. 'Eastern Bengal and Assam' was placed under a Lieutenant-Governor without an Executive Council, but it was given a Legislative Council. 'Bengal', with its capital at Calcutta, continued to be administered by a Lieutenant-Governor. It had a Legislative Council, and it got an Executive Council a few years later.

The publication of the Risley letter in the *India Gazette* 'gave rise to an immense amount of public discussion' which soon took the shape of a 'sustained and systematic opposition' throughout Bengal. It was evident that the Bengali Hindus would not only be a minority in 'Eastern Bengal and Assam' but also in the reconstituted province of 'Bengal' in which they would be outnumbered by the Hindi-speaking and Oriya-speaking peoples. Moreover, the provincial barrier would affect the social and cultural solidarity of the Bengali-speaking people. Public opinion in Assam was generally not in favour of the proposed reconstitution of the province. It was argued that the Bengal system of administration was 'too legalized' and sophisticated for such a 'backward province as Assam'. It was apprehended that Assam would get less attention from a Government with its seat at Dacca than it got from the Chief Commissioner stationed at Shillong.

Curzon ignored these weighty objections, nor did he consider alternative proposals such as the replacement of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal by a Governor with an Executive Council, or the creation of Bihar as a separate province, which would provide substantial relief for the over-burdened Government of Bengal. As the opposition was spear-headed by the Hindus, he tried to win over the support of the Muslims. He told them that in the new province of 'Eastern Bengal and Assam' they would have a 'preponderating voice' and acquire 'a unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of the old Musalman viceroys and Kings'. He secured the support of Nawab Salimulla of Dacca, the leading Muslim zamindar of East Bengal, by promising him a large Government loan on extremely favourable terms.

The scheme of partition was, according to Surendra Nath Banerjee who led the opposition, 'conceived in secret, discussed in secret, and settled in secret'. There was no formal or infor-

was attached for administrative purposes to the Central Provinces, adding considerably to the latter's extent.

Before the question of transfer of Orissa to the Central Provinces could be examined, Sir Andrew Fraser assumed charge as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (November 1903). He had already expressed the opinion that not only the Chittagong Division but also two districts of the Dacca Division—Dacca and Mymensingh—should be transferred to Assam. Curzon took up the idea. He stated his views officially in May-June 1903. He described the boundaries of Bengal, Assam, the Central Provinces and Madras (which included some Oriya-speaking areas) as 'antiquated, illogical, productive of inefficiency'. He decided to 'fix the administrative boundaries of India for a generation'.

On the basis of the Viceroy's views Herbert Risley, Home Secretary to the Government of India, wrote his historic letter of 3 December 1903 and addressed it to the Governments of Bengal, Assam, the Central Provinces, and Madras. It contained a scheme of 'comprehensive territorial redistribution'. The Oriya-speaking people scattered in three provinces (Bengal, Madras, the Central Provinces) would be united under one Administration, i.e., Bengal. Assam was to be 'erected into a vigorous and self-contained Administration, capable of playing the same part in the north-eastern frontier of India that the Central Provinces have done in the centre, and that the Punjab formerly did in the north-west'. For this purpose Assam was to be enlarged by the addition of the Chittagong Division (along with the State of Tripura or Hill Tipperah) as also of the Dacca and Mymensingh districts of the Dacca Division. Subsequently the scope of the scheme was extended so as to include the transfer to Assam of the two other districts in the Dacca Division (Bakharganj and Faridpur) as also the districts of Rajshahi, Malda, Dinajpur, Bogra and Jalpaiguri (along with the State of Cooch Behar) in North Bengal. This arrangement was intended to bring all Muslim-majority districts in Bengal in the new province of 'Eastern Bengal and Assam', which would have its capital at Dacca. It would have an area of 106,540 square miles and a population of 31 millions (Muslims numbering 18 millions). The new province of 'Bengal' would comprise Calcutta and eleven districts in West Bengal, the district of Darjeeling in North Bengal, as also the whole of Bihar and Orissa (including Sambalpur and the Oriya speak-

till the completion of the Assam-Bengal Railway which was planned to connect Assam with the Chittagong Division. When these projects leaked out the public in Bengal became perturbed and protested.

If Bengal was administratively unmanageable because of its size, the administration of Assam suffered, partly because the province had no separate cadre of officers in the Indian Civil Service. Officers in the Bengal cadre served in Assam for brief periods. This caused dissatisfaction among the officers and interfered with the smooth running of administration in Assam. The province could not have a separate cadre until and unless it had larger territories requiring a larger number of high officials. It appears from Surendra Nath Banerjee's *A Nation in Making* that this was an important argument—from the official point of view—in favour of transfer of some Bengal districts to Assam.

To the interests of the Indian Civil Service were added those of the British tea-planters of Assam who wanted a port nearer than Calcutta so as to reduce their freight-charges on exported tea. This port would be Chittagong. Its development would be expedited, and it would no longer be side-tracked in favour of the Calcutta port, if it was placed under the control of the Government of Assam. For this purpose it was necessary to transfer the whole of the Chittagong Division to Assam. The control of the Assam Bengal Railway, which connected Assam with the Chittagong Division, was an important issue.

Curzon's policy

This was the position when Curzon took charge as Viceroy (1899). The proposal of transferring some Bengal districts to Assam had been under active consideration for several years; he did not initiate it. The issue was complicated by a new development in the west. In 1902 Sir Andrew Fraser, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, suggested that Orissa should be transferred from Bengal to the Central Provinces. Oriya had been substituted for Hindi as court language in the district of Sambalpur (in the Central Provinces). Fraser thought it would be inconvenient to have a single Oriya-speaking district in the Central Provinces which was a Hindi-speaking province, and it would be better to include all Oriya-speaking districts in that province. Meanwhile, Berar had been leased in perpetuity to the British Government by the Nizam and it

India'. He looked upon India as 'a country where the Englishman was to monopolise for all time all power and talk all the while of duty'. 'In his scheme of things there was no room for the educated classes of the country'. He 'trampled more systematically' upon the opinions of these classes 'than any of his predecessors and claimed for his own judgment and that of his official colleagues a virtual character of infallibility'. He believed that 'the Indian's only business was to be governed and it was a sacrilege on his part to have any other aspiration'. In this respect his policy was reflected in the Calcutta Municipal Act (1899) and the Indian Universities Act (1904).

Partition of Bengal : early projects

The Partition of Bengal (1905), which was the climacteric of Curzon's administration and the most crucial example of his contempt for educated public opinion, provided the occasion for the first great political movement of the present century. Officially treated as a measure for improvement of administration in the vast territories in charge of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, it became a big political issue and stirred the forces of nationalism.

Curzon was quite right in saying that Bengal was 'too large for one man', i.e., a Lieutenant-Governor unaided by an Executive Council. The Madras and Bombay Presidencies were smaller in size and less populous, and in some respects their administrative problems were less complex than those of Bengal. Yet each of them had a Governor aided by an Executive Council.

This problem was noted by the Government of India and the Secretary of State as early as 1868. The first step towards the partition of Bengal was the separation of Assam which was placed under a Chief Commissioner in 1874. The new province included the Bengali-speaking district of Sylhet as also the district of Goalpara which had been cut off from the Bengal district of Rangpur before the British conquest of Assam.

It was not long before the question of giving further relief to the 'overweighted' Government of Bengal through transfer of a part of its territories was raised in connection with disturbances in the Lushai Hills adjoining the Chittagong district in Bengal. Projects of transferring to Assam the district of Chittagong, or the whole of the Chittagong Division (comprising the districts of Chittagong, Noakhali and Tipperah), were considered during the years 1892-96, but decision was held over

methods of the 'Moderate' leaders of the Congress who drew their inspiration from English political ideas.

5. PARTITION OF BENGAL

Lord Curzon (1899-1905)

'Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty marked the apogee of the imperial system which had been built up by Lord Dalhousie and his post-Mutiny successors'. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest—if not the greatest—of the pro-consuls sent by England to govern her Indian Empire. He was the youngest of the Governors-General, except Dalhousie, and he resembled Dalhousie as an administrator of superabundant energy and industry. He came to India as 'the rising hope of the imperialist wing of the Conservative party'. He had travelled widely and acquired first-hand experience about Asiatic countries. He had visited India four times before his assumption of the Viceregal office. He was convinced that Providence had placed India in charge of Britain and the Englishman's task was 'to fight for the right, to abhor the imperfect, the unjust, and the mean'. He got a second term of office, but he resigned long before the completion of this term because the 'Home' Government supported the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Kitchener, against him in a controversy relating to the administration of the Army. After his departure from India he played a distinguished role in the political life of England. But he missed the Premiership, the *summum bonum* of his political ambition.

Immediately after Curzon's departure G. K. Gokhale, presiding over the Congress (1905), offered a critical assessment of his administration. He compared it with the administration of Aurangzib. In both cases Gokhale found 'the same attempt at a rule excessively centralized and intensely personal, the same strenuous purpose, the same overpowering consciousness of duty, the same marvellous capacity for work, the same sense of loneliness, the same persistence in a policy of distrust and repression, resulting in bitter exasperation all around'. He praised Curzon's 'wonderful intellectual gifts, his brilliant powers of expression, his phenomenal energy, his boundless enthusiasm for work'. But his greatest defect was lack of 'a sympathetic imagination, without which no man can ever understand an alien people'. To the end of his administration Lord Curzon did not really understand the people of

Jugantar party because it published a periodical called *Jugantar* which openly advocated armed revolt. Aurobindo Ghosh came to Calcutta from Baroda and became editor of the newly started English journal *Bande Mataram*. Another journal inspiring and supporting revolution was the *Sandhya*, edited by Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya.

In their attempt to practise what they preached, the revolutionaries manufactured bombs, committed murders, and collected money through dacoity. More than 40 persons were arrested and put up for trial in what came to be known as the Alipore Conspiracy Case (1908). Barindra Kumar Ghosh and some of his leading associates received heavy punishment; but Aurobindo, one of the accused, was released, thanks to the powerful advocacy of Chitta Ranjan Das. Before long Aurobindo gave up active politics and started his *ashram* at Pondichery for the spiritual uplift of humanity. By that time, however, the cult of the bomb had become associated with martyrdom for the liberation of the country.

Conclusion

Militant nationalism was a revolutionary movement with a definite political goal: complete independence for India. Here lay its fundamental difference with the Congress which did not think of complete independence till 1929. The weapons of the militant nationalists—murder of Government officers, dacoity for collection of funds, attempts to collect arms—differed from those of the Congress. For this they are sometimes called 'terrorists'; but their 'terrorism' was directed against the servants and agents of the foreign Government.

They were weakened by factional quarrels among different groups and leaders, as also by lack of plans. Aurobindo wrote in 1908: 'The Mother asks us for no schemes, no plans, no methods. She herself will provide the schemes, the plans, the methods'. A vast country ruled by a mighty imperial power could not be liberated by the unplanned efforts and sacrifices of individuals. Such sacrifices attracted popular sympathy and admiration; but the militant nationalists had to work in secret, and they could not organize any mass movement.

Hindu religious and philosophical thought provided inspiration for militant nationalism. This, it is said, kept the Muslims aloof or hostile. But, apart from small sections, the Muslims did not accept even the peaceful and constitutional

by Swami Vivekananda's stirring call : 'Arise, Awake'. The patriotic *sannyasis* of *Anandamath*, as portrayed by Bankim, were prepared to sacrifice themselves at the altar of the Motherland. The leading characters of *Debi Chaudhurani*, Bhabani Pathak and Prafulla, were ardent pursuers of *anushilan dharma*. A *sannyasi* and a Vedantist, Vivekananda did not preach political revolution. But he told another leading disciple of Ramakrishna : 'Even a cow tied to a rope makes all kinds of efforts to get free'. He wrote: 'Forget not that thou art born as a sacrifice to the Mother's altar'. In his writings ardent young souls found the call of a higher life based on the message of the Vedanta. One of his closest disciples, Sister Nivedita (an Irish lady named Margaret Noble, with Sinn Fein connections) was actively associated with militant nationalism. She infected Bengal's youth with revolutionary fervour through her works *Religion and Dharma* and *Kali the Mother*. Inspiration was drawn from the *Gita* which stressed the duty of fighting for the right cause and preached the immortality of the soul,

Militant nationalism took an organized form at the beginning of the present century. In 1902 a secret society named *Anushilan Samiti*, which probably borrowed its name from Bankim, was established with Pramatha Nath Mitra, a Barrister-at-law, as President. Chitta Ranjan Das, another Barrister-at-law and later leader of the Swarajya Party and President of the Congress, and Aurobindo Ghosh, then Principal of the Gaikwar's College at Baroda, were Vice-Presidents. Another revolutionary group was organized by Sarala Debi Chaudhurani, who was related to Rabindranath Tagore's family and whose husband was a Punjabi. She was the bridge between the thought currents on militant nationalism in Maharashtra and Bengal on the one hand, and in Bengal and the Punjab on the other. In the Punjab Lajpat Rai was, in the words of a British-managed paper, 'a rebel busily immersed in the affairs of his insurrectionary enterprise with a thousand desperadoes at his command'.

The *Anushilan Samiti* was very active ; at one time it had about 500 branches. It prepared the ground, in thought as also in action, for achieving independence through the use of arms. Militant nationalism gained a powerful impetus from the Partition of Bengal (1905). A new group of revolutionaries was organized by Barindra Kumar Ghosh, younger brother of Aurobindo Ghosh, in 1906. It came to be known as the

ple. He led what was really an agrarian movement; its background was the devastating Deccan famine of 1876-77.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century the Ganapati and Shivaji Festivals, both initiated by Tilak in the early nineties, aroused a new militant spirit. Speaking on Shivaji in 1897 and referring to the murder of Afzal Khan he declared: 'If thieves enter our house and we have no strength to drive them out, should we not without hesitation shut them in and burn them alive?' The reference to the English 'thieves' was clear enough. He was prosecuted and imprisoned for sedition.

In the same year a tense situation was created at Poona by official measures connected with an outbreak of plague. Two brothers, Damodar Hari Chapekar and Balkrishna Hari Chapekar, murdered two British officers. They were hanged. Probably they 'had no definite political aim'. They did not try to build up any organization.

It was Vinayak Damodar Savarkar who really made militant nationalism a political force in Maharashtra. In 1900 he started an association called *Mitra Mela* (Friends' Assembly). Four years later it was named *Abhinava Bharata* (New India) on the model of 'Young Italy'. Its aim was to secure the country's independence—if necessary, by armed revolt. Its programme included the purchase and storage of weapons in neighbouring countries, the opening of secret factories for the manufacture of weapons, and the secret import of weapons from other countries in merchant ships. Secret Societies were established in different parts of Maharashtra—Nasik, Bombay, Poona, Kolhapur, Aundh, Satara—as also in places like Gwalior, Baroda, Amraoti, Yeotmal and Nagpur. There was, however, no single party or organization controlling these societies; Savarkar's group formed a very weak link between scattered revolutionaries.

In a book surcharged with passionate patriotism Savarkar described the 'Sepoy Mutiny' as India's first 'War of Independence.' Apparently a fresh war was to be fought on the same lines.

