



**THE EVOLUTION OF THE
PROFESSIONAL STRUCTURE
IN MODERN INDIA:
OLDER AND NEW PROFESSIONS
IN A CHANGING SOCIETY**

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Foreword

This historical study by Professor Rajat Ray is one of a series which examines the development of professions as a key to understanding the different patterns in the modernization of Asia.

In recent years there has been much glib talk about "technology transfers" to the Third World, as though knowledge and skills could be easily packaged and delivered. Profound historical processes were thus made analogous to shopping expeditions for selecting the "appropriate technology" for the country's resources. The MIT Center for International Studies's project on the Modernization of Asia is premised on a different sociology of knowledge. Our assumption is that the knowledge and skills inherent in the modernization processes take on meaningful historical significance only in the context of the emergence of recognizable professions, which are communities of people that share specialized knowledge and skills and seek to uphold standards.

It would seem that much that is distinctive in the various ways in which the different Asian societies have modernized can be found by seeking answers to such questions as: which were the earlier professions to be established, and which ones came later? What were the political, social and economic consequences of different sequences in the emergence of professions? How well did the professions maintain standards, and how appropriate were the barriers of exclusion? What is the effect on recruitment of the political elite and on their style of politics for specific professions to have high status and others low status? How does it happen that emphasis upon the same professions for achieving the same objectives in modernization can have dramatically

different consequences in different societies? (For example, in both Japan and India the legal profession was encouraged early in order to produce government officials, yet India became a litigious society but Japan did not.)

These are only a sample of some of the questions explored by Professor Ray in this illuminating account of the establishment of certain new professions in India and of what happened to some of the traditional professions. Although Professor Ray has with great skill maintained a steady focus on the topic of professionalization, his essay sheds light on numerous subtle aspects of India's political and economic developments.

Other planned studies in the series include the experience of Japan, China, the Philippines, Singapore, and Indonesia. The project has been made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. It will also include a general book on Asia's modernization by its director.

Lucian W. Pye

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I. Urban Social Formation and the Professional Structure in India

The modern professions were imported in India from Victorian Britain. Fashioned on the British model, these implanted professions had to relate to a society very different from Victorian society. That in turn affected the structure of the professions as they developed in nineteenth-century India. The process of transplantation was inevitably accompanied by disjunctions and tensions. Not only had the transplanted structure to adjust to the native soil, but the transplanting authority itself could exercise a distorting effect. In the West the professions developed originally out of urban bourgeois society. In India, where urban society was constituted differently, this was not so.

Urban society in India contained two widely separated worlds:

- a) a highly literate and educated world of smaller gentry living partly off income from landed property and partly off salaries in administrative service from earnings from professions, and
- b) an indigenous world of banking, commerce, speculative marketing, and, later on, industrial and corporate venture.

But these worlds functioned on a high degree of specialization, skill, literacy and urbanized ways of thought and culture. It is thus tempting to see in these two categories parallels to the bourgeois or burgher elements that gradually rose to prominence in European society. But the parallels do not run smoothly. In the first place, neither the service gentry nor the merchant communities could capture state power in India. Both under the Mughals and under the British they were effectively subordinated to a ruling group above them. Secondly, the two worlds were widely separated from each other and they did not coalesce to form an integrated bourgeois world.

In independent India, certain breakthroughs have, of course, taken place. The top elite corps of white administrators has disappeared from the scene and the British managing agencies which had so long dominated the highest level of business and industry have been one by one taken over by indigenous houses. This means that the Indian administrative, professional and business groups have risen to top positions within the country. Moreover, along with the Indian elite of IAS (Indian Administrative Service) and IFS (Indian Foreign Service) officers, a new class of highly paid business executives, mostly drawn from administrative and professional families, has appeared on the urban scene. This educated managerial cadre acts as a link between the world of business and the world of administration and professions.

Yet the fundamental cleavage between the commercial-industrial and administrative-professional categories continues even today. There is an uneasy sharing of state power between these two categories. By controlling the public sector and the state machinery, the civil servants occupy a position of enormous importance, and along with lawyers, doctors, engineers, executives, accountants and various other professionals they exercise a circumscribing effect on the power of the top twenty or so business houses which, in spite of having managed to concentrate an enormous amount of industry in their hands, have to operate under extensive government restrictions and antimonopoly laws. Some Marxist scholars have been so impressed by this phenomenon as to describe India as an "intermediate regime" (a term coined by East European economist M. Kalecki), that is, a regime neither capitalist, nor socialist, but one controlled by the "lower-middle class" as distinguished from "big business." In their opinion an "intermediate class" of salaried and professional people and smaller

industrial owners have formed an alliance with the rich peasantry to rule the Indian Republic and they have promoted a public sector which gives them employment beyond the sphere of big private ownership.¹

Without entering into the dispute whether India today is an intermediate regime or not, it is possible to maintain that professionals, both salaried and self-employed, are still sharply distinguished from the top financial and industrial houses, and by their control of crucial positions in law, administration and the public sector, they serve as a check on the power of the latter. The question is why. The reason, it is suggested in this essay, is to be sought in the historical evolution of the urban social formations in India before and under the British. To understand this historical evolution, we have to keep in view the fundamental distinction between the mobile educated groups of landed smaller gentry who diversified into administration and professions, and the indigenous merchant communities. We must also bear in mind the respective roles of these two groups in the political struggle that led to the winning of India's independence in 1947.

Professional men, especially lawyers, gave leadership to the nationalist movement in India. These professionals came almost invariably from families with a background in administrative service, and such families in turn came almost always from mobile literate communities of high caste gentry with some sort of landed property. The East India Company, and before it the Mughals and their successors, maintained a huge revenue bureaucracy staffed by these

1. M. Kalecki, "Social and Economic Aspects of Intermediate Regimes" in Selected Essays on the Economic Growth of the Socialist and the Mixed Economy (Cambridge 1972); K.N. Raj, "The Politics and Economics of Intermediate Regimes," in Economic and Political Weekly, 7 July 1973.

high caste service families. It was this revenue bureaucracy which later on sustained the growth of the professions and supplied their skilled personnel. Their rural connection, their ancestral landed property, and their high ritual status in the caste hierarchy, all combined to invest these service and professional families with the character of a gentry, or to be more specific, a literate gentilefolk. Since professional men almost invariably had such a lesser gentry background, it will require many qualifications to identify them as a burgher group.

Moreover, these service and professional families under the British Raj were only marginally involved in commercial or industrial ventures. The world of the indigenous banker, speculator and merchant was a traditional world, sharply distinct from the more Westernized world of civil servants, educationalists, lawyers, doctors and journalists. The cultural distinction was even more sharply underlined by the segregation of indigenous business from the modern British-dominated sector of organized banking, foreign trade, shipping, mining, plantations and factories. Even when the indigenous merchant communities broke into the field of large-scale industry, especially during and after the First World War, they clung to their traditional culture and religion. Here again, major qualifications have to be made before we can see in these merchant communities a modern bourgeois group. Both the merchant communities and the service communities, moreover, were dependent on the patronage of the colonial state. The lack of independence, and of integration, was so pronounced as to set them apart from the mid-nineteenth century Western middle classes.