Bengal

In Bengal the ideological background for militant nationalism was provided by two novels of Bankim Chandra (*Anandamath* and *Debi Chaudhurani*) and his *Dharmatattva* (which stressed the all-round cultivation or *anushilan* of all human faculties—physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual) as also

which would unite, under one political bond, the whole of the Hindu people, united already by traditions and scriptures'.

'Moderates' : loyalty to English ideas

The 'Moderate' leaders of the Congress did not look back to their country's past. Instead of being inspired by India's ancient heritage they derived political inspiration and guidelines for political action from the history, philosophy and literature of the ruling race. Sankaran Nair, speaking as Congress President in 1897, observed : 'From our earliest school days the greatest English writers have been our classics . . . English history is taught us in our schools . . . week after week English newspapers, journals and magazines pour into India. We in fact now live the life of the English'.

Surendra Nath Banerjee studied the history of the national movements in Europe and was particularly impressed by the 'Young Italy' movement led by Mazzini. But he said as Congress President in 1895 : 'England is our political guide and our moral preceptor . . . English history has taught us those principles of freedom which we cherish with our life-blood . . . We have been taught to admire the eloquence and genius of the great masters of English political philosophy'.

4. MILITANT NATIONALISM

Beginnings

Even before the birth of the Congress there were indications that certain European influences were bringing to India's infant nationalism a trend towards militancy. As early as the seventies some young men formed secret societies in Calcutta on the model of the *Carbonari* of Italy. This was due to the impression created by Surendra Nath Banerjee's lectures on Mazzini and the Italian freedom movement, and he was connected with some of these societies. But these made no impact on the political situation.

Maharashtra

In Maharashtra militant nationalism was initiated by Wasudeo Balvant Phadke in the seventies. But he 'committed no overt act of any kind directly against the Government' : instead of organizing a secret society of educated youngmen to shoot down Government officials, he used tribal youths to raid villages and punish money-lenders who exploited the poor peo-

Lajpat Rai

Another leading 'Extremist', Lala Lajpat Rai, was inspired by the principles and teachings of the Arya Samaj. He said that the Arya Samaj had taught him 'to love the Vedic religion, to be proud of Aryan greatness, and to make sacrifices for the country'. His religious faith urged him to 'unfasten the chains of intellectual, moral, religious and social bondage'. In the context of the circumstances of his age this struggle inevitably assumed the form of militant protest against foreign rule. He was 'wedded to the idea of Hindu nationality'; but, as in the case of Tilak, his conception of 'Hindu nationality' did not imply hostility to the Muslims.

Aurobindo

Aurobindo Ghosh, who lived in England in his early years and was educated there, drew inspiration from European revolutionary thought till the beginning of the present century. But in 1905 he wrote *Bhawanī Māndir* in which 'the Mother is manifested as the Mother of Strength'. Our mother-country, he wrote, 'is not a piece of earth, not a figure of speech, nor a fiction of mind. It is a mighty Sakti composed of the Saktis of all the millions of units that make up the nation'. The Saktis were regarded as being divided into two categories, *Arya* and *mlechchha* (foreign). On the whole, the conception was metaphysical rather than practical. It was probably connected with the imagery of Bankim's *Bande Mataram* and the historical appeal of Tilak's Shivaji Festival. The British bureaucracy, however, gave it a practical interpretation. In its view, 'by encouraging nationalism in a religious direction men like Aurobindo were exploiting the religious sentiments of many Hindus but alienating the Muslims.'

Bepin Chandra Pal

Bepin Chandra Pal, a full-fledged Brahmo who later imbibed Vaishnava influence, belonged at first to the 'Extremist' group of Congress leaders. He admitted the importance of Hinduism as the 'original stock and staple' of nationalities, but he did not give it a purely Hindu complexion. He developed the idea of 'composite patriotism' to reflect the political urges of different races, cultures and creeds constituting the population of India. He recognized the separate identity of non-Hindu units. At the same time he acclaimed Shivaji as 'the symbol of a great idea . . . the idea of a Hindu Rashtra

view of life and religion. In other countries, he said, religion was 'one of the occupations of life' in addition to politics and 'enjoyments of social life'; but in India religion was 'one and the only occupation of life'.

Vivekananda raised patriotism to a high spiritual level. His Neo-Vedantism 'spiritualized the concrete contents and actual relations of life'; it did not confine itself to the cultivation of knowledge and meditation. 'A spiritual upheaval', he wrote, 'is almost always succeeded by political unity'. He did not write any political treatise. He never gave any direct political message. Yet he contributed to a 'spiritual upheaval' which had a direct impact on politics. He forged a link between religion, social service and patriotism. He was a source of inspiration for the early militant nationalists. He was really 'the unconscious prophet of the new Indian nationalism, whose ideology shows the impress of his doctrines'.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak

One characteristic feature of the 'Extremist' ideology inside the Congress was its identification of nationalism with what Tilak called the 'feeling of *Hindutva*'. This 'Extremist' leader wrote: 'The Hindus of the Punjab, Maharashtra, Telengana and Dravida are one and the reason for this is only Hindu *dharma*'. Again: 'We have lost our glory, our independence, everything. Religion is the only treasure we have; if we forsake it, we shall be like the foolish cock in Aesop's fables that threw away a jewel'. In social matters he upheld the orthodox point of view, supporting existing practices on the authority of the Hindu scriptures. On the issue of the Age of Consent Bill he offered a straight, even virulent defence of the existing practices relating to child marriage among the Hindus'. At the same time he opposed the foreign Government's interference with Hindu social customs.

He used 'revivalism' for the political purpose of 'awakening the different sections of the people' and strengthening their self-confidence by convincing them that they had a sound socio-religious heritage. But he was not a communalist; his stress on *Hindutva* was not a crusade against Islam as a religion or the Muslims as a section of the Indian population. He understood the need for Hindu-Muslim unity and made a major contribution to the Lucknow Pact (1916) which forged temporary unity between the two communities.

tivist philosophy of Bacon, Bentham, John Stuart Mill and Comte'.

From Bankim's point of view there could be no reconstruction of the political and social systems in isolation from 'religion'. His political views were largely influenced by John Stuart Mill's individualism. One of the first graduates of Calcutta University and a responsible Government official (Deputy Magistrate), he aspired for national regeneration in political, economic, cultural and social spheres. In his early writings in the seventies he upheld the cause of social justice and social transformation. He advocated the rights of the peasantry against those of the zamindars.

In 1882 was published Bankim's novel *Anandamath* which contained the great national song *Bande Mataram*. Through it he 'gave us the vision of our Mother'. Aurobindo wrote: 'It is not till the motherland reveals herself to the eyes of the mind as something more than a stretch of earth or a mass of individuals, it is not till she takes shape as a great Divine and Maternal Power in a form of beauty that can dominate the mind and seize the heart, that these petty fears and hopes vanish in the all-absorbing passion for our Mother and her service, and the patriotism that works miracles and saves doomed nations is born'.

The tone of the novel, the Hindu imagery used in the song, and Bankim's writings relating to the new interpretation of Hinduism have been used as evidence to prove that he was a protagonist of 'Hindu revivalism' in politics. A similar charge has been made against some other Bengali literary figures of the nineteenth century such as Nabin Chandra Sen and Hem Chandra Banerjee. The fact is that they ransacked the past in search of a key to national regeneration. None of them made a fetish of religious orthodoxy and tradition, nor did they think of political progress in terms of sectarian or communal interest. Their standpoint began to be misunderstood when the Muslim search for identity on the basis of their Islamic heritage became a practical factor in Indian politics.

Swami Vivekananda

Swami Vivekananda was a *sannyasi* who had renounced worldly life; but he had good western education in his youth, and his conception of society was influenced by the views of Herbert Spencer and Comte. He was free from the customary socio-religious prejudices. Like Bankim, he took an integrated

and rationalism.' The Hindu society stood on the defensive; it found a protective wall in its ancient heritage.

Hindu Mela

At this crisis Rajnarain Bose, a Brahmo and a product of Western education, proclaimed 'the superiority of Hindu religion and culture over European and Christian theology and civilization'. His lecture on this subject (1872) was preceded by the formulation of his ideas (1866) for the establishment of a 'Society for the Promotion of National Feeling among the Educated Natives of Bengal'. These ideas were taken up by Nabagopal Mitra, editor of the *National Paper* founded by Devendranath Tagore in 1865. He started an annual public gathering called *Hindu Mela* to promote national feeling, patriotism and self-help among the Hindus. It was held 14 times between 1867 and 1880. Nabagopal maintained that the basis of national unity of India was Hinduism. This really meant a protest against humiliating borrowing from the West, not a challenge to the Muslims who were—along with the Hindus—victims of subjection to foreign rulers. The importance of the *Hindu Mela* declined owing to the establishment of other associations more directly connected with the political-cum-national movement in Bengal.

Swami Dayananda

Swami Dayananda forged a link between Hinduism and political liberation. He fostered the national pride of his countrymen by declaring that from the days of Manu to those of the Pandavas, the Aryans were the paramount power throughout the world. He traced the republican form of government to the Vedas and the *Dharma Shastras*. His teachings have sometimes been interpreted as an attack on other religions and as a plea for 'a dominant pan-Hindu revivalist framework'.

Bankim Chandra

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee responded to the threat of Christianity by interpreting Hinduism in the light of modern philosophy and principles of criticism in his three works, *Dharmatattva*, an incomplete commentary on the *Gita*, and *Krishnacharitra*. He used the Sanskrit term *dharma* in a sense which was wider than that of the English word 'religion'; it covered, he held, 'man's relations to God and his relations to man, his spiritual life and his temporal life'. His view of 'religion' was influenced by 'the empirical, utilitarian and posi-

phered Asoka's inscriptions. In the educational controversy of Lord William Bentinck's days, in which the Anglicists won the day, an influential group of Englishmen—the Orientalists—championed the cause of traditional studies in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. The Archaeological Survey of India, led by British officers like Alexander Cunningham, discovered and preserved artistic monuments of ancient India. Curzon passed the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. Some German scholars interested themselves in Sanskritic studies. Max Muller bestowed the highest praise on ancient Indian civilization and explained what India could teach the West.

The European exploration of India's ancient heritage had a direct impact on the educated Hindus of the nineteenth century. They became acquainted with the political and cultural achievements of their remote ancestors and felt that they could revive that glorious tradition. This was a counterblast to the general British propaganda that India's religious and social life was darkened by superstitions, that her civilization was much inferior to that of the West, and that Indians were unfit for self-government. A new self-confidence inspired the educated Indians; they turned to the past for inspiration to restore national glory in literature, philosophy, art and politics. This 'revivalism' was a powerful force behind the national movement. In some cases an exaggerated value was attached to past achievements, and unpractical over-confidence was indulged in. But there was no intolerance in such worship of the past, no open or implied hostility to any other community. The Muslims also glorified their past, turning their attention primarily to Arabia and Persia and giving medieval India no more than a secondary place in the assessment of their heritage.

Threat from Christianity

The continuous efforts of the Christian missionaries to preach their creed and secure converts, which had seriously alarmed the Hindu society during the pre-'Mutiny' period, took a new form in later years. As the response from the educated Hindus at the urban centres was very unsatisfactory, they tried to carry the message of Jesus Christ to the illiterate masses in comparatively remote regions. They virtually left the Muslims to themselves; their crusade was directed against Hinduism which they regarded as tainted by idolatry. A section of the Brahmos, led by Keshab Chandra Sen, 'developed unmistakable tendencies towards the modern European or Christian ethics

as 41 relate to resolutions adopted by the Congress during the period 1885-1905. It was a record of disappointment which could not but weaken confidence in the policy of petition-cum-persuasion; but the Fathers of the Congress remained firm in their belief in Britain's generosity and statesmanship. One section of Congressmen, however, became uneasy. Bepin Chandra Pal described Ripon, an idol of the Congress, as a 'baby-comforter' and complained: 'We had been brought up for too long a period upon political lollipops'. Curzon 'threw the 'baby-comforter' away. He waited for the 'peaceful demise' of the Congress, and challenged the nationalists by partitioning Bengal. The established leadership of the Congress was still unwilling to change its policy and strategy.

Dissent had been developing since the early nineties; the chief centres were Bengal, Maharashtra and the Punjab. In Bengal Aurobindo Ghosh published *New Lamps for Old* in 1893-94, criticizing the Congress leaders for 'playing with bubbles' like Legislative Councils and simultaneous Civil Service Examinations in London and India. Aswini Kumar Datta described the Congress as 'a three days' *tamasha*'. Sister Nivedita, a disciple of Vivekananda, imported revolutionary ardour into the Nationalist movement. In Maharashtra Bal Gangadhar Tilak captured control over the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha after a split with the group led by the old veterans, Mahadev Gobind Ranade and Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1895). He became an all-India political celebrity as a result of his imprisonment in 1897. He said that Indians could not 'achieve any success if we croak once a year like a frog'. Bepin Chandra Pal condemned the Congress as a 'begging institution' (1902). In the Punjab Lala Lajpat Rai wrote articles (1901-2) criticizing the aims and methods of the Congress. Political rights could not be won, he declared, by an organization which could not 'distinguish between *begging* rights and *claiming* them'. He asked the Congress to realize that 'sovereignty rests with the people, the State exists for them and rules in their name'.

On release from jail in 1898 Tilak found himself thwarted in the Congress session of 1899 and opposed in his own province by Pherozeshah Mehta and G. K. Gokhale. But he found admirers in Bengal such as Bepin Chandra Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh. The Shivaji Festival sponsored by him to commemorate the achievements of the great Maratha hero was accepted in Bengal as a national celebration. Rabindranath Tagore

wrote a stirring poem on Shivaji, describing him as a great dreamer of Indian unity. Sir Valentine Chirol, a British writer, called Tilak 'the father of Indian Unrest'. His radicalism lay in his idea of activizing the masses. He tried to educate them to be active participants in the political struggle.

The older leaders of the Congress, firmly committed to constitutional methods, were 'apprehensive of the forces that the awakening of the masses might unleash'. The difference lay chiefly in method. The 'old party', which came to be known as the party of 'Moderates', 'believed in appealing to the British nation'. This belief was not shared by Tilak and his supporters, who came to be known as 'Extremists'. They believed in 'achieving the goal by our own efforts'. There was no necessity for arms; 'the whole of this administration' could be paralysed by the use of a 'political weapon, boycott'. Among other weapons favoured by different Extremist leaders were the establishment of *Swadeshi* industries, introduction of technical education, and revolutionary terrorism.

The polarization of differences within the Congress—between the 'Moderates' and the 'Extremists'—was accelerated by the Partition of Bengal (1905). The Congress at its open session in 1905, with G. K. Gokhale—a Moderate as President, recorded its 'emphatic protest' against Curzon's anti-national measure, but there was no unanimity in regard to direct resistance in the form of *Swadeshi* and Boycott. The cleavage became sharper in the next session of the Congress (1906). At the next session held at Surat (1907) under the Presidentship of another Moderate, Rashbehari Ghosh, a definite split occurred. In 1908 the 'Moderates' drew up a Constitution which practically excluded the 'Extremists' from membership of the Congress which was declared to be 'definitely committed only to the constitutional methods'.

3. 'HINDU REVIVALISM'

Discovery of India's past

In the late eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth century several Englishmen distinguished themselves by discovering and interpreting India's past. The great pioneer was Sir William Jones, the founder of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. The Sanskrit Colleges at Benares and Calcutta were founded under British patronage. Prinsep deci-

in different provinces and among different communities, and the Congress, being a 'gathering of all classes', could not 'discuss the social reforms needed in each individual case'. Hume said in 1888 : 'The Congress is National, and it deals only with those questions on which the entire nation is practically agreed'.

The exclusively political character of the Congress explains its indifference to social reforms which had previously engaged the attention of Indian political leaders. Its leaders came from different provinces, religious communities, and castes. They could stand on the same platform only on such issues as were of concern to all Indian communities, e.g., political and economic issues. They felt that insistence on social reforms would obstruct the development of a national political programme. Though they remained silent on social abuses, they had a modest social welfare programme. They laid a good deal of emphasis on the spread of primary education among the masses. They also demanded increasing facilities for technical and higher education. They believed that, through Legislatures with elected representatives of the people and invested with larger powers, it would be possible to ameliorate the condition of the masses and promote social reforms.

Congress programme : national unity

The Congress leaders laid great stress on its role as a 'mighty nationalizer'. Speaking as Congress President in 1891, P. Ananda Charlu said that the equivalent of the English term 'nation' was the Sanskrit word *praja* which meant the 'aggregate' of 'citizens of one country, subordinate to one power, subject to one supreme Legislature, taxed by one authority, influenced for weal or woe by one system of administration, urged by like impulses to secure like rights and to be relieved of like burdens'. He attached greater importance to 'one-ness of rule and same-ness of political experience' than to factors like racial origin, religion and language. In this sense the Congress was promoting a national spirit. Sir Henry Cotton, speaking as Congress President in 1904, said: 'The growth of an Indian nation is the great political revolution that is working before our eyes'. Many years later Surendra Nath Banerjee chose for his autobiography a significant title: *A Nation in Making: 'Moderates' and 'Extremists'*.

The official historian of the Congress had drawn a list of 56 'unsatisfied demands till the year 1918'. Of these, as many

ed resistance to all official attempts to curtail the freedom of speech and freedom of the press. In 1897 B. G. Tilak and several other leaders in Maharashtra were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment on the charge of spreading disaffection against the Government through their speeches and writings. At the same time the Nattu brothers of Poona were deported without trial. These attacks on the civil liberties of the people provoked a country-wide protest.

Congress programme : economic reforms

It has been alleged that the Congress had 'no popular programme to rally the peasantry' although 'the poverty of India gave rise to some academic speculation inside Congress'. This is not correct. The nationalists blamed the British for the destruction of India's indigenous industries and proposed the rapid development of modern industries in the country. As concrete measures they suggested tariff protection and direct Government aid for Indian industries. Even before the Swadeshi Movement following the Partition of Bengal (1905) they encouraged the use of Indian goods and the boycott of British goods for promoting Indian industries. Foreign clothes were burnt at Poona in 1896.

For the benefit of the peasantry the nationalists demanded reduction of land-revenue, extension of irrigation and development of agricultural banks which would free them from the clutches of the money-lenders. They agitated for improvement of the condition of workers in the plantations. They demanded abolition of the salt tax. They protested against the heavy military expenditure of the Government of India and pleaded for its reduction. They urged consideration for the sufferings of Indian workers whom poverty compelled to migrate to foreign countries such as South Africa, Mauritius, the West Indies and British Guiana in search of employment. They carried on a continuous agitation for stoppage of drain of wealth from India to England. 'Under the British Indian despot', Dadabhai Naoroji said, the Indian's 'substance is drained away, unseen, peacefully and subtly—he starves in peace and perishes in peace'.

Congress programme : social welfare

The movement for social reform was an important issue in public life in the eighties, but the Congress kept itself aloof from it. Dadabhai Naoroji said in his Presidential address in 1886 that there were different 'customs and social arrangements'

the fourth session, said: 'We don't want the strong meat of full age, but we want to be weaned'. Presiding over the thirteenth session Sankaran Nair said: 'The only condition requisite for the fruition of our political aspirations is the continuance of the British rule'. Surendra Nath Banerjee, speaking as President in 1902, declared that the Congress had a 'divine mission': 'the unification of our peoples and the permanence of British rule in India'.

A new note was introduced by G. K. Gokhale as President in 1905. He defined the 'goal of the Congress' as the attainment 'in course of time (of) a form of government . . . similar to what exists in the self-governing colonies of the British Empire'. Dadabhai Naoroji, presiding for the third time in 1906, used the expression 'self-government or *Swaraj* like that of the United Kingdom.' The word *Swaraj*, used by B. G. Tilak in the nineties, was used from the Congress platform for the first time in 1906, and it became 'the war cry of India for the next forty years'.

The Congress pursued moderate aims through constitutional methods. It was anxious to rally all shades of political opinion under its banner. It was careful not to alienate the Government lest its activities should be suppressed. It had 'enough faith . . . in the stern sense of British justice', as D. E. Wacha said as President in 1901.

In concrete terms the Congress programme centred round the Legislative Councils. The Congress demanded expansion of their size, introduction of an elected element into their composition, and enlargement of their functions. The emphasis was on the introduction of representative institutions. The demands had some influence on the making of the Indian Councils Act of 1892. It was accepted by the Congress in a 'loyal spirit'; but its provisions, particularly the absence of any provision for direct election, were criticized.

The leaders of the early phase of the Congress were genuine patriots; they sincerely desired their country's progress along lines laid down by the political thought and the political experience of the West. But they were realists; they felt that a direct challenge to British rule was out of the question. In those days Britain was the mightiest imperial power in the world. A direct challenge—the 'Quit India' movement—failed in 1942 when Britain was passing through the greatest crisis in her history. The early leaders of the Congress believed that

slow, gradual and moderate pressure on the British Government would, sooner or later, bring to the people of India the substance of self-government. As revolution was not possible they concentrated on reform. They tried 'to build up a strong public opinion in India, to arouse the political consciousness and national spirit of the people, and to educate and unite them on political questions'. In this programme their success was considerable. They laid the basis of a national demand which became wider, more exacting and more aggressive during the Gandhian era. They did not appeal directly to the masses and organize them for direct action. The time was not yet ripe for democratizing the nationalist movement to that extent. It was still a movement of the educated classes, but its influence infiltrated slowly into the villages.

Congress programme : administrative reforms

Administration touched the people at all levels. Naturally the pre-'Mutiny' political leaders, from Rammohun Roy onwards, pleaded for administrative reforms. That tradition was continued by the Presidency Political Associations, the Indian Association, and the Congress.

The most important administrative reform demanded by the political leaders during the last three decades of the nineteenth century was appointment of Indians in the higher grades of administrative services. Special stress was laid on the Indian Civil Service ; removal of special difficulties which handicapped Indian candidates—such as fixation of a low age limit—was demanded, and introduction of simultaneous examinations in London and India was urged. The appointment of Europeans was economically and morally injurious for India. They were paid high salaries and pensions, and a considerable part of their income was spent in England. Morally, submission to their control compelled Indians to live in 'an atmosphere of inferiority' and crushed their 'administrative and military talents'.

The Congress pressed for separation of the Judiciary from the Executive because the combination of the functions of the thief-catcher (the Magistrate who controlled the police) with those of the thief-punisher (the Magistrate sitting as a criminal judge) was opposed to the principle of impartial administration of justice. The Congress opposed the curtailment of the powers of the juries.

The Congress programme in defence of civil rights includ-

gress as the mouthpiece of a 'microscopic minority' and charged it with provoking excitement of hatred against British officials. Towards the end of 1887 a 'Special Branch' of the Police was created 'with the object of dealing with specially confidential political movements and meetings, excitement, wandering characters of a suspicious nature, public feeling, illicit trade in arms and ammunition, etc.'. Hume organized meetings, distributed leaflets and pamphlets, and appealed for funds to all classes of Indians. His agitational methods alarmed the bureaucracy, and there was a proposal to deport him from India. The organizers of the fourth session of the Congress at Allahabad (1888) were obstructed by the local officials, at the instance of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Auckland Colvin, in their attempt to procure a suitable site in the city.

As the Congress adhered scrupulously to moderate and constitutional methods, the British Government did not launch any direct attack on it; but steps were taken to weaken it by indirect methods. In 1888 the Viceroy formally warned some Princely States not to support the Congress. Far more effective was the alienation of the Muslims from the Congress through the policy of 'divide and rule'. The Aligarh Movement owed much to British official encouragement and patronage. Its first great political success was the gift of separate electorate from Lord Minto in 1906. The British rulers were hopeful that the Congress would collapse. Curzon wrote to the Secretary of State in 1900: 'The Congress is tottering to its fall, and one of my great ambitions, while in India, is to assist it to a peaceful demise'.

Congress programme : constitutional reforms

The Congress claimed a share in the government of the country, not freedom from British rule. Loyalty to the British Crown was loudly and repeatedly declared. As President of the second session Dadabhai Naoroji described the Congress as 'another stone in the foundation' of the British Government, not 'a nursery for sedition and rebellion'. In his speech at the first session he had claimed 'Britain's best institutions' because Indians were British subjects. As President of the third session Badruddin Tyabji urged avoidance of the 'sin of illegal and anarchical proceedings' and advocated the method of demanding redress of grievances through 'unanimous' and 'temperate' presentation of 'views and wishes' to the Government. Progress was to be slow and gradual. George Yule, President of

434 delegates, at the third session in Madras (1887) there were 607, and at the fourth session at Allahabad there were 1248. In 1888 Dufferin ridiculed the leaders of the Congress as spokesmen of 'a microscopic minority'.

The nationalist leader, Bipin Chandra Pal, wrote later that 'the Congress was not a people's body from the very start (and) . . . had an aristocratic air from the very beginning'. This is correct. Among the delegates of the first four sessions, numbering 2,361, there were 866 lawyers, 170 journalists, 67 doctors, and 61 teachers. For many decades more than one-third of the delegates at every session of the Congress belonged to the legal profession. There was an 'entire absence of the old aristocracy' representing the landed interest; it was the new aristocracy of professional men with Western education which founded and led the Congress.

In its early years the Congress had no permanent organization. 'There were no paying members, no official other than a general secretary, no central office, and no funds'. Every year a session was held in a different city with a different President, and it was managed by a local Reception Committee with locally collected funds. Yet the Congress grew from strength to strength because it made itself the mouthpiece of national aspirations and attracted the support of thousands who did not attend its sessions. Among its Presidents during the first two decades were nationally respected leaders like W. C. Bonnerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji, Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozeshah Mehta, P. Ananda Charlu, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Ananda Mohan Bose, Ramesh Chandra Dutt and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. There were two Muslim Presidents (Tyabji and R. M. Sayani) and three European Presidents (George Yule, a merchant of Calcutta, and Sir William Wedderburn, a retired Civilian who wrote Hume's biography, and Sir Henry Cotton, a retired Civilian). Among other leaders of the Congress were Mahadev Gobind Ranade, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Sisir Kumar Ghosh, G. Subramanaya Iyer, and C. Vijayaraghavachariar. The participation of women in the national movement was anticipated by the address delivered at the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1890 by Kadambini Ganguli, the first woman graduate of Calcutta University.

Attitude of British Government

From its very birth the Congress had to face opposition from the foreign rulers. Dufferin openly described the Con-

Foundation of Indian National Congress (1885)

In 1883 Hume addressed an open letter to the 'graduates of the Calcutta University' in connection with the Ilbert Bill. He wrote: 'What is needed is union, organization, and to secure these, an association is required, armed and organized with unusual care, having for its object to promote the mental, moral, social and political regeneration of the people of India'. In 1883-84 he established contact with different parts of India and founded the Indian National Union. In 1884 he visited Bombay and discussed with local leaders the idea of the formation of a central 'national association' to direct political activities on an all-India scale. Early in 1885 he visited Madras where the Theosophists had already decided to form political associations at different stations and a central association at the capital of each province. Then he came to Calcutta where he met several leaders; but he did not meet Surendra Nath Banerjee whose progressive views were disliked by the moderate leaders like W. C. Bonnerjea. On his way back to Simla he met Dufferin. Expecting—presumably—the Viceroy's acquiescence—if not support—he issued a confidential circular to the inner circle of his political collaborators, announcing that a 'Conference of the Indian National Union' would be held at Poona in December 1885 which would be composed of educated delegates from all parts of the three Presidencies. He spent the later months of the year (1885) in England where he established contact with some leading Liberals, apparently to attract their interest to his project.

The proposed conference—to which the name 'Indian National Congress' was given—was held in Bombay on 28 December 1885, Poona having been found unsuitable on account of the outbreak of cholera there. The President was W. C. Bonnerjea, a leading lawyer of Calcutta. Hume was present. Leading Indian newspapers immediately recognized its importance. The *Hindu* of Madras acclaimed the 'birth of national unity'.

Development of Congress

The first session of the Congress was attended by 72 delegates; the largest number (about 38) came from the Bombay Presidency, and Bengal sent only 3, Surendra Nath Banerjee and Ananda Mohan Bose not being among them. At the second session in Calcutta (1886)—in which Surendra Nath Banerjee and Ananda Mohan Bose played an important role—there were

and criticized official measures. A Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal wrote: 'A Government, whose position largely depends on the sort of moral force due to a belief in its uncontrollable power, can hardly afford to be constantly held up to the contempt of its subjects.' This idea led Ripon to pass the Vernacular Press Act (1878). Two immediate results of the Act were the conversion of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* into an English paper and the foundation of the *Hindu in Madras* (1878). Ripon repealed the Act (1882). Already the *Samak*, a Marathi daily (which later acquired great importance under the editorship of Bal Gangadhar Tilak), and the *Madrasia*, an English weekly, had been founded at Poona (1881).

Hume and Dufferin

Hume's assessment of the growing threat to British rule in India was somewhat exaggerated, for there was neither any individual nor any organization capable of shaping discontent in different regions into a rebellion, and there was no chance of success against the reorganized British army. But he was one of those few Europeans in India who still remained there, both in collaboration with educated India. Naturally he came into close contact with Ripon. He also met Lord Dufferin, Ripon's successor, for political talks, but the Viceroy regarded him as a former Government employee who 'was got rid of on account of his impracticability' and 'seemed to have got a bee in his bonnet'. There is a later story that Hume received from Dufferin the idea of organizing an annual conference of educated Indians for political discussions. There is no trustworthy evidence to show that the idea of founding the Indian National Congress was conceived by the Viceroy.

As a matter of fact, the idea of organizing an all-India political organization owes nothing to Hume or to Dufferin. It had been anticipated dimly by the founders of the British Indian Association. It was recognized openly by the founders of the Indian Association. When the Indian Association found that it could not function in practice at an all-India level it convened two National Conferences (1885, 1886), which were to some extent national in composition and fully national in outlook. The torch lighted by the Indian Association through two National Conferences was taken away by the Indian National Congress which henceforth claimed to be a 'united nationalizer'.

observer described it as 'the first stage towards a National Parliament.'