It cannot be too heavily emphasized that the modern professional groups in India sprang from the needs of the British colonial state, not from the

needs of native society. Socially the new professions in India developed from the administration and in practical isolation from the world of mercantile transactions. They were fostered by the system of English education which the British colonial state engrafted on Indian society in order to ensure a supply of modern administrative, clerical and professional skills needed by the new rulers. But a pre-existing system of indigenous education, which supported the traditional professional structure, continued to survive, albeit distorted by the modern educational sector superimposed on it. It was by far the largest sector and it continued to supply the needs of the bulk of the population, including the indigenous trading and professional groups, isolating them from the rest of society.

Parallel to the development of English education was the growth of a modern banking, shipping, import-export trading, mining, planting and manufacturing sector, but from this sector the modern professional groups were practically shut off by a racial bar against all natives. The modern business sector was predominantly European in composition. But just as the system of indigenous education persisted beneath the implanted system of English education, an indigenous system of trade and finance also persisted beneath the implanted modern business sector.

The indigenous mercantile sector was distorted by its segregation from and subordination to the modern business sector. But it was a vast and resilient sector which showed itself capable of making the necessary adjustments to the new domination of foreign capital. (The indigenous mercantile sector was distorted by its segregation from and subordination to the modern business sector. But it was a vast and resilient sector which showed itself capable of making the necessary adjustments to the new

domination of foreign capital.) The indigenous merchant communities, and not the English-educated professional groups, led the way to a gradual penetration of the modern business sector. It was they who took hold of it when the British departed in 1947.

But by then the modern professional groups had managed to capture the state machinery through the gradual constitutional devolution of power to the Indians. The indigenous business groups had to come to terms with the Western-educated professional groups in the independent Indian Republic. The compromise was reflected in the importance of the state machinery in the national life of independent India, and in the gigantic size of the public sector which the state machinery created within the economy.

The significance of the professional groups in modern Indian history must be judged against these long-term historical developments. The Indian business and professional groups had strong inherited characteristics which tended to persist under British rule. At the same time they were structurally transformed by the adjustments they had to make to British political and economic domination. At the simplest initial level, therefore, we can start with a twofold hypothesis: the specific character of the Indian business and professional groups was determined by

- a) the persistence of fragments of the precolonial social formation under colonial rule, and
- b) the impact of colonial rule.

To amplify these points further, let us observe, in the first place, that bureaucracy and commerce were well developed in Mughal India, quite unlike feudal Europe. A certain pattern had already developed -- a pattern very different from the line of development in Western Europe -- and this pattern had a tendency to persist under colonial rule. The sophisticated needs of

Mughal administration had fostered a huge and skilled revenue bureaucracy, which was largely independent of the merchant communities. Secondly, autonomous economic growth was checked under the British, but developments took place in certain directions. The indigenous merchant communities demonstrated great capacity for survival but they tended to be confined to the traditional mode of business and social intercourse. The bureaucratic and professional groups were fostered by the administrative action of the colonial state independently of economic trends, and they were more receptive to new ideas than the merchant communities.

These factors, then, combined to produce the dependent and fragmentary character of the urban classes in India. More specifically, they produced the uneasily adjusted relationship between the indigenous merchant communities and the English-educated professional groups. The bourgeoisie were an autonomous group in Europe. Not so in India. It was heavily dependent on the state and was in large part created by the action of the British colonial government. Conversely, the very restrictions within which the professional and merchant communities had to operate in a colonial state made them potentially the most dynamic and restless groups. It was the professional groups, and to a lesser extent the indigenous merchants, who provided the sustained impetus behind the national movement. The political and social adjustments that they had to make with each other in the course of this struggle against their common British master were reflected in the power structure of the Indian Republic that was to emerge from this struggle, especially in the mixed economy of that Republic with its private sector (dominated by merchants and industrialists) and its public sector (dominated by administrators and professional men).

These long-term developments are sketched in the following chart on the evolution of urban social groups in India. It will be seen that the chart traces the public sector in the mixed economy of the Indian Republic to the revenue bureaucracy of Mughal India, and the private sector to the merchant communities of the Mughal ports and inland centers of banking and trade. But these long lines of development are fundamentally broken by the colonialization of the Indian economy, which transformed the revenue bureaucracy into a subordinate civil service and legal and other professions, and the shipping and trading complex into an inland marketing system. The administrative and professional groups created the national movement, and the merchants began to patronize it in the interwar period, when they broke into modern industry. Out of this class combination emerged the Indian Republic and its mixed economy.

Chart 1

Evolution of Urban Social Groups in India

1750	Mughal State and Its Offshoots	
	Ruling Nobility	
	Revenue Bureaucracy	Banking, Shipping, External Commerce, Inland Trade
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1770	British Colonial State	
1800	Colonial Administration	Dominant Export-Import Sector
	White Administrators	White Businessmen
1835	English Education	Commercial Intermediaries, Inland Traders, and Bankers
	Subordinate Native Public Services	
1858	Professional Men	
1885	National Movement (Indian National Congress)	
1914	Merchant Breakthrough in Industry	
1920	Merchant Patronage of National Movement and Gandhian Mass Movements	
1947	Independence	
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1950	Indian Republic	
	Mixed Economy	
	Public Sector	Private Sector

Note: In the Mughal state and its successor regimes, a ruling nobility ruled it over two other urban groups -- the revenue bureaucracy and the indigenous bankers, shippers and merchants. The rise of the East India Company cut off this ruling nobility and brought to power a new ruling group of white administrators and white businessmen. Under their rule revenue bureaucracy was turned into the subordinate public services, and the bankers, shippers and merchants into inland marketers and bankers, by a process of adjustment. The

white administrators ran a colonial administration which introduced English education, which in turn created the subordinate public services out of the old revenue bureaucracy. The white businessmen dominated an export-import sector which needed the service of an inland marketing class, which was fashioned out of the older bankers, shippers and merchants. From the subordinate public services grew, by 1858, professional groups such as lawyers who created the Indian National Congress. The merchant communities stayed aloof from the national movement, but after the First World War, when they broke into industry in competition with British houses, they patronized the Gandhian Congress. A new class compromise emerged between professions and capital, which at independence found reflection in the mixed economy of the Indian Republic, with a public sector dominated by the professions and a private sector dominated by capital.

II. Old Professions

From such preliminary general considerations, it is time now to turn toward a more detailed consideration of the origins and growth of the modern professions in India. The first question that springs to mind concerns the state of the professions in India before the British took the country. What were the professions that existed traditionally? Out of what pre-existing material, if any, did the professions develop under British rule in India? What happened to the older professions?

The question is not easy to answer. Not merely is the state of our knowledge about professions in Mughal India imperfect, but the very concept of the "professional" runs into fundamental difficulties in the totally different social context of those times. In the strictest sense of the term today, a professional is a specialist who has learned his trade by institutionalized training, and who sells his services to clients for fees; he cannot be a salaried employee of the government, nor can he be a hereditary specialist belonging to a particular caste, guild or ethnic group. By such strict criteria, we shall not find more than one or two professions in India before the British developed them in the nineteenth century. Yet the sophisticated Mughal administration was sustained by highly specialized learned skills which the British inherited and used for developing a modern system of rule.

If, then, we include civil service among the professions, Mughal India was one of the most highly professionalized societies of the medieval world. Mughal government, in all provinces, was divided into two main sections: the

Nizamat department, which embraced the armed forces, home affairs and criminal justice, and the Diwani department, which administered finance and revenues.¹ It was in the Diwani establishment or the revenue bureaucracy that learned specialization was most evident. The revenue bureaucracy, a gigantic machine which employed countless clerks, writers, record-keepers, treasurers, accountants and financial administrators, drew on an extensive layer of literacy and specialized training.² Accountancy, auditing and record-keeping were highly complex and comprehensive, yet reduced to such simple forms that even village accountants trained in primary schools could maintain basic preliminary accounts that were collated in more complex ways further up the levels of the financial and revenue administration.