In 1884, following the first National Conference, Surendra Nath Banerjee undertook a propaganda tour in Upper India. Towards the end of the year there were large demonstrations to mark Ripon's departure from India which showed 'a spirit of organisation which India had never known before'.

The second session of the National Conference, held in Calcutta in December 1885, was attended only by a few representatives from provinces other than Bengal. This was due to the fact that the first session of the Indian National Congress was held in Bombay at the same time. The organizers of the two assemblies worked 'independently, neither party knowing what the other was doing until on the eve of the sittings'. The National Conference passed some resolutions, but it never met again, for those who had assembled under its banner joined the Congress.

The foundation of the Congress not only brought the National Conference to an abrupt end; it weakened the Indian Association which henceforth became entirely provincial in outlook and programme.

2. INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Allan Octavian Hume

The man who played the initial role in collecting provincial threads in the political sphere and weaving them into an all-India net was a British member of the Indian Civil Service named Allan Octavian Hume. Son of the radical British leader Joseph Hume, he inherited his father's political views and interested himself in early youth in European revolutionary associations. He joined the Company's Civil Service in 1849, served in the North-Western Provinces, became a Secretary to the Government of India in 1870, incurred Lytton's displeasure and suffered demotion in 1879, and retired in 1882. Instead of returning 'Home' like his fellow Civilians he settled at Simla. In 1883-84 the 'hermit of Simla' entered the Indian political stage.

Three factors explain Hume's post-retirement activities: lingering loyalty to radicalism; experience, acquired during official career, of the suffering of the people due to economic distress; the conviction, created by the events of 1857-58, that

'the whole grand apparatus' of the British Government might 'shrivel up in a single month' as a result of a violent explosion of the people's discontent.

'Safety valve'

Against such a dangerous explosion Hume sought to provide a 'safety valve'. As a high official he had access to 'very voluminous secret police reports which revealed the growth of popular discontent and the spreading of underground conspiratorial organization'. He was afraid that educated Indians might provide leadership to the discontented masses and organize a powerful rebellion against their foreign rulers. He wrote: 'A safety valve for the escape of great and growing forces . . . was urgently needed'. This purpose could be served by providing for the 'products' of Western education a 'constitutional channel' for their political activities.

The years just before the foundation of the Congress were among the most dangerous since 1857. The Wahabi movement, though suppressed, was not dead. Its influence infiltrated into tribal disturbances in the north-west and survived among the Faraizis in East Bengal. In the Punjab the programme of the Kuka movement included the restoration of the Sikh sovereignty. Moreover, in the Punjab the money-lender had won a 'crushing victory' over the peasantry by 1880 and there was widespread discontent. In Western India the 'Deccan Riots' of 1875, which affected the Poona and Ahmadnagar districts, were due to heavy assessment of land-revenue and exploitation of the peasantry by crafty money-lenders. In Maharashtra Wasudeo Balwant Phadke organized an armed rising of peasants in 1879. He committed dacoities, but a large section of the public ignored his methods and lauded his intentions. In Bengal the 'Pabna disturbances'—an agrarian movement—directed official attention to the grievances of the peasantry and led finally to the passing of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885.

The Indian owned newspapers were rapidly growing in number and influence. In the late seventies there were about 62 such papers in the Bombay Presidency, about 60 in the North-West Provinces, Oudh and the Central Provinces, about 38 in Bengal, and about 19 in Madras. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, edited by Sisir Kumar Ghosh, and the *Bengalce*, edited by Surendra Nath Banerjee, were powerful organs of public opinion. The press publicized the grievances of the people

Bill it favoured the cause of the tenants and organized popular demonstrations of thousands of peasants. It concerned itself with the grievances of the tea-garden labourers in Assam. It supported Ripon's policy on local self-government which, it hoped, would provide a base for 'representative government'. It organized counter-agitation against the attempt of the Europeans to kill the Ilbert Bill.

In 1877-78 Banerjee toured different parts of India in an effort to create an all-India public opinion on the Civil Service issue. The agitation was carried to England by Lal Mohan Ghosh, a delegate sent by the Indian Association. He declared that it was necessary to 'transform the tiny brook of a feeble public opinion, into the rushing torrent of a mighty national demonstration'.

National Conference

Despite its wide outlook, progressive programme and success in establishing branches in and outside Bengal, the Indian Association did not succeed in becoming an all-India body. The Ilbert Bill agitation taught the political leaders that 'in the political world success did not depend so much upon men as on organized efforts.' Such efforts could pave the way to 'united and concerted action' on a larger scale than the Indian Association could organize. In 1883, following Banerjee's imprisonment for two months on the charge of contempt of court, it was proposed to raise a National Fund, which would be placed under the control of an all-India body 'with a view to secure the political advancement of the country by means of a constitutional agitation in India and England, and by other legitimate means'. The urge for unity was not confined to Bengal. 'Throughout the sub-continent there were signs of preparation for action which would rise above the merely local level'.

These developments led to the meeting of the first National Conference in Calcutta in December 1883. It was sponsored by the Indian Association; the leading organizers were Surendra Nath Banerjee and Ananda Mohan Bose. Its purpose was 'to bring the national forces into a focus, and, if possible, to concentrate them upon some common object calculated to advance the public good'. Attended by more than 100 delegates from different provinces, it was the first assembly of educated Indians representing different parts of the country deliberating on public questions for three days. A foreign

Civil Service for a minor technical error. He began his public career in 1875, attracted the attention of the student community of Calcutta by delivering stirring addresses on nationalist topics, and gradually established his reputation as a great orator. Under his editorship the *Bengalee* became a powerful nationalist newspaper and exercised considerable influence on public affairs for many years.

According to Banerjee, the Indian Association had the following objectives: (1) creation of a strong body of public opinion; (2) unification of the Indian races and peoples upon the basis of common political interests and aspirations; (3) promotion of friendly feelings between Hindus and Muslims; (4) inclusion of the masses in political movements. The Association was to be 'the centre of an all-India movement', and it was for that purpose that the name 'Indian Association' was chosen. Banerjee declared: 'the conception of a united India, derived from the inspiration of Mazzini (who had conceived the idea of a united Italy), or, at any rate, of bringing all India upon the same common political platform, had taken firm possession of the minds of the Indian leaders in Bengal'.

The idea of Indian unity was a natural development of the process initiated by the British Indian Association. But the 'promotion of friendly feelings' between Hindus and Muslims and the 'inclusion of the masses' in political movements were entirely new ideas. In practice the Association became a political organ of the Hindu middle class, and its birth marked the first stage in the transfer of political leadership to that class from the landholders who dominated the British Indian Association. The small Muslim section of the educated community got its own organization in 1877 when Syed Ameer Ali founded the National Mohammedan Association. Attempts were, however, made by the Indian Association to carry the new political ideas to the masses. Largely attended public meetings were held in several districts and speeches were delivered on subjects such as trial by jury, freedom of the press, reduction of salt tax, removal of inequality between Indians and Europeans, etc.

Consistently with its middle-class character, the Indian Association provided leadership for agitation on issues such as the age limit for the Indian Civil Service examination, Lytton's Arms Act and Vernacular Press Act, and the regulation of import duties on British cotton textiles. On the Bengal Tenancy

felt. The result was the establishment of the Madras Mahajan Sabha. It was different from similar associations in other parts of the country in one respect: it tried to bring about an interchange of views between the Presidency town and the mufassil. In 1885 it had nearly 56 affiliated associations. It worked in close co-operation with the Indian National Congress.

East India Association

Even before 1858 it had been recognized that the battle for India's political rights should be fought not only in India but also in England. The preliminary work had been done by Raja Rammohun Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore. The India Reform Society was founded in London in 1853 by English 'friends of India' for the purpose of 'bringing public opinion to bear on the Imperial Parliament in the case of India'. The East India Association was founded in London in 1866 with a view to discussing the Indian question and influencing British public men to promote India's welfare. Among its organizers was Dadabhai Naoroji who served the national cause with unabated zeal for many decades, was thrice elected President of the Indian National Congress, and was acclaimed in later years as the 'Grand Old Man of India'. He was also India's first economic thinker. In his writings on economics he showed that the basic cause of India's poverty lay in the British exploitation of India and the drain of wealth.

Several other associations to promote India's cause were founded in England during the seventies and eighties of the nineteenth century. Some public men in England—John Bright, Charles Bradlaugh, John Dighby, Henry Fawcett—and three retired members of the Indian Civil Service—Allan Octavian Hume, William Wedderburn, Henry Cotton—kept Indian issues before the British public and Parliament for many years.

Indian Association (Calcutta)

The British Indian Association lost its appeal to the younger generation because its programme was conservative and its membership was confined to a narrow circle. A group of new leaders holding progressive views, led by Sisir Kumar Ghosh, founder-editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, established in 1875 a new association called the India League. But it was weakened by internal differences and replaced in 1876 by another political body called the Indian Association. Its principal sponsor was Surendra Nath Banerjee, and his chief associate was Ananda Mohan Bose. He was dismissed from the Indian

Congress. Mehta and Tyabji became Presidents of the Congress; the former was one of its front-rank leaders for many years.

Poona had lost its political importance with the fall of the Peshwa in 1818, but not its appeal to Maratha emotion. While Bombay was the administrative capital, the centre of trade and commerce, and the seat of the only University in Western India, Poona remained the cultural and social centre of the Marathas. It is not surprising that Maratha patriotism and Brahminical influence should have ascendancy at the former capital of the Marathas. Sir Richard Temple, Governor of Bombay, wrote in 1879: '... never have I known in India a national and political ambition, so continuous, so enduring, so far-reaching, so utterly impossible for us to satisfy, than that of the Brahmins of Western India'.

The Deccan Association, founded at Poona in 1852, and the Poona Association, founded in 1867, did not show any sign of much activity. The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was founded in 1870. Although the Brahmins had a predominant share of membership, there were Hindus of other castes as also Parsis, Muslims and Christians. Mahadev Gobind Ranade—scholar, educationist, jurist, religious and social reformer, economist, politician—provided for the Sabha a type of leadership which no other political association could claim.

The Sabha not only took a constructive interest in local questions—such as revival of indigenous arts and industries, condition of agricultural classes, famine relief, settlement of disputes by arbitration, etc.—but also stimulated political activity on general issues. In 1875 it submitted a petition to the House of Commons demanding India's direct representation in Parliament. In 1878 it started, under Ranade's guidance, a quarterly journal which became 'the intellectual guide of new India particularly on economic questions'. It had to discontinue its publication in 1897. By that time the Sabha, then under the leadership of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, had been crippled by the hostility of the Government.

Presidency Political Associations : Madras

The Madras Native Association had a premature death in 1862. No new political association showing any real sign of activity grew up during the next two decades. In the early eighties the need of a strong central organization, which could claim to speak on behalf of the entire Presidency, was seriously

duced men who 'had learnt the language and the political idiom' of their rulers.

During the years following the 'Sepoy Mutiny' the British Indian Association was the most important political body in India. It had an all-India outlook and a comprehensive programme covering political, social and economic issues. Although predominantly an association of zamindars who alone had the leisure, resources and influence needed for political organization, it enjoyed wide public support and carried weight with the Government. Its organ, the *Hindoo Patriot*, was perhaps the most influential newspaper in the country.

The political strategy of the British Indian Association was simple : to submit memorials and petitions to the authorities in India, as also to Parliament, relating to legislative and administrative measures. These documents were characterized by very sober criticism of official policies and humble pleading for modest reforms. Prayers were occasionally reinforced by speeches at public meetings. The attention of the Association was concentrated on issues connected with land, and its views were shaped primarily to safeguard the interests of the zamindars. Its spokesman in the Governor-General's Legislative Council, Kristodas Pal, editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, championed the cause of the zamindars in the debate on the Bengal Tenancy Bill (1883). It opposed the imposition of income-tax. It opposed the Factory Bill passed by Ripon. But it opposed Lytton's Arms Act and supported the Ilbert Bill.

Presidency Political Associations : Bombay

Next to Bengal, Bombay was the most politically conscious province in India ; but the Bombay Association showed signs of rapid decay in post-'Mutiny' years. It was revived in 1867. Although primarily interested in local issues, it submitted memorials on questions like recruitment to the Indian Civil Service and the participation of the Legislative Councils in financial matters. By 1879 its activities practically ceased.

A new political association, called the Bombay Presidency Association, was established in Bombay in January 1885. It was practically the mouthpiece of the Parsi, Gujarati and Muslim leaders of Bombay city who did not like to associate themselves with Marathi Brahmin leaders of the Poona Sarva-janik Sabha. It was guided by a 'triumvirate' : Pherozeshah Mehta, K. T. Telang and Badruddin Tyabji. It was quite active in its early years, but it was gradually overshadowed by the Indian National

Council, introduced a Bill in the Governor-General's Legislative Council to remove the Indian officers' disability in this respect. His purpose was to remove some practical difficulties in the administration of justice. He sought to reform the Criminal Procedure Code by removing 'every judicial disqualification based merely on race distinctions'. The European community took up an attitude of 'fierce opposition' on the plea that even the most highly educated Indian was not fit to try a European in a criminal case. Some Europeans even organized a conspiracy to kidnap Ripon and deport him to England because he had sponsored this Bill. The pressure of the European community was reinforced by the lukewarmness of the support extended to the Bill by the majority of Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council. The 'Home' Government recommended a compromise. Ripon had to amend the Bill; provision was made for giving the 'European British subjects' accused of criminal offences the right to claim trial by a jury of which no less than half the number must be Europeans or Americans.

The struggle of the Europeans to retain their special privilege on the ground of racial superiority widened the cleavage between 'black and white' which had been poisoning the political climate for half a century. The Indians became more fully conscious of the humiliation of living under foreign rule. They realized that national self-respect could be preserved only through the acquisition of meaningful political rights. They felt that political goals could be achieved—as the success of the European struggle over the Ilbert Bill proved—only through well-organized and united movements. Surendra Nath Banerjee, a top-ranking political leader of those days, says: 'The Ilbert Bill controversy helped to intensify the growing feeling of unity among the Indian people . . . It strengthened the forces that were speeding the Congress movement'.

Presidency Political Associations : Bengal

Three Presidency Associations were founded in the early fifties of the nineteenth century: the British Indian Association of Calcutta (1851), the Bombay Association (1852), the Madras Native Association (1853). It was natural that political agitation should begin in 'the Presidency capitals where the commerce and administration of the Company had first unsettled the traditional order' and English education had pro-

which is beginning to show itself throughout the country'.

According to Ripon, there were 'always two policies lying before the choice (of the Government) of India'. One was the policy of establishing a free press, of promoting education, of 'admitting Indians more and more largely to the public service in various forms', and of 'favouring the extension of self-government'. The other was the policy of 'hating the freedom of the press', of 'dreading the progress of education', and of 'watching with jealousy and alarm' every thing which tended to give Indians a larger share in the management of their own affairs. Lytton had chosen the latter policy; Ripon committed himself to the former.

In pursuing this new policy Ripon attached the greatest weight to 'the thoughts, the desires, and the aims of the intelligent and educated men of the country'. He stressed 'the necessity of making the educated natives the friends, instead of the enemies, of our rule'. Apart from current political needs, he wrote, 'it would always be an aim worthy of the English Government in India to train the people over whom it rules more and more as time goes on to take an intelligent share in the administration of their own affairs'. In order to implement this policy he extended considerably the system of local self-government introduced by Mayo and recommended introduction of an elected element in the Legislative Councils created by the Indian Councils Act of 1861. In his view the Legislative Councils, not being representative in character, had failed to establish any real contact between the Government and the people.

If Lytton promoted Indian nationalism by feeding the people's smouldering discontent, Ripon strengthened it by feeding their hopes and aspirations. He earned the confidence and respect of the nationalists. When Surendra Nath Banerjee founded a College in Calcutta he named it after the Liberal Viceroy.

Ilbert Bill (1883)

During Ripon's Viceroyalty a legislative measure provoked bitter racial controversy and had important political consequences. Under the existing law Indian Magistrates and Judges, who were members of the Indian Civil Service, could not try 'European British subjects' in criminal cases although their European counterparts had no such restriction on their jurisdiction. Sir Courtenay Ilbert, Law Member in the Viceroy's

nized with a terrible famine. Money which should have been spent for saving lives was diverted to a magnificent show which served imperial interest.

In 1878 new regulations were introduced reducing the prescribed age limit for appearing at the Indian Civil Service examination in London from 21 years to 19. This seriously inconvenienced Indian youngmen who intended to appear at the examination. It was a well-calculated measure to deprive Indians of fair and equitable opportunity of competing for entry into the Indian Civil Service.

Lord Ripon (1880-84)

The appointment of Lord Ripon as Lord Lytton's successor 'represented a change of opinion in England and a change of policy towards India'. The Liberal Government under Gladstone's Prime Ministership differed basically from the policies of Disraeli's Conservative Government. Ripon was every inch a typical mid-Victorian Liberal; he 'may be described as Gladstone's agent in India as Lord Lytton was Disraeli's'.

Not being a flamboyant imperialist like Lytton, Ripon was far more interested in dull administrative reforms than in a 'spirited foreign policy'. He brought the war in Afghanistan to a satisfactory conclusion and forged friendly links with Kabul which stood the stress and strain of forty years. He reduced the salt tax. He abolished protective duties which served the interest of British industry. He repealed the Vernacular Press Act. A modest beginning was made in respect of factory legislation for the benefit of industrial workers. He appointed the Hunter Commission and encouraged the development of primary and secondary education. He created representative local bodies. His programme of rapid expansion of railways was rejected by the Secretary of State on financial grounds.

These measures, characteristic of paternal government, did not satisfy Ripon. He desired to proceed from paternalism to partnership. This was in conformity with Gladstone's idea of 'giving to India the benefits and blessings of free institutions'. In Lord Lytton's time the dominant view was that the British Government of India was 'founded, not on consent, but on conquest'. Lord Ripon desired to introduce the principle of 'consent'. He recognized the necessity of 'maintaining our military strength', but in his opinion 'policy as well as justice' required that India should be governed 'more and more by means of, and in accordance with, that growing public opinion

The princes were looked upon as a 'powerful native aristocracy' whose sympathies, hopes and aspirations were to be identified (as Lord Lytton said in 1876) with the interests of the British Crown. A barrier was raised between the people of British India, who were exposed to liberal ideas and progressive forces, and the people of 'Indian India'—the States—who remained submerged under medieval political and social systems.

Lord Lytton (1876-80)

Lord Lytton's viceroyalty made no mean contribution to the development of nationalism. Surendra Nath Banerjee says: 'The reactionary administration of Lord Lytton had aroused the public from its attitude of indifference and had given a stimulus to public life. In the evolution of political progress bad rulers are often a blessing in disguise. They help to stir a community into life, a result that years of agitation would perhaps have failed to achieve'.

Lytton's aggressive war in Afghanistan provoked nationalist agitation, primarily because its heavy cost added to the tax-payer's burden. It was looked upon as an imperialist war, not directly connected with India's interest.

A five per cent duty on manufactured cotton goods imported from England had been imposed for many years. This duty was abolished in 1879 in order to satisfy the British textile manufacturers. Lytton took this step in opposition to the opinion of the majority of the Members of his Executive Council. This was done under pressure from the Secretary of State; but his predecessor, Northbrook, had refused to submit to that pressure. Nationalist opinion interpreted this favour to British industry as proof of British policy of ruining the growing cotton industry of India.

Two measures passed by Lytton in 1878 created resentment in Indian political circles. The Arms Act, which imposed stringent restrictions on possession of arms by Indians, appeared to be a calculated attempt to emasculate the people. The Vernacular Press Act imposed restrictions on newspapers published in the regional languages with a view to muzzling them; the purpose was to prevent them from criticising the Government and promoting the newly awakened political consciousness.

The magnificent *Durbar* held at Delhi in 1877 to proclaim the assumption of the imperial title by the Queen synchro-

lated nationalism. In 1867 Dadabhai Naoroji warned the white rulers: 'The meanest worm, when trodden upon, dashes its head against your foot. Of all dangers, those that arise from outraging the feelings of a nation are the most to be dreaded, and the most disastrous in their results'. How the 'outraged feelings of a nation' could react against the assertion of racial supremacy was demonstrated in the controversy over the Ilbert Bill (1883).

'Divide and Rule'

After the 'Sepoy Mutiny' the British rulers adopted as a matter of policy the old Roman system of *divide et impera* ('divide and rule'). Though they were uniting India through a common and centralized system of administration, expansion of railways, and spread of English education, they stressed India's diversities for political purposes. In 1888 Lord Dufferin spoke of the Indian people's 'enormous number, their multifarious interests, and their tessellated nationalities'. This idea did not lose its appeal to the British mind till the last days of British rule in India. In 1942 Sir Stafford Cripps said: 'In the great subcontinent of India there is more than one people, there are many peoples and races as there are in the great subcontinent of Russia'. As a natural reaction against such statements the Indian political leaders stressed their country's unity. From its early years the Indian National Congress claimed that India was a nation.

The Wahabi movement and the 'Sepoy Mutiny' had created deep-rooted suspicions in the British mind about the loyalty of the Muslims. For a decade after 1858 the British rulers followed an anti-Muslim policy. A change of policy began during the Viceroyalty of Lord Mayo (1869-72). A new system of removing the discontent of the Muslims through conferment of special favours was adopted. Under the shadow of this policy Sir Syed Ahmad succeeded in drawing his co-religionists to the British side and in keeping them away from the Indian National Congress which was trying to forge national unity on the basis of a common political programme.

The British rulers ensured the loyalty of the Indian princes after the 'Sepoy Mutiny' by giving up the policy of annexation which had been followed in the days of the Company. 'Britain became not a foe of feudalism but its defender'—protector of autocratic rulers. Karl Marx wrote: 'The native princes are the greatest obstacles to Indian progress'

abolish them in criminal cases. Both of them, particularly Bethune, had to face serious opposition from the Europeans. The English-educated Indians supported Macaulay and Bethune; indeed, their organized protest against European opposition to Bethune's proposals for legal reform was a clear demonstration of Indian reaction against racial privileges.

The contrast between 'white and black' was sharpened by the events of 1857-58. The racial cleavage was widened in the post-'Mutiny' years by bitter memories on both sides. Apart from insult in course of official and personal relations with the Europeans, the Indians often suffered from denial of justice whenever they were involved in civil or criminal disputes with the 'whites'. As G.O. Trevelyan wrote in 1864: 'The testimony of a single one of our countrymen has more weight with the court than that of any number of Hindus, a circumstance which puts a terrible instrument of power into the hands of an unscrupulous and grasping Englishman'. This 'terrible instrument' was sometimes used with such effect that an Englishman killing an Indian often escaped with a mere fine.

In the early years of the nineteenth century the number of Englishmen in India was small, and the difficulties of the sea route *via* the Cape of Good Hope cut them off from 'Home' for long periods. This necessitated some social contact with the natives. In the second half of the century their number increased as a result of the expansion of the administrative machinery and the influx of merchants and industrialists. The opening of the Suez Canal reduced the distance between India and England; travel became comparatively easy. The Englishmen in India could now live in an exclusive society of their own and refresh themselves by going to England at frequent intervals. Dwarka Nath Mitra, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court (1867-74), whom Lord Northbrook regarded as one of the most brilliant men he had ever met—as a man who was not less clever than the distinguished British Prime Minister Gladstone—was not treated by some of his British fellow Judges as a social equal. The Englishman wrote in 1873: "There are few instances in history of such a complete and deep gulf separating the conquerors from the conquered as exists between us and the natives of India".

With the expansion of English education and the progress of political awakening Indian resentment against the racial arrogance of the Europeans became a political force. It stimu-

sized the fundamental disunity of the country on which a superficial kind of unity—administrative unity—had been imposed by the foreign rulers. The 'rebels' in arms found no national leader; they devised neither a national strategy nor a national programme. The political associations, pursuing a different policy, aimed at organizing the English-educated classes into units pleading for a more or less common programme of political progress. The culmination of this trend was the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885.

Thirdly, English education, which provided the impetus for nationalist ideas, was distributed with great unevenness among the provinces of British India. 'The growth of the educated class was concentrated in the three coastal Presidencies where the impact of British rule had worked much longer and gone much deeper than in those up-country provinces which had been organised during the nineteenth century'. 'At all levels of undergraduate and graduate performance Bengal was ahead either of Madras or of Bombay'. The intensity of nationalist feelings and activities varied with the rate of progress of English education.

Fourthly, the Muslims kept themselves completely aloof from the nationalist ideas and activities sponsored by the English-educated Hindus. They could not reconcile themselves psychologically with their loss of political power and make adjustments with the new political system. Many of them shared the revivalist ideas of the Wahabis. They did not accept English education. They confined themselves to their traditional system of education in Arabic and Persian. The result was that the nationalist movement originated as a Hindu movement.

Racial cleavage

Before 1857 the superiority complex and racial arrogance of the Europeans in India found concrete expression in their day-to-day dealings with the 'natives', including English-educated gentlemen. The European indigo-planters of Bengal treated the 'native' indigo-cultivators unjustly and cruelly, but they were generally protected by unfair laws and racially prejudiced European Magistrates. All British subjects of European origin enjoyed special privileges in criminal trials and civil cases. Macaulay (during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Auckland) abolished them in civil cases; but Bethune (during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie) tried and failed to

CHAPTER 5

THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT (1858-1907)

1. PRE-CONGRESS PERIOD

Genesis of Nationalist Movement

The foundations of the nationalist movement were laid during the last three decades of the Company's rule by Raja Rammohun Roy and Derozio and his disciples. Political awakening had its birth in Bengal, and it made greater progress here than in the other two Presidencies, because Bengal accepted English education with much greater ardour than Madras and Bombay, and produced a stalwart like Raja Rammohun Roy who has been acclaimed as the 'Father of Modern India'. Close acquaintance with European literature and political thought, and keen interest in revolutionary political changes in Europe, led political leaders and educated classes in Bengal to constitutional agitation for political rights. Having no faith in armed rising, they dissociated themselves from the 'Sepoy Mutiny', and its failure demonstrated the utter ineffectiveness of the traditional Oriental method of overthrowing oppressive rulers.

Political activities before 1857 had four principal characteristics. First, these represented the 'politics of petition' which the Extremists derided in the early years of the twentieth century. It was based on the idea that the British people, committed to constitutional government in their own country, would gradually concede political rights to their Indian fellow-subjects. It failed to realize the true nature and purpose of British rule in this country. It did not dream of throwing out foreign rule; it sought removal of grievances and slow admission into partnership with the British masters. There was no radical change in this aspect of nationalist aspirations till Gandhi introduced the 'politics' of resistance.

Secondly, the 'new politicians', being 'impeccably constitutional', worked through lawful associations. They spoke and wrote in English. They submitted their demands to the rulers. Their voice could not reach—was hardly intended to reach—the illiterate masses. Their activities were concentrated at big urban centres. They spoke for a 'nation' which was not yet aware of its own existence. The events of 1857-58 empha-

I shall close this brief account of evidence of fission forming sub-castes with the interesting illustration recorded in a Privy Council case of over a century-and-a-half ago and that too among the so-called functional caste of traders and merchants. Some 'Comatte-Vaishyas' of Orissa filed a suit against a Brahmin organization which had declined to give them professional services of Vedic ritual, concluding that the so-called Vaishyas had been practising Shudra customs for two thousand years. *Inter alia* it came out that the adoption of the so-called Shudra customs had led to three divisions or sub-castes in the group; "Byri Comaties", "Borkka Comaties [?]" and "Nogaram Comaties" (*Moore's Indian Appeals* (1836-72) with *Complete Digest*, by P. Hari Rao, Vol. III, pp. 226-41).

The fact is that differentiation, specialization and schisms of varied nature have been going on in this land for a long long time. The great Maurya emperor, Ashoka, earliest to be concerned with integration of his people, noted this fact with poignancy in one of his edicts (D. C. Sircar, p. 35) and speaks about the religious sects and their bitter controversies, while in another (*ibid.*, pp. 51-54) he claims to have commingled the people or their religious or semi-religious sects. Separation or fission thus stands out as the most important of the factors, next to the theoretical groundwork of the notion of caste, that gave rise to the multiplicity of endogamous groups in the Hindu society.

Audichya Sahasra (1164, 1427) and Audichya Sahasra of Sidhpur (1239) figure but also Dandhaya Audichya Brahmin (291) and Ghangoli Audichya (438) occur.

The Vāniās (Baniās) of Gujarat numbering 210 thousand in 1891 were said to have twenty-three divisions (*Gazetteer*, p. 70); but the 1911 Census Report on Bombay (p. 307) reported them as having forty-one "subcastes". Most of the divisions or sub-castes, except the Kapols, who number a little over 17 thousand are reported to have the standard subdivision—a subdivision which is widespread in Gujarat castes with the exception of the Brahmins and Rājputs and perhaps the Kanbis (Kunt or agriculturists)—or Visas "full-scores" as Sir Athelstane Baines (p. 34) renders it, Das as "half-scores" and "Panchās", "quarter scores". Among one section, that of the Shrimāli Vāniās, instead of the lowest subdivision being called 'Panchā' is known as 'Ladvā' (Desai, p. 103). And difference of nomenclature is accompanied by difference in social treatment. The 'Visās' and the 'Dasās' of the Shrimāli, though they do not inter-marry, inter-dine but neither of them inter-dines with the Ladvā. More or less, similar is the case with the 'Panchās' of the Oswāls who call the section alternatively 'Letā' (Desai, p. 78).