It was on these "extensive and voluminous" revenue accounts,³ maintained continuously in Persian and vernacular languages over hundreds of years to give a long-run view of the revenue resources of the country, that the British based their taxation and financial arrangements in India. The

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1. On the Mughal civil service, Ibn Hasan, The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire (London 1936); P. Saran, The Provincial Government of the Mughals (1526-1658) (Allahabad 1941); Jadunath Sarkar, Mughal Administration (Calcutta 1920).
 2. On the revenue bureaucracy, R.P. Tripathi, Some Aspects of Muslim Administration (Allahabad 1966); W.H. Moreland, The Agrarian System of Modern India (Cambridge 1929); Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of the Mughal Empire 1556-1707 (London 1963); Noman Ahmad Siddiqi, Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals (1700-1750) (London 1970). The revenue bureaucracy, it ought to be noted, was a subordinate layer of Mughal administration. The top level was dominated by the mansabdars, an office-holding military nobility. On the latter, see Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility Under Aurangzeb (Aligarh 1966.).
 3. Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 206, India Office Library.

"chain of accounts,"¹ moving up successive levels of the administration from the village accountants (patwaris) to the headquarters of the Diwani department, enabled the entire complex machinery of Mughal government to function. These accounts, of which the Amini Commission appointed by Warren Hastings enumerated seventeen interrelated categories, had been evolved by experience and were so suited to the needs of the country as to continue to be used by the government and the landholders in the nineteenth century.

Reduced to their essentials, the chain of accounts dealt with three basic points summed up in the phrase "Jama-Hasil-Baqi": (1) Jama, or the quantity and quality of the land and the amount of taxes assessed on it, (2) Hasil or the payments made on the amount assessed, and (3) Baqi, or the balances of unpaid revenue. The numerous revenue establishments dispersed over the countryside, through which the Diwani department collected its revenues, consisted of accountants (mohrirs), treasurers (khazanchis), writers (munshis), and village accountants and record-keepers (patwaris)² who were trained systematically from the primary school level onward to transact revenue business in vernacular and at higher levels -- Persian. The seventeen different kinds of accounts which this enormous civil-revenue service maintained from the lowest territorial units of the revenue administration -- the village (mauza) and the estate (pargana) -- were the following:³

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1. Ibid.
 2. Phillip Francis Papers. Mss. Eur.E.28, 10L, "On the Different Modes of Settlement."
 3. Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 206. The spellings of the Amini Commission for the names of the different accounts listed by it are left unaltered here and no attempt is made to standardize them.

1. Chitta. An account of all the lands in the village, containing the area of each tenancy, its boundaries, the crops raised on it, the name of the tenant and the period of each land revenue settlement. This account did not register the different tenancies that a single tenant might hold in different parts.

2. Payta. An abstract of all the Chitta account of the village, arranged under the heads of different categories of tenants, according to the dates of measurement.

3. Ekwal. An account of each tenant with the different plots of land he might hold, with their respective measurements.

4. Jumabundy. An account of the assessment detailing the name of the tenant, the quantity of land which he held, the crop with which it was cultivated, the rate of tax and total assessed amount.

5. Naccul Potta. A register of all the deeds by which the tenants held their lands.

6. Cummee Beshee Dur Furdee. An abstract account of the increase or decrease in the taxes fixed on each tenant at the beginning of the year.

7. Hal Huckekut. An account formed at the beginning of the year from the Jumabundy and the Naccul Potta, specifying the standard assessment on each tenant, any subsequent additional cesses, the increase or decrease in total taxable amount, and alterations occasioned by the tenants changing the lands.

8. Kistbundee. An account of the monthly installments by which the annual assessment was to be paid.

9. Tojee. An account exhibiting arrears in monthly installments, which were carried over into the next installment.

10. Khnicha. Current account of each tenant, with the assessment on him (according to the Hal Huckekut) on the right side of the page and on the left the sums paid with the dates of payment.

11. Boorah Tokrah or Puttorah. A six-monthly account with the assessment and the receipts to date. The balance thus struck was added to the demand for the rest of the year, the aggregate being divided into monthly installments and thus forming the basis of a new Kistbunde.

12. Akheree Hissab Khurcha. An adjustment of each tenant's accounts at the end of the year, stating the assessment, the receipts and the balance of the year, together with any pleas for tax abatement, upon deduction of which the final and undisputed balance was carried over into the next year.

13. Akheree Jumma Wassil Baky. An aggregate of the two preceding accounts exhibiting the total assessment, receipts and balances of the whole village.

14. Shomar. An account of daily receipts of whatever category.

15. Seeah. A more careful account formed from the Shomar, deducting from the latter all present and temporary cesses and containing the expenses and disbursements.

16. Puttune Jumma Khurcha. A monthly treasury account specifying the receipts and disbursements formed from the two preceding accounts.

17. Akheree Nekhass. A final adjustment drawn up by the head revenue collector after checking all the preceding accounts maintained at lower territorial units by subordinate officials. He ascertained annually the articles collected under the head of each individual tenant, then checked and retrenched the expenses incurred by each lower collector, and having given credit to the subordinate officials for amounts already paid, he ascertained the sum due from them and the balance due from each tenant.

Abstracts of these seventeen accounts from the lowest village and estate units moved up successive levels of the revenue bureaucracy to the Diwan's headquarters, supplying the basis of a most comprehensive and advanced system of financial administration. Accountancy was thus a developed profession in Mughal India, though the accountant was invariably a civil servant and not an independent professional.

The advanced system of accounting implied two interrelated areas of professional specialization -- a regular system of audit, which followed as a matter of course, and an independent system of record-keeping, without which neither audit nor accounts could have been perfected. The Diwani department itself contained the most highly specialized systems of records, audit and accounts. Although it handled vast sums, the civil-revenue service was, for all its skill and specialization, an ill-paid and ill-treated service (unlike the mansabdars or the office-holding military nobility). Corruption was rooted, embezzlements were frequent, and a tendency toward personal aggrandizement at the expense of legitimate rights in the soil was all too evident.¹ To maintain a check on the Diwani department, the Mughals maintained an independent establishment of graded record-keepers called qanungos corresponding to the local, district and provincial units of the revenue administration. These independent record-keepers maintained records that would enable the government to check embezzlements at successive layers of the revenue department, compare long-term trends in the productive capacity and revenue resources of the country, and adjudicate in disputed claims to the

¹Iqtidar Alam Khan, The Middle Classes in the Mughal Empire (presidential address, Medieval India Section, Indian History Congress, Aligarh 1975).

land and give protection to the legitimate rights of landholders and tenants.¹ The qanungos were hereditary and they were vested with the authority to summon records from the lowest village rung of the revenue department, the patwaris (who collected revenues from the villagers and maintained village accounts).

Professional and service families in British India cherished proud memories of ancestors who had distinguished themselves in the Mughal revenue bureaucracy. These family traditions, mostly oral but sometimes written down in manuscript form or even published as vernacular tracts, give us images of the older type of accountant, auditor, and record-keeper. As narratives these family accounts are full of inaccuracy and exaggeration, but they reflect the social respect and admiration for literate-professional skills that had developed within the fold of the Mughal revenue bureaucracy. It will be rewarding, in this context, to look at the perceived images of two ordinary revenue officials of Mughal Bengal, who are unrecorded in history but are fortunately remembered in a Bengali manuscript and a Bengali vernacular tract.

Paramananda Sen was a Bengali accountant and auditor in Dacca district in the reign of Jahangir.² Son of an orthodox Hindu physician of the Vaidya

¹Ibid.

²Bengali manuscript in the possession of the author entitled "Dashora Ray Vamser Puratan Itihas --Ray Paramananda Sen Majumdarer Jivani" (The Old History of the Ray Family of Dashora -- Life of Ray Paramananda Sen Majumdar). The manuscript, written by Paresh Nath Sen in 1890, recorded current traditions within the Ray family about their ancestor Paramananda Sen. These traditions are factually inaccurate, but what is valuable is the social sketches that the narrative contains. They reflect the admiration of a typical professional family of the nineteenth century for the professional skills that had developed within the Mughal civil-revenue service.

caste who disapproved of Islamic-Persian learning, he had left home to learn Persian in boyhood and had obtained the patronage of a landlord who maintained a maulvi or Persian teacher to train up his two sons in the language of the state. Sen made himself master of Persian -- the language in which revenue accounts were maintained at higher levels of the administration -- in four years, married the daughter of his patron, and then went to the town of Dacca, where he became a key revenue officer. He started as a deputy to the chief muhrir or munshi in one of the record offices in Dacca, in due course succeeded to the headship of that office with the designation of munshi (writer), and was subsequently promoted to the higher post of chief mutsaddi (accountant) in the Khajna-Khana or the revenue deposits office. The government conferred on him the title of Majumdar because of his skill in accounts and letter writing. He reached the climax of his career when the Governor of Bengal, Ibrahim Khan, entrusted to him the sensitive task of auditing the accounts in the circle of Murshidabad where several big zamindars and Rajas had been arrested on charges of false deduction in the revenue. The local revenue officers, who were suspected of venality, were ordered to turn over the accounts to a trusted auditor from another district, and Dacca sent Paramananda Sen on this assignment. Paramananda Sen audited the accounts, determined the due amount of the revenue, and arranged for the collection of the unpaid revenues in easy installments by freeing the arrested landlords. He was given the title of Ray for this service and Ibrahim Khan gave him a reward of one thousand rupees. Ray Paramananda Sen Majumdar built up a medium sized estate in Dacca district while in office and died after retirement in the holy city of Banaras. Even the Diwan of Bengal, the family chronicle records fondly and wishfully, had been afraid of this chief mutsaddi, who,

while in office, had detected the fraud of the Diwan himself. After his death, the family estate was divided up into an 11/16th share of the elder branch (located at Naogaon) and a 5/16th share of the junior branch (located at Dasora). As his progeny multiplied in the nineteenth century, the land was no longer sufficient and the family diversified into the legal profession and judicial service under the British. Bihari Kanta Ray of the junior branch was one of the first of Paramananda Sen's descendants to switch from Persian to English education. He passed the Law examination and became a pleader in the munsif's court of Manikganj subdivision in Dacca district around the 1860's. His son, Durga Kanta Ray, became a munsiff (a judicial officer trying civil matters) and rose to be a sub-judge of a district in the early twentieth century.

The Persian chronicles of the Mughal empire contain detailed records of the careers of Mughal mansabdars and high military officers, but have only stray references to the careers of professional accountants, auditors, writers, and record-keepers who formed the subordinate civil-revenue service. It was the professional Hindu families, educated in Persian, who largely filled this civil-revenue service in the provinces -- men silently passed over by the Persian chronicles in favor of Mughal and Rajput officer-nobles. A patient investigation of recorded traditions among these professional Hindu families, especially stories of how they came to acquire titles such as Majumdar, Chaudhury or Ray, can still, however, give us glimpses of the key role played by such minor service families. To take a second instance from a published Bengali family history, the career details of its ancestor, Ratneswar of the Dumurdaha family, have many striking parallels to the career described above: the same aptitude in Persian learning, the same

specialization in revenue service, the same professional skill which fetched honorific titles, the same propensity to acquire land while in office, the same flow of professional skills through successive generations of the family from Mughal to British civil service, and the same diversification from the Mughal revenue bureaucracy to modern Western-style professions.

The ancestor of the babus of Dumurdaha, a landed service family of Hughly district, was Ratneshwar Chaudhuri, a Mughal record-keeper in the reign of Aurangzeb. His father, Gopiraman Banerjee, was a Brahman who enjoyed a small land grant of 100 bighas as a priest. Ratneshwar was adopted by Girishwar Chaudhuri, the chief muhrir of the office of the Head Qanungo of Bengal, and later on he married the latter's daughter. Chaudhuri taught Ratneshwar Persian, trained him up in record-keeping and accounts, and obtained for him an appointment as deputy to the chief muhrir. In this capacity he earned the trust of the principal officers of the state and as deputy chief muhrir in the office of the Head Qanungo of Bengal, he prepared the triennial accounts that were regularly submitted to Emperor Aurangzeb. For distinguished service he obtained the titles of Ray and Majumdar. While in office he acquired several landed estates.¹ His family later on became divided into the elder branch and the younger branch and his numerous progeny diversified under British rule into service and professions in Bengal as well as other provinces. Among his descendants were lawyers (pleaders) in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam, an editor of the Tattvabodhini Patrika (a leading reform magazine of nineteenth-

¹Anandamayi. The History of an ancient family of the Hugly district, compiled by Uttamananda Brahmachari of Dumurdaha Ashram (Dumurdaha, Hughly, B.S. 1323), pp. 3-35.

century Bengal), and established doctor, a headmaster, an English professor in Scottish Church College of Calcutta, a railway traffic superintendent and a police inspector.¹

Such family histories, which are numerous, make it clear that the service families which staffed the Mughal revenue bureaucracy and enjoyed landed properties, were also the families which sustained the modern professions and the new civil services that opened up under the British in the nineteenth century. The Mughal revenue bureaucracy had absorbed an enormous quantity of literate and specialized skills that had not grown into independent professions -- but these skills later on sustained the new professions. In other words, many of the professions within the Mughal civil-revenue service even before the British developed a professional structure in India, but because these professions were absorbed into the bureaucracy, historians have sometimes been misled into underrating the importance of the professional groups in Mughal India.

Social historians are not of one mind with regard to the question whether there existed a professional middle class in Mughal India, and if so, what its importance was in the structure of the society. One view is that there might have been elements which would form the basis of a later middle class growth, but there was no middle class as such.² This view may seem to acquire some support from the consciousness of nineteenth-century intellectuals that they formed part of a new middle class. A Bengali newspaper in 1829, for instance,

¹Ibid., pp. 46-48.