Among the Modh Baniās, who are so named apparently from the mediæval Gujarat cultural centre Modhera, and numbered almost 35 thousand in 1891, there are at least six sub-units, at least three of which, Adaljā, Goghvā, and Mandaliyā are named after towns, all located round about Ahmedabad (Desai, p. 74). Not only do these units do not inter-marry but even among each, intermarriage is not free but tends to be restricted to certain localised groups. Thus, the Goghvā Modhs of Ahmedabad do not marry with Goghvā Modhs of Surat, while the Broach Goghvā Modhs do not marry with the Kairā Goghvā Modhs. Similarly, the Visā Desavāls of Ahmedabad do not marry with the Surat Visā Desavāls, the total number of Desavāl Modhs being 17,411 (*Gazetteer*, p. 70). The 'Visā' and 'Dasā' divisions are so far integrated units that there are a number of charity trusts for each separately. Thus Dasā Disavāl, Dasā Gomathiā, Dasa Gujjar Vanik, Dasā Lad, Dasā Modh Adaljā, Dasā Modh Mandaliyā, Dasā Porwād, Dasā Shrimāli and Dasā Zarolā Vanik are all represented in the Directory of Charity Trusts of the Charity Commissioner of Maharashtra mentioned above. Among these the Dasā Shrimāli claim at least sixteen such trusts in the Directory (see pp. 301–381, 954, 966, 973, etc.).

The few features of the 'Visā' and 'Dasā' divisions in the Baniā or Vāniā community of Gujarat that are mentioned here quite clearly establish that they are endogamous subdivisions of the various sections, commonly called sub-castes and as such claim the appellation of sub-sub-caste. This is a fission and multiplication of castes through it.

Mochis are leather-workers; but in Gujarat their subdivisions are restricted to the various specializations of their craft trade. Besides Dhālgar (shield makers), Jingars (saddlers), Pakhāri (makers of ornamental hangings for horses) and Sikligārs (grinders), there are Mochis who are Chandlāgāras (makers of lac spangles), Chitāras (painters), Mingāras (workers in enamel), Pānagāras (gold and silver foil makers) and Rasaniās (electroplaters). The different subdivisions dine together but the last five have shown tendency to claim superiority and the Chandlāgāras, Chitārās and Rasaniās "have of late, separated into separate castes and raised themselves to the level of bricklayers, carpenters, masons and artisans". (Desai, p. 72; *Bombay Census Report*, 1911, p. 203)

The functional, occupational or artisan castes are naturally to be accounted for by fission and separation through differentiation. The history of technological development dictates this mode of explanation of the multiplicity of castes and sub-castes as the reasonable one. The view propounded

for that group. The Nāpits, barbers of Bengal, have been accorded a better status there than their compeers receive in Northern India and elsewhere. The Madhunāpits, who are Nāpits who have turned sweetmeat-makers, however, claim even a higher status and have stopped marrying with the Nāpits (N. K. Dutt, II, pp. 128–30).

The Nāgar Brahmins of Gujarat, who are considered by many to be one of the foreign tribes that came into the country with Hunas in the fifth to the seventh century A.D., provide an example of a set of cases where the so-called sub-castes cannot but be considered to be the result of separation or fission. According to the *Bombay Gazetteer (IX) Gujarat Population* (p. 13) they have six main 'divisions' and they totalled 28,250 souls in 1891. The highest among them is undoubtedly the Vadnagrā Nāgars, food cooked by whom can be eaten by the rest of the sub-castes, except perhaps by the Prashnora sub-caste (G. H. Desai, p. 76). Desai has recorded: "The split in the community [the sub-castes of the Nāgar Brahmins] is attributed to Shiva's wrath whose temple (Hatkeshwar) was excluded from Vadnagar when the town was built." Another tradition, making the first fission give us the Visnagrā sub-caste, all the six units being named after cities or towns of mediæval Gujarat, associates it with the founding of the town of Visnagar by Vishāldev, a Chauhān king of Patna. Vishāldev while distributing *dakshinā* at the sacrifice he had performed on the foundation of his city offered it to those Nāgar Brahmins who were present there. The Brahmins, however, declined to accept it as it is not proper for a learned high-class Brahmin to accept such gifts off hand. The king practised a ruse to make them accept the same which conferred on them certain villages. The Brahmins thereupon settled themselves in their free villages. These grantees were, however, "ex-communicated by their castemen, who had remained behind at Vadnagar" and came to be known as Vishālnagar or Visnagar Brahmins. Among the Vadnagrās, the Visnagrās and the Sathodrās, which is one of the remaining four sub-castes, there is a subdivision which is considered to be an additional division or sub-caste of the Nāgar Brahmins. They are described as "those who, unable to have wives from their own community, married girls from other castes and lived apart". Till the middle of the 10th century A.D. there were only Nāgars without the further distinctions of sub-castes as a copper plate sent from Ahmedabad testifies (*Ep. Ind.* XIX, 241).

The Audich Brahmins as their name shows are northerners and must be considered to have migrated to Gujarat from the North. In 1891 they numbered, in Gujarat, just a few thousand more than 200 thousand forming 36 per cent of the total Brahmins of Gujarat. According to the *Gazetteer (Ibid., pp. 2–3)* Brahmins of Gujarat totalled, in 1891, 570 thousand and had fifty-three named divisions, though eighty-four were mentioned of which seventy were traceable. In the *Census Report of Bombay* for 1911 (p. 240) the number of divisions among the Brahmins of Gujarat is recorded as ninety-three. Their main fission is associated with the reign of the Gujarat King Mulraj (A.D. 961–996). Some Audich Brahmins were drafted by him to help him carry out a sacrifice. On the completion of the sacrifice the King offered them inducement to stop in his dominions. Only one thousand Brahmins, are believed to have accepted the offer, the rest forming a *tolī* (band) refused to reside. But they, too, were later persuaded to stay on by the offer of further benefits. The first settlers naturally came to be known as Sahasra and the latter ones as Tolakiā. Strangely, however, the Sahasras are looked upon as superior in social rank. The Sahasras have among them two subdivisions which are purely geographical, i.e., Sihoras and Sidhpuriās named after the respective towns. Ten other sub-castes or castes are mentioned as having originated with the Audich Brahmins (Desai, p. 4). Among the registered Charity Trusts listed in the Charity Commissioner's Directory mentioned above not only

alternative spelling of the name) who numbered nearly 70 thousand in a total of less than 350,000 of Khandesh Kunbis. Another "class" is "Marāthe" who numbered less than 50 thousand and a third "Akarmashe", bastards. The "Marāthe" Kunbis had the further subdivision into Khasas and Kartas, the latter being the progeny of the maid servants of the 'Marāthe' Khasa Kunbis.

As for the support of the document I have to point out that it is beside the mark. Among the castes mentioned in the document the Kunbis do not figure at all. The document mentions, on the other hand, the Marāthās. Karve has referred her readers for this document, to the autobiography of the late father-in-law Dhondo Keshav Karve. At page 536 of the book, named *Ātmavritta* (in Marathi the reader will find a mention of the Marāthās but will search in vain for a mention of Kunbis). About fifteen months before the publication of Karve's book, *Hindu Society: An Interpretation* had appeared a reference to this document in my book *After a Century and a Quarter* (p. viii). In the Introduction, which deals with the history of village formation and management in India, I have drawn upon this document to enlighten us on the process of village formation. I drew upon it from the writings of V. N. Mandlik who had brought the document to the notice of the public in 1865, a fact noted by D. K. Karve too. In *Mandlik's Writings and Speeches*, pages 200 to 21 are occupied by an excellent English translation of the document with explanatory notes by V. N. Mandlik himself; and any reader can satisfy himself by looking into it.

Having disposed of Karve's claims and contentions about the formation of the so-called sub-castes, I shall add a few examples where the people concerned like the Gaud Sāraswat Brahmins dealt with earlier, have considered themselves or the society at large has considered them to be differentiated sections of a parent body.

To begin with the region of the origin of the caste system, the Sarwariyā Brahmins of U.P. as reported by Blunt (pp. 51-2), "ascribe their origin to the fact that when their ancestors were sent to perform the *jagīya* (purificatory ceremony)* for Rama after he had killed Ravuna, they accepted *all* or part of the sacrificial offering; and, on their return *the Kamajiyās, to whom** they belonged, refused to receive them, and compelled them to settle across the Sarju river, whence the name Sarwariyā (Sarjupariyā)*". The 'Byāhut' sub-caste found in several castes such as the Kalwār, Lohār, Nāg (p. 53). The Sainthwar sub-caste of Kurmis has lately become a separate caste, chiefly because of the rise of its leading family: it has also given up widow-marriage (Blunt, p. 55).

In Malwa, Mayer (p. 258) has instanced a kind of split leading to the formation of a sub-caste among the Rājputs, his Rāmkeri Rājputs with at present a five-village circle, were formerly one of a much larger circle of sixty villages.

The cases of Sadgopās and Madhunāpits of Bengal provide additional examples of sub-caste formation by change of occupation. The Gopās who numbered nearly 600 thousand and Sadgopās 570 thousand in 1931 were one caste. The former who deal in milk and milk products are not acknowledged as 'good' Shudras. Those of the original Gopās who gave up their traditional occupation called themselves Sadgopās, and adopting cultivation as their new occupation, succeeded in securing a better status. Though in the traditional list of the Navashākha caste-group the Gopa caste figures, in actual practice today only the Sadgopā receives the treatment proper

* 'Jagīya' appears to be a slovenly pronunciation of the word 'yagya' which is again the Sanskrit word 'yagya' (sacrifice).
 ** Italics mine.

themselves as rulers and aristocrats and do not marry the Kunbis. . . . The Marathas of the districts of Poona, Satara, Kolhapur, Ahmednagar, parts of Khandesh and Sholapur marry among themselves."

The information provided in the older *Gazetteers*, the first editions of Districts Ahmednagar, Poona, Satara and Sholapur, record two or three other castes than Kunbis or Marathas under the heading 'husbandmen'. Among them Mālis figure, who numbered nearly 53 thousand as against Kunbis who numbered 397 thousand in 1881 in Poona District. The *Gazetteers* of Ahmednagar and Poona do not have a separate heading for Marathas, and that of Satara, though it has a separate section for the latter, does not number them separately. The *Sholapur District Gazetteer* treats of Kunbis, without of course numbering them, under Marathas who numbered 180 thousand in that district. The Census of 1881 recorded all Marathas under the heading Kunbi.

In the *Sholapur District Gazetteer* we find the following statements about the connection between Marathas, whose name furnishes the section-heading, and Kunbis who do not receive any separate treatment: "Kunbis are said to be bastards or *akarmashe* Marathas the offspring of a Maratha by a Maratha woman not his wife."

In Ahmednagar district the Kunbis, including of course the Marathas, numbered 304 thousand. The note in its *Gazetteer* is more ample and explains the relations between the two groups better. We are informed that among the Marathas there are "two classes", viz. (1) "God" or sweet, i.e. legitimate; and (2) "Kadu" (bitter) or "Akarmashe" (bastards) and that among the former some families of high social position allow their sons, but not their daughters, to marry into "ordinary Maratha" families. Further portion of the note curiously sounds like the injunction of the great lawgivers of old like Yājñavalkya become operative, reminding one of it and runs: "After four or five generations the bastard Marathas are allowed to become sweet or legitimate. While the Sholapur account plainly asserts that the Marathas and Kunbis eat together but do not inter-marry and thus supports Karve's statement, the Poona account emphasizing the assertion that Marathas and Kunbis inter-marry by adding that the two groups "do not differ in appearance, religion or customs" contradicts her.

Kunbis were thus considered and treated as a sub-caste of inferior status by the Marathas seventy-five years ago. And that sub-caste in part at least was believed to be formed through miscegenation. Despite what Karve says to the contrary on the basis of selective information, in both the Brahmin and the Maratha castes sub-castes were formed through separation or fission or segregation from the main group.

Evidently to emphasize her viewpoint Karve has brought in the 'evidence' of an old Marathi document. She says (p. 21, 31): "In Berar and Nagpur the dominant Kunbi group is called Tirole Kunbi. They differ from the western Kunbis in many respects . . . and they did not formerly lay claim to be fighters. From among the numerous other castes calling themselves Kunbis only one need be mentioned. This is called Mana or Manwa Kunbi. . . . In an old document a village of the Konkan coast (western Maharashtra) is described. In it are mentioned Brahmin, Kunbi and other castes. . . . But the writer of the document did not feel it necessary to mention any more caste names since the village contained only one caste each of Brahmins and Kunbis."

The Central Provinces and Berar Tirole Kunbis according to R. V. Russell (*Tribes and Castes of the C.P.*, II, 19) claim to be Rajputs. Karve's statement must be considered to be either wrong or based on esoteric information not amenable to verification. As for her assertion of their difference from the Western Kunbis it has to be pointed out that in 1880 when the *District Gazetteer of Khandesh* (p. 68) was published at least "eight classes" were recognised among the local, i.e. non-Gujar, Kunbis. One of them is Tirole (named in the *Gazetteer* as Tilole which according to Russell is an

led to the schism between the Vedic school of Vaishampāyana and the one founded by his dissident but able pupil Yājñavalkya, the former school is known as the Black Yajurveda and the latter as the White Yajurveda. Followers of the fifteen traditional branches of the latter are together known as the 'Vājasaneyins'. Among them figure the followers of the Mādhyandina branch called so after its first promulgator Mādhyandina (Chitrāv, *Prāchīna Charittrakosha* (Marathi), vide Pippalāda, Yājñavalkya, Vājasaneya, Vaishampāyana, Vyāsa). The followers of the White Yajurveda are called by the name under consideration, i.e. Prathamāsāki, because perhaps Mādhyandina was the first of the fifteen branches of Yājñavalkya's recasting of the Yajurveda.

In one version of the story presented by Thurston four distinguished disciples of Yājñavalkya are mentioned, among whom figure "Mādhyandanār and Kātyāyanār". In both versions a curse is said to have been pronounced on Yājñavalkya. The curse condemned Yājñavalkya to become a Chandāla outcaste. The Prathamāsāki Brahmins, or the Mid-day Paraiyans as they are called, "are supposed to expiate their defilement [being either themselves condemned to be Chandālas or because they are the followers of Yājñavalkya who was condemned to become a Chandāla] by staying outside their houses for an hour and a half every day at mid-day to bathe afterwards. . . . But few of them observe the rule; and orthodox persons will not eat with them."

It is seen that (1) Thurston has not done anything of the kind that Karve ascribes to him; (2) The Tamil Brahmins know that Mādhyandina, or Mādhyandanār as they called him, was a disciple of Yājñavalkya; (3) that a certain practice known to be current, though dwindling, among at least a local section of the Prathamāsāki or Mādhyandina Brahmins of Tamilnad, must have provided justification for the designation given to them. It is further clear that the section was known as Mid-day Paraiyans and were Paraiyans only at mid-day or till mid-day. They were not as Karve would have her readers believe, Brahmins only at mid-day. The mid-day segregation and ablution practised by them can of course receive the appellation 'Mādhyandina'; but it does not necessarily justify the inference that it originated from ignorance of the fact of its having been the traditional name of an individual. And it is not only the Mādhyandina Brahmins of Tamilnad that have some special practice for the mid-day but nearer home in Maharashtra, too, they are known for one. *The District Gazetteer of Ahmednagar*, published in 1884, contains (p. 50) the following statement: "Yajurvedis are also called Mādhyandina because they perform their religious ceremonies, including the prayers or *sandhyā*, at noon instead of at dawn as is done by Rigvedis."