²N.K. Sinha, Economic History of Bengal, Vol. 2 (Calcutta 1962), p. 219; B.B. Misra, The Indian Middle Classes. Their Growth in Modern Times (London 1961), p. 57.

commented: "Before the rise of the middle class, the wealth of this country was concentrated in the hands of a few men, and all other people were subordinate to them, so that the people at large were miserable....The benefits that have arisen from the formation of this new class are beyond enumeration."¹ However, this need not necessarily imply that there was no prior consciousness of a middle order in society before the British. Indeed, some Persian chronicles divided the people into three grades -- poor, middle and the rich.² In describing in detail the diverse categories of people, however, the medieval poets showed no clear tendency to group the professional people into one broad class; the tendency was rather to enumerate each professional group along with many other kinds of people. In describing the court of Maharaja Krishnachandra of Nadia, for instance, the poet Bharat Chandra Ray mentioned in one verse, without any classification, the princes, the Raja's relations, learned Brahmans, pandits, poets, astrologers, physicians, dewans, bakshis (paymasters), munshis, musicians, dance-masters, sepoy captains, archers, Rajput warriors, amins (revenue officials), peshkars (officers presenting petitions to the Raja), etc.³ Many of these will be recognized as professional groups, but Bharat Chandra lumped them together with other crafts.

¹Brajendranath Banerjee, Sambadpatre Sekaler Kata, Vol. 2 (Calcutta B.S. 1340), p. 113.

²Gautam Bhadra, "Social Groups and Relations in the Town of Murshidabad 1765-1793," in Indian Historical Review, Vol. 2, No. 2 (January 1976), p. 338.

³Brajendranath Banerjee and Sajani Kanta Das (editors), Bharatchandra Granthavali (Calcutta), Annadamangal first part.

The description of Bharat Chandra Ray makes it clear, however, that even if there was no self-conscious professional middle class in his time (mid-eighteenth century), professional groups were of sufficient importance in his society to figure prominently in a Raja's court. W.H. Moreland, a pioneer in Mughal social history, reached the careful conclusion, based on detailed scrutiny of Persian sources, that an "educated middle class" existed in Mughal India. In his opinion this class was small and was pitifully dependent on the patronage of the court and the nobility, usually through stipends and land assignments. Important modern professions, such as law, education, and journalism, were nonexistent -- there being no advocates or pleaders practicing in the courts, teachers being still an inseparable element within the religious groups, and journalists being ruled out by the absence of printing. The established professions, as Moreland deduced from the Ain-i Akbari, were medicine, learning, literature, art and music. These professions were weakened and limited by "the narrowness of the market for their products or services."¹

Subsequent researchers have led to a revision of Moreland's view that the professional middle classes were comparatively insignificant. Tapan Ray Chaudhury for Bengal, and Iqtidar Alam Khan for northern India, have held that the professional groups formed a key middle element in the medieval social structure. In Bengal, the professional groups were numerically large and according to Tapan Raychaudhury catered to a big market for their

¹W.H. Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar. An Economic Study (Delhi 1962), p. 78.

services.¹ In the latest study of the subject, Iqtidar Alam Khan has concluded that the professional men in northern India, especially those at the top, enjoyed large incomes, and that there was a large public demand for their services which could in some measure lift them above exclusive dependence on the court and the nobility. Numerous and highly mobile, these professional men would sometimes, especially within the world of revenue officials, exhibit group solidarity against the nobility.²

While the consensus of recent scholarship has thus led to a revision of the view that the professional middle class was insignificant in Mughal India, care must be taken not to err on the other side in enthusiastic admiration of the development of professions in those times. We have already noted that accountancy, audit, and record-keeping had developed as highly specialized skills within the revenue bureaucracy, but there still remains a question as to how far independent professions had developed outside the government. Iqtidar Alam Khan has no doubt that "a considerable demand existed in the government as well as in society at large for the services provided by some of the middle class professions like clerks, accountants, physicians and teachers." "Thus," according to him, "it was possible for members of these groups to become sufficiently rich on the strength only of their skill and specialized knowledge."³ A detailed recent study of the precolonial town

¹Tapan Ray Chaudhury, Bengal Under Akbar and Jahangir. An Introductory Study in Social History (Delhi 1969), p. 203.

²Iqtidar Alam Khan, op. cit.

³Ibid., p. 6.

of Murshidabad by Gautam Bhadra indeed shows that the higher officers in the revenue and judicial services were well paid (presumably because these officers were stationed at the headquarters of Bengal and they thus occupied the top positions in their respective services), but Bhadra's evidence about the professional groups in Murshidabad "not attached to the state" is significantly limited.¹ This need not necessarily indicate the weakness of independent professions in the capital of Bengal, but the case requires more careful investigation.

Fortunately, a good deal of evidence can be gleaned from Buchanan Hamilton and William Adam, who drew up valuable reports on Bihar and Bengal at the beginning of British rule. Buchanan Hamilton's reports on social and economic conditions in certain districts of Bihar and Bengal give us a bird's eye view of the various professional groups that existed at the time of his survey (1808-1812). Adam's three reports on education in Bengal and Bihar (1835-1838) give us a closer and more detailed look at the two groups that had developed more than any other professional group -- the scholars and the physicians. On the basis of these early British surveys, it is possible to raise, and, to some extent, answer certain questions regarding the traditional professional structure before the new institutional innovations of the British had begun to take effect. How many independent professions had sprung up outside the ambit of the civil, revenue and judicial services, and how far had they specialized and separated and branched off from each other? To what extent were they dependent on land assignments for their support, and how far did the demand of the public as reflected through payment of fees enable these

¹Gautam Bhadra, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-332.

professional groups to reduce their dependence on revenue-free lands? How far had these professions moved away from hereditary caste callings?

Buchanan's evidence on professional skills can be arranged under two groups: the learned classes and the artistic classes. The learned groups that he described do not correspond exactly to any modern professional group, which is only to be expected in a society structured so differently. These groups reflected a type of professionalization in older Indian society clearly different from that initiated under British rule. Among such learned traditional professions were (1) qazis who administered Quranic law, (2) Maulvis who taught Arabic and Persian for state service and administration of law, (3) Smartas who interpreted the Hindu law sometimes as law officers in courts of law, (4) pandits and Sanskrit scholars in Hindu metaphysics, grammar, law, etc., some of whom had attained the high status of adhyapakas or professors, (5) gurus who taught vernacular languages in primary schools, (6) a numerous body of Hindu priests called purohits and gurus, (7) Muslim priests or mullahs who read prayers from the Quran at marriages, funerals, sacrifices and circumcision, (8) astrologers, and (9) numerous grades of physicians and medical practitioners.¹

Of these groups qazis and adhyapakas were the most learned and therefore the most respected, yet the details give by Buchanan about these two -- the most highly learned groups -- reveal how different was the nature of professions in the old society. The most important single profession in

¹Francis Buchanan, An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811-1812, Vol. 1 (Patna, n.d.), pp. 297-303; Francis Buchanan, An Account of the District of Purnea in 1809-10 (Patna 1928), pp. 169-176; Buchanan Hamilton Mss (India Office Library), Account of Dinajpur, Vol. I, Book II.

modern India -- law -- was absent in older India, there being no pleaders or avocates then. The qazis were law officers, exercising a jurisdiction over all things connected with Quranic law, and also acting in some measure as notaries-public in giving authenticity to contracts. Their income was derived mainly from fees, though they were supposed to enjoy official salaries, which were usually in arrears. Many of them were not resident within the bounds of their jurisdiction, and acted through deputies. They were in general hereditary, so much so that some of these dispensers of Quranic law were children, who were represented by deputies.¹ A qazi in a criminal law court would draw Rs.65 a month (a comfortable but not too high a sum for those times), but fees -- and other irregular pecuniary gains -- would presumably amount to much more. Some of these officers were well-educated and capable men, but many were corrupt and were suspected to be in league with influential and troublesome local magnates.² As for the adhyapaks, they too enjoyed hereditary lands and might cease to follow the profession of teaching and learning in two generations. "Most of the adhyapaks," wrote Buchanan, "possess lands, which enable them to provide for their own subsistence, as well as that of their pupils, and they receive charities from all Hindus of any distinction. There is however no necessity for a person, who holds these lands, to instruct youth; and when the celebrity of an adhyapok has procured large grants of lands, his heirs, although they continue to enjoy the estate, are in no ways bound to teach, and may for ever continue to enjoy the high

¹Buchanan Hamilton Mss., Account of Dinajpur, Vol. I, Book II; William Adam, The Third Report on the State of Education in Bengal (Calcutta 1938), p. 219.

²Mss. Eur.D.231 (10L), Regulations for the Criminal Courts in Bengal 1790.

title of Pandit, without any trouble, and they may even betake themselves to the degrading affairs of the world without forfeiting this property."¹ One characteristic of these highest learned groups was the closely interrelated activity in divinity, scholarship and legal work. Qazis and pandits were those with the highest knowledge of religious texts -- men who enjoyed the respect due to divines and scholars -- and since criminal as well as civil law was largely based on religious texts, they also figured as officers in law courts.

Among the artistic classes, Buchanan listed (1) architects, sculptors and statuaries -- the highest among them possessing books treating of their profession, (2) painters and (3) musicians, dancers and opera artists of innumerable kinds, including in their ranks the oldest of professions, courtesans given the honorific title of Bais. The chief architect of Patna, Tek Chand, possessed six books on architecture in Hindi, attributed to Viswakarma, or the god of building. The chief Bai of Patna, A Hindu lady named Mahtab, was in "high request" and regularly went to Calcutta during the great festival of Durga Puja.² There was an enormous amount of popular music and painting, catering to the demands of the public at large.³ But the most celebrated painters and musicians were part of royal or aristocratic establishments, and it was at this level that specialization was attained in fine arts. Precisely at this highest level, the fine arts ceased to be

¹Buchanan Hamilton Mss., Dinajpur, Vol. I, Book II.

²Francis Buchanan, An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna, pp. 611, 613.

³Francis Buchanan, An Account of Bihar and Patna, pp. 612-614; Account of Pumea, pp. 515-518.

independent professions. The Mughal Emperors, the high officers of the empire, and the Rajput princes maintained expensive studios (Karkhanas) where the leading painters of the country or from abroad were employed. Some painters even became high officers themselves. Abdus Samad, the leading painter in Akbar's court, was appointed governor of Multan. The imperial artist was thus an integral part of the mansabdari system, either as a mansabdar's employee, or -- if he was exceptionally fortunate -- a mansabdar himself. Abdus Samad and Mir Sayyed Ali set up the imperial studio where, characteristically, the color grinders, binders and other assistants were paid according to the ranks of foot soldiers under mansabdars. The position of the artist, as an art historian notes, "was that of an employee. He was not in a position to sell his paintings to a buyer of his choice. He only sold his skill."¹ Lower down the social scale, however, there were innumerable rustic artists of various kinds who lived on the demand of villagers: patuas who exhibited mythical stories on painted scrolls, kathaks who sang of the love of Radha and Krishna, and sankirtanias and bayens who constituted singing and musical parties moving from village to village with drums, cymbals, brass trumpets, wind instruments and buffalo horns. "It is, however, at marriages, religious processions, and such great solemnities," noted Buchanan caustically, "that the full din of music arises, and that a herd of the lowest dregs of the people are employed to rend the ear with these formidable implements of noise.... Every man makes the most of his

¹Ratnabali Chatterjee, "Allegorical Portraits of Asaf Khan: A Study in the Formation of an Artistic Convention," Calcutta Historical Journal, Vol. V, No. 2 (January-June 1981), pp. 82-83.

instrument, and pays little or no attention to his comrade's."¹ Classical dancing and music, on which Buchanan is silent, had of course attained incredible heights of artistic perfection and not all of it -- be it noted -- was dependent on royal or aristocratic patronage. The classical Bharat Natyam of the devadasis or temple courtesans had developed in the great temples of the south; and the classical war operas of the Kathakali variety were supported by the villages of Kerala. In terms of professional excellence, technical skill and amazing physical feats, the chief devadasis would have beaten most prima ballerinas hollow; certainly the Bais of northern India, who danced the Kathak before aristocratic and landed audiences, had nothing on the devadasis. Characteristically, however, the devadasis -- no less than the Bais -- formed hereditary occupational groups among themselves; and were trained up -- in Bharat Natyam or Kathak as the case might be -- almost from infancy.

To revert, however, to the great learned professions of older India -- the scholars and the physicians -- these two traditional professions persisted in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries amidst all the institutional changes introduced by the British. William Adam, in his reports on the older system of education which included his observations on the state of medical training as well, has left us with a wealth of detail regarding these two professions. What follows is based on his reports of 1835-1838,²

¹Buchanan Hamilton Mss., Account of Dinajpur, Vol. I, Vol. II.

²J. Long (ed.), Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education in Bengal and Bihar (Calcutta 1868); William Adam, Third Report on the State of Education in Bengal; Including Some Account of the State of Education in Bihar (Calcutta 1838).

supplemented by less copious references in the reports of Buchanan Hamilton. There was a widespread indigenous educational system, consisting of schools more numerous in Bengal than other parts.¹ It was in Bengal, moreover, that due to the high standing enjoyed in the social scale by the Vaidya (physician) caste, medical training and practice developed to a higher degree. Thus the details of the educational system and the state of medical practice and training in Bengal give us glimpses into the highest level of professionalization in older India.

The profession of teachers and scholars in older India naturally divided into two levels on account of two sharply differentiated classes of educational institutions in the country: (1) gurus and mullas teaching in village pathsalas or primary schools and (2) adhypaks and mauvis teaching in schools of learning known as tols and madrasas. Adam noted a certain disjunction between these two levels in the indigenous educational system: the pathsalas were mainly for the agrarian and trading classes, while the tols and madrasas were for the learned and religious classes. Students from the primary schools did not naturally graduate to the schools of learning, which had an entirely different set of students with a markedly different purpose in life.²

The teachers of the primary schools played a critical role in spreading literacy and knowledge of the accounts. They taught reading, writing and forms of accounts, both revenue and commercial, through which the complex economic systems of the country operated.³ They thus created and sustained

¹Progress of Education in India 1897-98 - 1901-02. Fourth Quinquennial Report by R. Nathan (Calcutta 1904), p. 3.

²Adam, Third Report, p. 59.

³Long (ed.), Adam's Reports, pp. 20, 99.

that widespread pool of literacy and accounting from which the sophisticated Mughal economic system drew its numerous bands of village accountants (patwaris) and rural traders (banias). Adam was impressed by the "direct practical tendency"¹ of the course of instruction, which was well adapted to qualify the pupil for engaging in the actual business of native society: "My recollection of the village schools of Scotland do not enable me to pronounce that the instruction given in them has a more direct bearing upon the daily interests of life than that which I find given, or professed to be given, in the humbler village schools of Bengal."² Moreover, Adam's estimates showed that the schools were widespread and numerous and included all ranks of pupils, including substantial numbers of children of lower castes.³ Rates of literacy were low by Western standards, but not by those prevailing in twentieth-century colonial India. In the rural localities in which Adam made statistical surveys, the proportion of children receiving primary education varied from 6 to 16 percent.⁴ A rough estimate in 1921 showed that about 20 percent of children of school-going age were at school in Bengal nearly a century later.⁵ The profession of schoolmaster -- if it could be so called -- was thus firmly established in older India, though there was no teacher training system as the British later on introduced through "normal" schools. Sympathetic though he was, Adam was constrained to observe

¹Ibid., p. 100.