A curious feature of the lives of the great Vedic redactors recorded in the traditional account which acquires an uncanny significance in the context of Tamilnad, whose Brahmins like many near Brahmins not only permit the marriage of a man with his sister's daughter but practise it in some measure even today, may be emphasized as perhaps contributory to the general disflavour shown to the Prathamāsāki Brahmins. Vaishampāyana, the preceptor, had to perform a penance, which engendered the quarrel with Yājñavalkya, for having inadvertently caused the death of his sister's infant. Yājñavalkya, on the other hand, is credited with having married or mated with his own sister and given her a famous son, Pippalāda by name, who too, became the head of one branch of the White Yajurveda of Yājñavalkya!

I shall take only one other illustration of Karve's and that will be from the agricultural land-owning section of Maharashtrian society. She says (pp. 19-20): "The Maratha-Kunbi caste cluster comprises castes engaged in agriculture. . . . The word 'Kunbi' is applied to various groups of tillers of land. The word 'Maratha' used to be applied to a particular group in western Maharashtra. . . . The Maratha-Kunbi form over 40 per cent of the population of western Maharashtra. Of these the Marathas consider

reader in the context. The actuality of the situation, however, asserts itself and makes Karve herself name the caste later as "the Māhyandin Shukla Yajurvedi Brahmins" (p. 46).

However, her way of naming does violence to the current practice and notions prevalent in the society at large and the Deshasth Brahmin caste itself. The *Census Report on the Bombay Presidency*, 1911 (p. 245) records the caste as Deshasth and informs the reader that it has two main divisions, i.e. Rigvedis and Yajurvedis, which eat together but do not inter-marry. It also registers a third division, named 'Atharvans', evidently followers of the *Atharvaveda*, "though rather localised". It goes on to assure us that the Rigvedis are "subdivided into": (a) Smārtas and Madhvas or Vaishnavas. According to the same source of information, the Madhvas or Vaishnavas have eighteen "subdivisions which eat together but only three of them, named Satyabodhas, Rajendratirthas and Rāghavendras, inter-marry. The Yajurvedis, the same authority vouchsafes, are "split up into" those that follow the Black Yajus and those that follow the White, which do not inter-marry. The older sources of information, the *District Gazetteers* of Bombay published in 1884, testify to the correctness of the Census Report details and even add more. Thus we find in the *District Gazetteer of Ahmednagar* (p. 50), after the statement that the Deshasths have two divisions, i.e. Rigvedis and Yajurvedis, the further information that among the Yajurvedis there is "a further division called Kanvas": what a complex labyrinth in actuality and how grossly incorrect an over-simplification presented by Karve! Lokamanya Tilak advocating in 1881 intermarriage among Brahmin groups mentions, Deshasth, Konkanasth and Karhāde, as the "upajātis" or "potashākhās" which should freely inter-marry (*Lokamanya Tilakanche Kesaritul Lekha*, IV, pp. 1, 211, 553).

Karve expatiating on the nature of her Mādhyandina caste has done a sort of casual injustice to E. Thurston, the compiler of the seven volumes named *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*—she has not mentioned the book much less specified the page—and maligned "the southern Brahmins". She says (p. 25): "Thurston remarks that in the south these Brahmins are supposed to attain Brahminhood only after mid-day. Mādhyandina means 'of the mid-day'; it is also the name of a person, a pupil of Yājñavalkya, the founder of Shukla Yajurveda and followers of Mādhyandina are known by his name. Apparently the name was misunderstood or deliberately misinterpreted by the southern Brahmins."

Thurston (I, pp. 344–47) has devoted some pages to deal with one of the twelve subdivisions of Smārta Brahmins known in Tamilnad and the south as Prathamāsāki. Prathamāsākis being followers of the White Yajurveda are called Shukla Yajurvedis and are further "sometimes called Kātyāyana, Vajusaneya [Vajasaneya] and Madyandanas [Mādhyandinas]. The last two names occur among their *Pravara Gotra Rishis*. The Prathamāsākis are found among all the linguistic groups [Kannada, Tamil, and Telugu]. Among Smārthas, Āndhras and Vaishnavas, they are regarded as inferior. Carnātika Prathamāsākis are, on the other hand, not considered inferior by the other sections of Carnātakas.* In the Tanjore district, the Prathamāsākis are said to be known as Madyāna [Madhyānha] Paraiyans."

Thurston then records the two slightly varying versions of the traditional Puranic account explaining the origin of the name of these Brahmins and their Vedic 'Shākhā'. It is about the doctrinal difference that originated between Vaishampāyana, the promulgator of the *Yajurveda* and the preceptor of Yājñavalkya among others, and his pupil Yājñavalkya.

The difference relates to the penance, that Vaishampāyana had to undergo to expiate the sin which he had incurred in *killing his sister's child* by accidental trampling over it. The difference

* This identity is not quite correct. M. N. Srinivas (*Marriage and Family in Mysore*, p 29) says about them: "For an unknown reason they are looked down upon by the other Brāhmans". Italics mine.

Dr. Karve's mention of Sāraswats as one group of people in the Brahmin cluster, and her assertion that their language is Konkani, and that they are all Shaivites, furnishes the most telling substantiation of my statement that "sub-caste" is a grouping known mostly to the people of the caste while caste is the grouping known to the society at large. The Chitrāpur Sāraswats, to whom Karve's characterization of Sāraswats wholly applies, consider themselves to be a separate group. They are all Shaivites. Their language is Konkani, which is considered by many to be a sister language of Marathi. They mostly abjure fish in their food. The six sub-castes of Gaud-Sāraswats, with the possible exception of one of them, the Kaudāldeshkars, were and have themselves, for long, considered to be one caste. They started a movement for fusion in the first decade of the twentieth century. In short they, considered together, are on a par with the other four or five or six sub-castes of Brahmins, the Chitpāvans, the Deshasthās, the Karhādās, the Palshes, the Devrukhās, etc. These latter sections of Brahmins have been fusing together mostly during the last sixty years, though some of them attempted or expressed their desire to do so much earlier. Their endeavour is concretised in such institutions as the Brahmin Sabha of Bombay, while that of the former group, the Gaud Sāraswats, in the Gaud Saraswat Brahmin Samaj, also of Bombay.

Of the sub-castes of the Gaud Sāraswat Brahmins at least two, Bārdeshkar and Sāshtikar, are Vaishnavites, being the followers of the Madhva school of Dualistic Vedānta, and acknowledge the religious authority of the pontiff of the monastic centre of that school. The home language of the sub-castes of Gaud Sāraswat Brahmins is what is known as Mālwani or Kudāli speech. It is quite clearly a dialect of Marathi and not a sister language of it. At least during almost two centuries past the educated section of the caste has taken its education through standard Marathi. And whether the members of these sub-castes use Marathi as their home-tongue or not they almost invariably look upon Marathi as their language. In the Goa territory it is largely the members of these sub-castes that sponsored Marathi for their primary education for almost a hundred years and formed the spearhead of the movement to merge Goa territory with Maharashtra.

Karve mentions in her list of major groups forming the Brahmin cluster, Deshasth Rigvedi (pp. 22-23) whom she refers to later (p. 25) as Rigvedi Deshasth, and Mādhyandina. In the Public Trusts Directory mentioned above, Deshasth Rigvedi Brahmins figure in two Trusts at least, while the entry Mādhyandina Brāhmin by itself is not found. Instead there is at least one (no. 63) which reads "Mādhyandin Brāhman (Deshasth Shukla Yajurvedi)" and two (871 and 1631) which read "Mādhyandin Brāhman". The slight difference in nomenclature made by Karve, whether intentionally or not, is advantageous to her theory, removing a hurdle for her as it does! "Deshasth Rigvedi Brāhman" suggests another group of Deshasth Brahmins which is non-Rigvedi. It may be Yajurvedi or Shukla Yajurvedi or Krishna Yajurvedi or Sāmavedi. The naming of the group as Mādhyandin conceals the affiliation of the group with the Deshasth Brahmin. If on the other hand, the groups, the so-called sub-castes, are listed as they are commonly known in the society at large they would have to be named as Deshasth Rigvedi and Deshasth Yajurvedi or Deshasth Shukla Yajurvedi. This way of naming would require Karve to explain away the manifest division of the Deshasth Brahmin community which is rather difficult to do successfully. Naming the sub-caste as Mādhyandin enables Karve to put herself right with her

later publication of this or whether he could enable a research worker to have access to later data in any other way. Prof. Marshall was kind enough to write twice to the Officer but did not receive any reply!

though scattered all over the country. . . But it should not be understood that castes are made only out of tribes. Originally united bodies were also divided into many castes."

It can be seen that Irawati Karve has carried over the dicta of Ketkar, made two decades before the publication of my book, as impressions and turned them into the bogey of castes being considered on an all-India basis. This facilitates her figuring as the champion of the correct approach. In the process, casual or purposeful silence is employed to castigate my work on caste as the culprit!

The truth of the matter is quite clear. And that is that I got clear of Ketkar's wrong views and propounded the correct view of confining the study of castes to their linguistic confines and had gone further than Karve almost three decades before Karve wrote on the subject. Inadvertently, or intentionally, Karve did not note that advance in clarification of the viewpoint and went on to state what is a drag over from the past.

The third and the widest grouping of castes is not 'varna' as Karve states but a nebulous one, 'varna' the older grouping being impressed into service regularly in the case of Brahmins and only occasionally in the case of two or three castes in each one of the linguistic regions. In the case of the two hundred or so castes other groupings, which are nebulous, have been the common mode for the last hundred and fifty years at least.

For Karve's criticism and statements, so much drawn from the contributions of Herbert Risley, Ketkar who wrote twenty to thirty years before me, of E. A. Blunt and Hutton, who wrote either contemporaneously with or just later than the first edition of my book, and of Mayer and Gough, who wrote almost contemporaneously with Karve's work and almost three decades after the first edition of my book, this will suffice.

I shall now turn to the positive side, the illustrations that Karve has given to support her contention that so-called sub-castes, which are really castes of the first grade, degree and stage, are not fissions but fusions or, as Blunt (p. 50, 236-38) said it in 1931, "accretions" or "affiliation".

Karve instances (pp. 22-25) the "variety" of castes "among the Brahmin caste-cluster of Maharashtra" by choosing "only a few major groups among Brahmins, viz. Sāraswat, Chitpāvan, Deshasth Rigvedi, Mādhyandina and Charak." By Sāraswat she clearly means all the groups of people who are known either as Sāraswat Brahmins or Gaud Sāraswat Brahmins. For she specifies their spread as "the western coastal region between Malwan and Mangalore." However, the characterization, through both food habits and language, refers only to the group which styles itself as Chitrāpur Sāraswats and is known among Gaud Sāraswat Brahmins as 'Shenāipaiki'.

There are at least seven groups of these people, who five centuries ago were confined mostly to Goa territory, who during the last three hundred years have spread not only on the western coast below Devgad but also north of it to Rajapur in Ratnagiri district, to Alibag in Colaba district and to Bombay. Since at least Shivaji's time some of them have been known to the ghauts and a little later to Baroda, Indore and Gwalior in the north and Nagpur in the east. The groups, the so-called sub-castes, are: (i) Bardeshkar, (ii) Bhalawalikar, (iii) Kudaldeshkar, (iv) Lotlikar, (v) Pednekar, (vi) Sāshtikar, (vii) Shenavi or Shenvi-paiki. Saraswat Vidyarthi Sahayak Mandal listed as No. 1425 in the *Directory of Public Trusts* (Greater Bombay and Bombay Suburban District) published in 1954 by the Charity Commissioner of Maharashtra** specifies these seven groups as its beneficiaries.

* It is regretted that later data could not be availed of. Not finding any later published document I requested Professor D. N. Marshall, the Librarian of the University of Bombay, to inquire of the Charity Commissioner if there was any

"Each of these groups, major, as well as minor, generally known as castes and sub-castes, has a name. When any group of the same name happens to have a wide distribution, language delimits effective social intercourse.... In any linguistic area there were from fifty to two hundred of these major groups divided into five hundred to two thousand minor groups. An individual's circle of community feeling was any of these minor groups, in which he or she was born; but as far as civic life was concerned it was the major group that decided the status of an individual." At the end of the first chapter after reiterating the approximate number of the major groups, the minor groups are mentioned as "generally known as sub-castes". The statement then proceeds: "These major groups were held together by the possession with few exceptions, of a common priesthood. There was a sort of an overall counting which grouped all of them into five or six classes, overtly expressed or tacitly understood."

It is seen from the above quotations from my book that I have not committed the offence of treating all castes of India together. I have very clearly expressed the view that castes are confined by linguistic barriers. In the case of Brahmins I have implemented my view so rigorously that I have eschewed all reference to the traditional account of Brahmins as one community divided into Five Gaudas and Five Dravidas. As regards Karve's insinuation that the three-tiered analysis of Caste system is her discovery or contribution, it is plain that I had arrived at that conclusion thirty years before she put it forward as a brand new discovery. I did not claim it as my contribution because it was suggested by J. N. Bhattacharya's treatment of caste and was the basis of the Risleyan classification of the 1901 Census. What is more, it is also explicitly stated by S. V. Ketkar in his work published in 1909. The work, though entitled *History of Caste in India*, is, as is made clear in the sub-title, almost wholly devoted to critical description of the caste system as envisaged in *Manusmriti*. The first thirty-three pages alone present the introductory dissertation on caste system in general. And it is in that essay that Ketkar has made statements which, in the context of Karve's implied claim of the freshness of her approach and carping criticism of my views, need to be carefully noted. I shall therefore transcribe the relevant portion here.

Ketkar (pp. 5, 15-6) says: "The two hundred million Hindus are made up of diverse racial elements... They are again divided into over three thousand castes, most of them having sub-castes. One of these castes, i.e. that of the Brahmins is divided over eight hundred subcastes. . . A caste is a social group having two characteristics. . . Each one of such groups has a special name by which it is called together under a common name, while these larger groups are but sub-divisions of groups still larger which have independent names. Thus we see that there are several stages of groups and that the word 'caste' is applied to groups at any stage. The words 'caste' and 'sub-caste' are not absolute but comparative in signification. . . When we talk of Maratha Brahmin and Konkan Brahmin, the first one would be called a caste while the latter would be called a sub-caste. Maratha Brahmins in their turn would be called a sub-caste of the southern or Dravidian Brahmins. These divisions and sub-divisions are introduced on different principles. In this way two hundred million Hindus are so much divided and subdivided that there are castes who cannot marry outside fifteen families. . . *these three thousand castes with their sub-castes put together make Hindu society.*"* . . . When I say that Hindu Society is divided into many castes it should not be understood that so many thousand castes have split out of one united body. . . Numerous tribes which were living in different parts of India existed as different units, and after the custom of endogamy was introduced they did not fuse.

* Italics mine.