²Ibid.

³Adam, Third Report, pp. 21, 26, 30, 33, 36.

⁴Ibid., p. 110.

⁵Report on the Expansion and Improvement of Primary Education in Bengal, by Evan E. Biss (Calcutta 1921), p. 15.

that the school teachers were poor and ignorant, and that they reflected as little honor on their profession as they derived emoluments from it.¹

Even at this primary level, many of the schools were not vernacular schools, but Persian and Arabic schools. Two or three families would get together to maintain a Persian teacher, who would teach the children of his patrons in his school and would make perhaps a miserable seven rupees a month. The popularity of Persian was due to the fact that it was the language of the courts and a means of securing employment in the revenue business of the country.² In Bihar and Bengal, more Hindus than Muslims learned Persian for this purpose. In the higher schools of Persian learning surveyed by Adam, there were 2,087 Hindus to 1,409 Muslims, and this is hardly surprising, considering that the revenue establishment was predominantly Hindu.³ Adam observed with prophetic insight that it would be easy to replace Persian, a foreign language which owed its hold to the fact that it was the language of government, with English.⁴ Indeed, some big landholders who maintained and patronized Persian schools were already beginning to create English schools in their own areas.⁵

The elementary Arabic schools had a less worldly purpose. They were run by Kath-mullas -- the numerous body of rural Muslim clergy -- who gave instruction in the ceremonial reading of eleven key passages in the Quran.

¹Long, Adam's Reports, p. 93.

²Long (ed.), Adam's Reports, pp. 102, 104, 106-108.

³Adam, Third Report, p. 78.

⁴Long, Adam's Reports, p. 108.

⁵Adam, Third Report, pp. 91-94.

They derived their maintenance from their own agricultural holdings, the allowances of patrons and fees from some students. The students were also being trained up as mullas, but the training was of the lowest kind. What they were taught was merely the forms, names and sounds of certain letters and combinations of letters, without "the feeblest glimmering of meaning from these empty vocables." The teachers, reported Adam, "disclaim altogether the ability to understand that which they read and teach."¹ Besides teaching the Quran, the mullas also officiated at marriages and burials for fees, and often acted as butchers of animals sacrificed at ceremonies -- an office that had to be performed with due religious forms without which no true Muslim could eat the flesh. The equally numerous Hindu priests in the villages were no better trained and in their case the training was even less formal, usually a Brahman purohit training up his son in the mantras that he had inherited without quite grasping their meaning.

The higher echelons of the clergy -- both Hindu and Muslim -- were trained in the Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic schools of learning, which stored and transmitted the enlightenment of Brahmanism and Islam. Scholarship at this level was high and specialized, and it contributed substantially to the intellectual and literary life of the country. The schools of learning, however, did not have the highly organized character of the European medieval universities. Each school of learning consisted of the single preacher and his disciples, who might number from five to fifty students. In Nadia, the most famous seat of Sanskrit learning in eastern India, there were 31 schools of learning in 1818 -- each conducted by a single schoolman who gave

¹Long (ed.), Adam's Reports, p. 105.

instruction in a specialized subject. One taught grammar, one poetry, one astronomy, ten law and thirteen the most advanced subject at Nadia, logic. The biggest of the schools, the school of logic of Shivanath Vidya Vachaspati, was said to have 125 students.¹ Even in Calcutta, the colonial port city of the British, indigenous traditions were strong enough to maintain no less than 28 schools, mainly devoted to Nyaya (logic) and Smriti (law).² Adam observed that if all teachers with their specialized subjects could be brought together into one institution in each district, there would be a university in every district of Bengal. But that degree of organization, which in thirteenth-century Europe had led to the evolution of universities out of the schoolmen, had not been achieved in eighteenth-century Bengal. The schoolmen in Bengal fell into three main categories: the Sabdikas (scholars of literature), the Smartas (law scholars) and the Naiyayikas (logicians).³ Other subjects, taught by a lesser number of scholars, were the Tantras, astronomy, the Vedas, and the various schools of metaphysics including the Vedanta. All these schoolmen gave their instruction individually and in their own separate schools, so that students desirous of knowledge in more than one branch would move from one school to another.⁴ The ancient universities of India, in which various subjects had been taught by numerous resident specialists, had disappeared without a trace. One further element of backwardness in the organization of education was the virtual absence of

¹Ibid., pp. 50-51.

²Ibid., pp. 30-31.

³Ibid., p. 122.

⁴Ibid., p. 119.

printed works. Students pursued their courses of study with manuscripts, which they copied with their own hand.

Certain financial and organizational features of the Sanskrit and Islamic schools of learning need emphasis. So far as the Sanskrit schools of learning are concerned, the adhyapakas or professors were almost exclusively Brahmans, the single exception being the medical teachers of the Vaidya caste in Bengal.¹ These Brahman professors, as Adam noted, "constitute the cultivated intellect of the Hindu people, and they command that respect and exert that influence which cultivated intellect always enjoys, and which in the present instance they peculiarly enjoy from the ignorance that surrounds them, the general purity of their personal character, the hereditary sacredness of the class to which most of them belong, the sacredness of the learning which distinguishes them, and the sacredness of the functions they discharge as spiritual guides and family priests."² The Islamic schools of learning were not restrictive like the Sanskrit schools, and admitted even Hindus since Persian as the state language was in general social demand.

Regarding the financial organization of the Sanskrit and Islamic schools, the distinctive feature was the virtual absence of fees. Far from the students paying fees to their teachers, the teachers maintained their pupils in the Sanskrit schools. The professors of the Islamic schools discharged the same obligation to their Muslim pupils, though not always their Hindu pupils. Even the Hindu pupils, however, were generally taught gratis by Muslim

¹Adam, Third Report, p. 60.

²Ibid., p. 60.

professors.¹ This tradition of teaching without fees derived from the sacred character of the religious instruction in the higher schools of learning.

How did the numerous professors in the rural districts of Bengal and Bihar maintain their even more numerous pupils? Some schools of learning enjoyed endowments, usually revenue-free landed estates, but not the majority. Some again got from private patrons monthly or yearly allowances which were extremely meager, and a great many obtained uncooked food from the villages. Some professors maintained their schools from the income from their other activities -- as priests, astrologers, public reciters or physicians. But the greatest single source of support for the Sanskrit schools of learning were the presents received by the professors at ceremonial assemblies.² The professors, as learned and sacred men, were invited as honored guests at funerals, marriages and religious festivals by rich men of pure caste, who bestowed on them gifts of money proportional in value to their estimation as scholars. It was from these gifts that they maintained the school buildings -- usually thatched houses -- and provided food and lodging to their students.³ Behind each school of learning stood one or more patron, usually a landed magnate, who offered either an endowment, or some allowance, or presents on ceremonial occasions.

Besides teaching, the professors contributed substantially to the scholarship and creative literature in the country. Furthermore, they

¹Ibid., p. 67.

²Ibid., pp. 49, 54, 57, 68, 73-74.