India, were there before the Aryans came and persisted up to the present", and the statement "no tribal society in the world has as many cells within it as the Indian society". (p. 69)

In support of her assertion that she got the impression from my book that the so-called sub-castes "arose out of castes", she quotes the following passage as one that "suggests that sub-castes arose out of castes". "A close study of the names of the various minor units, the so-called sub-castes, within the major group reveals the fact that the bases of distinction *leading to the exclusive marking off* of these groups were territorial, etc." (Italics mine).

This passage in the second chapter of my book occurs after the enumeration of the nomenclature of the major groups called castes. As the chapter is devoted to an analysis of "the nature of caste groups", the passage under quotation introduces the enumeration of the nomenclature of the so-called sub-castes. It abstracts the bases which provide the names of the sub-castes. Whether the expression italicized by Karve means rigidly what she has taken it to mean must be decided by the expressions used in the illustrations following the passage seriatim. And I submit that the context does not uphold Karve's interpretation, though about many of these I am prepared to emphasize that they are differentiatial separations from their main bodies or units.

Thus illustrating the principle of ethnic or other mixture I observe: "In spite of the so-called rigidity of caste, it appears that many of the occupational and tribal castes, either permitted or connived at the infusion of members of other castes". "Sub-castes that bear the name of some ancient city or locality are to be met with in the majority of the castes" is a mere statement of fact without the further implication as to either fission of the local caste or accretion from another region.

Lokamanya B. G. Tilak, so late as 1918, spoke of various Maratha castes as either "upajātis" or "potashākhās", i.e. sub-divisions, of one Maratha caste (see *Lokamanya Tilakanche Kesaritil Lekha*, pt. IV, p. 553).

Sub-castes, howsoever formed, are shown to be real castes by me. However, I have emphasized at the same time the distinct functions of the so-called sub-caste and the caste for the individual, and the different apperception of them by other groups in the society. And it is this feature of my treatment that led A. C. Mayer, on his having discovered the truth of it for himself in his area of fieldwork, to approve of it. He has dealt with the sub-castes and their functions in the village of his study at fair length (pp. 5-9; 151-161; 271-72) as the principal aspect of the "internal structure of the caste".

Karve in her criticism has mentioned me almost wholly to the exclusion of other well-known writers on the subject of caste. The critical portion of the quotation from her book made above, to give an idea of her views on caste, would naturally be taken to apply to my book, whether it was intended by her or not, especially as she has not specified any author in that criticism. So in regard to that feature which is not a part of her criticism but is offered as a contribution would be judged to be her own fresh contribution not contained in my work. I therefore shall quote here one or more passages which will make it clear that her criticism cannot apply to my work and also that her contribution is not new to me or to my work.

In the first chapter of my book there is the following passage: "Of the features of caste society dealt with so far three pertain to the caste as a whole; for the status in the hierarchy of any sub-caste depends upon the status of the caste, from which follow the various civil and religious rights and disabilities, and the traditional occupation is determined by the nature of the caste. The other three features, which are very material in the consideration of a group from the point of view of an effective social life, viz. those that regulate communal life and prescribe rules as regards feeling, social intercourse and endogamy, belong to the sub-caste." Then here is another:

deals with caste as can be studied in the Laws of Manu and that it is only the preliminary essay entitled *The Caste System*, forming not more than one-fifth of the whole book, that treats of caste in general.

Karve distinguishes three stages of groupings in the Hindu society; (i) Castes, i.e., 'jāti' in Indian terms, the endogamous groups; (ii) caste-clusters such as Brahmin, Kunbi or Marat Kunbi, Sonār, Kumbhār; and (iii) *varna*. She adds: "According to the older way of designation each of the Kumbhār castes was called a sub-caste, while the caste-cluster of earthen pot-makers was called the 'Kumbhār caste'. This mode of naming the smallest endogamous groups created the impression that sub-castes were smaller groups derived through the sub-division of an endogamous caste. A few examples were known of a split within a caste leading to the establishment of two new separate endogamous units; but such cases are exceptions rather than the rule. Illustrating her objection in the case of her "caste-cluster" called Kumbhār, she stated that Tilchāke, Lahan-chāke, Kurere, Hātghade Kumbhār, Gadheriā Kumbhār, etc., are "names by which the endogamous castes" within it are known, and though it was "never expressly stated that the original Kumbhār caste split into various endogamous units owing to some people coming to use different implements and techniques or owing to the use of certain animals like donkeys for carrying the pots", "the way in which the whole caste system was described gave the impression" that they were sub-divisions which had come into existence through splitting up of a unit. She went further and asserted that "when caste was described as a social organization, the description and analysis made mention of castes bearing the same or similar names over very wide areas including many linguistic regions, sometimes over the whole of India and the impression was strengthened that either (1) the castes bearing similar names were products of fission of an original single caste or that (2) each linguistic region having a single casteless society split into several endogamous groups called castes". (pp. 9-13, 19-20)

The basic groupings, it is clear from the so-called description of the caste system in Maharashtra are the 'jātis' and the 'varnas'. Karve observes (p. 47), "the 'jāti' system which allowed innumerable different endogamous groups to live separately is entirely different from the 'varna' system which divided all society into four ranks. The 'jāti' organization or something very like it was in existence in India for a long time, the author thinks, even prior to the coming in of the Aryans. The 'varna' organization belonged to the society which brought the Vedas to India. In course of time the 'varna' system was modified and the *varna* and *jāti* systems were interwoven together to form an elaborate ranking system". She explains more specifically what she means by her assertion of the 'jāti' system thus (p. 66): "My contention that a caste in each linguistic region is separate from other castes and was so for centuries, does not mean that there were two thousand separate castes to start with. There were in India tribal groups, as also different races . . . the names of many of these groups are recorded in India's literature."

In so far as Karve is positive that there are about 200 castes in each linguistic region giving two thousand castes in India" and in as much as she assures us that these two thousand, and the language-centred 200, castes were not all there from the beginning, one naturally expects to tell one how she proposes to explain the contemporary or recent existence of so many out of the tribal racial groups named by her. The tag after the named tribal and racial groups which reads "and a hundred others", if taken seriously, as a measured expression will contradict Karve's affirmation that the two hundred or two thousand groups did not exist from the start. However, there is no statement of hers, except the enunciation of what she calls her "second proposition", viz. "that living apart and organized into a caste-like structure seem to have existed for a very long time."

After describing types of tribes in the chapter on Social Types, Risley details types of castes distinguishing seven types which are: (i) Tribal castes; (ii) Functional castes—(occupational castes of other writers); (iii) Sectarian castes; (iv) Castes formed by crossing; (v) Castes of the national type; (vi) Castes formed by migration; (vii) Castes formed by changes of custom. In the fifth group of castes he draws upon castes with territorial names; but in view of the fact that the territorial principle or even the political principle of A. M. T. Jackson is seen operative in the nomenclature of the so-called sub-castes to an exceedingly large extent, Risley has to bring in the concept and fact of sub-caste, though he is concerned with distinguishing types of castes and not the so-called sub-castes. He says that people of some caste migrating to other regions than the one where their caste people in large numbers have been living, fairly soon found it necessary to effect marital alliance among the limited number in the new habitat and “in course of time the emigrants . . . become a sub-caste usually distinguished by a territorial name, such as Jaunpuriā, Tirhutiā, Bāreṇdra and the like”. Under the seventh group, too, Risley mentions the locality-based names alongside of names indicating the particular realm of social custom in which a change is effected. Thus he instances the Awadhiyā Kurmis and the Kanauijā Kurmis as sub-castes of the great Kurmi caste (*People of India*, ed. 1915, pp. 75–94). Treating of endogamy Risley counted only six named categories. Without going into the discrepancies or the rationale of the categories, here I must point out that he dwells on territorial or local names of other groups as well as mentioning the Halia sub-caste of Kaibarttas and Duliā, Machhuā and Matiāl sub-castes of Bāgdis, both Bengal castes. Finally, he enunciates his views in general terms which are tantamount to stating the principles of sub-caste nomenclature thus: “. . . the tendency towards sub-division, which is inherent in Indian society, seems to have been set in motion by the fiction that men who speak a different language, who dwell in a different district, who worship different gods, who observe different social customs, who follow a different profession, or practise the same profession in a slightly different way, must be of a fundamentally different race.” (pp. 156–88)

Of the recent students of caste in rural areas whose views are based on intensive investigation in a restricted locality I shall pick out A. C. Mayer. He of all others has discussed the question of the advisability and nature of the concept of sub-caste. And he has done so not merely on the background of the scene of his operations but has gone out much further afield. He has weighed the views about, and the contributions to, this topic of S. V. Ketkar, E. A. Blunt, J. H. Hutton, H. N. Stevenson, S. C. Dube, M. N. Srinivas, and has arrived at the conclusion which more or less wholly upholds my point of view. (Adrian C. Mayer, *Caste and Kinship in Central India*, 1960, pp. 4–9 and also pp. 152–60).

Another field investigator operating in the heart of Tamilnad, i.e., Tanjore District, Kathleen Gough (E. R. Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 16) mentions four “sub-divisions” of the Shaiva or Smārtha Tamil Brahmins and adds: “Each sub-division is divided into small regional endogamous sub-castes each comprising the local communities of some ten to twenty villages”. About the four sub-divisions she says that they are “distinguished by minor differences in the performance of Vedic rites”.

In the face of these verdicts Karve’s objection to and criticism of my statement in the second chapter which is concerned with the nature of caste-groups is not only peculiar or partisan but both carping and ill-advised. To appraise fully this aspect of Karve’s criticism it is necessary to state briefly her own view and also the views of S. V. Ketkar, the Indologist whose work on caste was published within a decade of Risley’s book *People of India* and two decades before my book. While reading Ketkar’s views the reader should bear in mind the fact that his book *The History of Caste in India*, published in 1909,

Caste, Sub-caste: Fusion or Fission?



The view of caste propounded in this book, quite clearly acknowledged the so-called sub-caste as the real caste, its essential characteristic being endogamy. Alternatively sub-caste was either referred to as smaller unit and the so-called caste as either caste, or major unit. Not rarely are the sub-castes referred to as divisions or sub-divisions, evidently of or within a major unit called caste. Their nature is analysed in the second chapter, wherein the reader is provided with the principles or the bases of distinction leading to the exclusive marking off of these 'minor units', or rather sub-groups, as deduced from a study of the nature of castes and sub-castes in the old Bombay Province and the Central Provinces, i.e., in effect in present Maharashtra. It is further affirmed that in Uttar Pradesh, the home of Brahmanic culture, the same principles can be discerned with the addition of Rajput clans and eponymous personages.

The discerning reader will perceive that the statement based on an analysis of the existing castes and sub-castes is no more a theory than the groups themselves but that it is a statement of facts. He will further draw support, if necessary, for this from the fact that the principles stated in the second chapter as the bases of sub-caste nomenclature are not used in the seventh chapter which states my view or theory of the origin of the caste-system I should emphasize the fact that I have formulated a theory of origins of the caste-system and I have not attempted to explain the origins of castes.

Since the publication of the first edition of this book in 1932 a large number of studies of caste have appeared; but they appeared to me to add facts and support my theory of the origins, and at least not directly attempt to contradict it, till Iravati Karve published her book entitled *Hindu Society: An Interpretation* in 1961. In particular Karve is positive and almost certain that the so-called subcastes, far from being either subdivisions or even specialized and differentiated subunits, are the actual castes, the so-called castes of the parlance, and of the written usage of most students of the Hindu or Indian caste-system, being really "caste-clusters" formed by a "fusion" of the so-called sub-castes (pp. 11-12, 19, 26-28, 61).

I shall begin with the views of E. A. Blunt based on and relating to the caste-system current in Uttar Pradesh, the original home of the system in my opinion. Blunt, who was the Superintendent of the 1911 Census of the United Provinces and later the Chairman of the United Provinces Banking Enquiry Committee, published his book *Caste System of Northern India* in 1931 late enough for it not to be received in the Bombay University Library before September 1932, i.e., four or so months

* This chapter was written in 1968.

after the *Times of India* review of my book appeared. His views thus are absolutely independent of any influence of my book, formed in utter ignorance of it, solely on the wide knowledge of the caste-system garnered during a District Officer's career of over two or three decades. And as the writing of the largest part of it was done, as the author informs us in his Preface, before 1927 and of the whole of it before the beginning of 1931, there is no possibility of the author's view having in any way been influenced by J. H. Hutton's dissertation on caste appearing in the *Census Report on India* which came out only in 1933.

It is instructive that Blunt not only speaks of sub-caste but also of sub-sub-caste (p. 49). He tells his readers that the "subdivisions of caste" were recorded in detail at the Census of 1891; and that the result was that the Jāts and the Ahirs "were each responsible for over 1,700 entries; the Kurmi for nearly 1,500". He naturally remarks that however much the number may be reduced by judicious scanning, the record "affords striking proof of the fertility of the caste system in the development of subdivisions". He thinks that "the name of a subdivision is generally the only clue that we possess to its [caste nomenclature] origin" and states that "nobody has ever attempted a detailed analysis of caste nomenclature". He, therefore, analyses its "principal features" and states: "There are, firstly, local, eponymous and occupational names"; secondly, there are "sectional names which are derived from castes". The fifth variety of names is totemistic; sixth, nicknames; seventh, based on some social custom; eighth, referring to origin; ninth, "referring to religious belief" and tenth, names "recalling castes of the Purānas" (pp. 37-42; 50-57; 236-38).

J. H. Hutton in his *Caste in India* first published in 1946—my references are all to the third edition of 1961—quite often uses the word and the concept and even speaks of the processes of segregation, separation and fission when writing about some of the castes and their subunits and contracts the processes of the formation of sub-castes of former times with those operating in recent caste. Formerly he states "fissions of this kind", i.e., as those seen in the subunits or sub-castes of the Khātik, a caste of butchers, viz., Bikanwālā,* 'pork butcher'; Rājgār, 'mason'; Sombattā, 'rope maker'; Mewā-farosh, 'fruiterer'; were due to migration or to political or social factors, but latterly they tend to be based on the upgrading of one's status. Mentioning with approval A. M. T. Jackson's statement based on castes of the Bombay Presidency that "a large proportion of subcastes bear geographical names he says that they could be added to without much difficulty by "parallel instances from all over India". Pointing out the favourable nature of the political condition of ancient India for "just this kind of fission" he concludes: "Clearly geographical, political and administrative considerations have not been unimportant in the development and operation of the caste system". He further used the concept and the fact of sub-caste to expound the nature and function of hypergamy (pp. 51-6, 113, 119, 181).

In the views of Blunt quoted above there is the sweeping mention of want of an analysis of caste and sub-caste nomenclature which is not quite correct. A. M. T. Jackson's contribution of 1907 has been incidentally noted above. Among the many points of credit due to Sir Herbert Risley in the matter of the study of caste the analysis of some caste or sub-caste names is one and it is but fair that in view of Blunt's assertion I should briefly describe it. In view of Karve's footnote remark about my sub-caste treatment a brief statement of Risley's contribution will do justice to me, too.

* E. A. Blunt wrote about this group as "in process of formation" and not actually formed. I wonder, when Hutton in 1946 turned it into a sub-caste already formed, if it was really so formed or was in the process of formation as when Blunt wrote fifteen years before him!