³Adam, Third Report, pp. 42, 44.

supplied that essential pool of learning on which the courts of justice drew in administering Islamic or Hindu law. Adam, who admired these scholars, gives us details of quite a few. Krishnanath Nyaya Panchanana, for instance, was famous throughout Bengal for his mastery of logic. Author of a work of logical philosophy, he had taught many pupils who later on became adhyapaks of the leading Nyaya schools at Nadia. He himself served as a pandit in the court of the civil and sessions judge of Murshidabad under the British administration. The munificent Rani Bhavani of the house of Natore had settled on him a pension of Rs.60 a year which the British continued to pay.¹ The most prolific author that Adam encountered in rural Bengal was Raghunandan Goswami, an adhyapak of a school of learning in the village of Maro in Burdwan district. He had composed 37 works, which included, among various other subjects, a treatise on prosody, a guide on the treatment of diseases, a poetical work on the love of Radha and Krishna, a life of Rama, hymns of Krishna and Siva, several works of grammar, and verses of double meaning or verses which could be read both backward and forward.² Among the Islamic scholars whom he met, Adam was impressed by two brothers, Mohammad Imam Shah and Bahram Shah, who taught at an Arabic school in Darbhanga district in Bihar. The elder brother had written works of arithmetic, astronomy, logic and theology. The younger brother had written on the doctrines of Islam and on the law of inheritance.³

Though the priestly scholars of the schools of learning did not conform to any modern professional category of the Western type, they were clearly

¹Adam, Third Report, pp. 42, 44.

²Ibid., pp. 50-52

³Ibid., pp. 74-75.

a learned and specialized category. The fact that their functions did not conform to any Western profession is no reason why the historian should not regard it as a professional element in the older Indian society. Traditional Indian society contained professional skills, but they combined functions that did not conform to the compartmentalized specialization of the Western professional structure. The lines of professional function were drawn differently. The nearest approximation in older Indian society to a Western style profession was attained by the traditional medical profession, but even here the differences are fundamental. Medicine in older India was sometimes practiced as a hereditary of caste calling, especially in Bengal where a specialized medical caste known as the Vaidyas had sprung up. But that was precisely the reason why the profession was more advanced in Bengal than in other areas. Moreover, neither in Bengal nor in other areas of India was the calling confined to any hereditary medical caste. Even in Bengal, there was a large number of highly respected physicians of the Brahman and Kayastha castes. Thus the medical profession was not, like the profession of scholars and professors, predominantly caste-based. More importantly, its financial structure was based on a fee-paying clientèle to a much greater extent than any other traditional professional calling.

True the physicians of the highest repute in Mughal India were maintained by the Emperor and his mansabdars; some even rose, characteristically, to the rank of mansabdars themselves, like artists, poets and scholars.¹ "The educated middle class," says W.H. Moreland, "was very small, and the physician or artist or literary man could hope to obtain an adequate income only by

¹Moreland, op. cit., p. 78.

attaching himself to the Imperial Court or to one of the provincial Governors who organised their surroundings or its model."¹ The chief characteristic of a profession, according to Moreland, was the uncertainty arising from the narrowness of the market for its services. Success depended on favor, which might be withdrawn as quickly as it was granted.² Such favor or patronage -- the one road to worldly success -- had "to be paid for in the form of flattery or otherwise."³ More recent research has led to modifications of Moreland's conclusions in one or two important respects, though the broadly dependent character of the professions still holds good, especially if we consider the professional dependence on rural magnates and landlords and not merely on the Emperor and his nobles. However, the wide basis of country support from the rural magnates for scholars, literary men, professors, artists and physicians did impart a somewhat more popular and more independent character to the professions than Moreland has allowed. The research of Iqtidar Alam Khan on the state of the medical profession in northern India, and of Tapan Ray Chaudhury regarding the Vaidyas in Bengal, show beyond doubt that a popular market for the services of physicians existed in Mughal India. The same broad basis of the scholarly and teaching profession is evident, as we have seen, from William Adam's description of the schools of learning. Adam's description of the professors whom he met does not conform to the notion of the fawning professional man forced to live by flattering the mindless magnate:

¹Ibid., p.78.

²Ibid., p.79.

³Ibid., p.78.

I saw men not only unpretending, but plain and simple in their manners, and although seldom, if ever, offensively coarse, yet reminding me of the very humblest classes of English and Scottish peasantry; living constantly half naked, and realising in this respect the descriptions of savage life... and yet several of these men are adepts in the subtleties of the profoundest grammar of what is perhaps the most philosophical language in existence; not only practically skilled in the niceties of its usage, but also in the principles of its structure; familiar with all the varieties and applications of their national laws and literature; and indulging in the abstrusest and most interesting disquisitions in logical and ethical philosophy. They are in general shrewd, discriminating and mild in their demeanor. The modesty of their character does not consist in abjectness to a supposed or official superior, but is equally shown to each other. I have observed some of the worthiest speak with unaffected humility of their own pretensions to learning, with admiration of the learning of a stranger and countryman who was present, with high respect of the learning of a townsman who happened to be absent, and with just praise of the learning of another townsman after he had retired, although in his presence they were silent respecting his attainments.¹

Adam's reports show that learned physicians were held in nearly the same high respect as the professors of the schools of learning²; and here again their respect and independence derived from wider sources of patronage and support from the country, and more especially from their independent private practice. This was true not only of Bengal, but of North India as well, where Iqtidar Alam Khan has found a whole set of evidence indicating that "in a major part of Northern India public demand for the services of physicians was quite large."³ These Muslim physicians of northern India were known as

¹Long (ed.), Adam's Reports, pp. 119-120.

²Ibid., p. 129.

³Iqtidar Alam Khan, op. cit., p. 16.

tabibs, and they lived mainly on private practice in the towns of Punjab and the United Provinces.¹ Although the most highly paid tabibs attended the court, they were only a small section of the class of urban Muslim physicians, even among those dependent on state service. The majority of the tabibs in state service were employed as army doctors of the troopers maintained by ordinary mansabdars. Hospitals maintained by the state and nobles in some of the towns provided another field of employment to the ordinary physicians in northern India.² Not that this numerous tribe of physicians in the lower echelons of state service had won public confidence in every respect. Indeed, a mounted trooper was skeptically advised not to fall ill while in Hindustan, as otherwise he might be obliged to see the physician of his unit -- a contingency considered more dangerous than the illness itself!³

In Hindustan, or Northern India, the Muslim tabibs were at the top of the profession of physicians; in Bengal the Kavirajs of the higher Hindu castes, Vaidyas, Brahmans and Kayasthas, were more prominent. In the country as a whole there were two classical systems of medicine, and a wide variety of popular medical practices which did not depend on classical texts and tended to descend to the degraded levels of witchcraft. The two classical systems of medicine were the ancient Ayurvedic system of the Hindus, and the Yunani or Graeco-Arabic system of the Muslims. The Yunani system was not indigenous: founded on the science of Greece and Egypt, it had developed under the rule of the Abbasid Caliphs of Bagdad and had been brought to India by its Muslim

¹Ibid., pp. 16-17.

²Ibid., pp. 19-20.

³Ibid., p. 19.

conquerers. It was this system that served the Mughal court, the Mughal army and the Mughal hospitals. Medical schools to teach the system had been established at Delhi, Agra and Hyderabad.¹ But from Buchanan's account of the districts of Bihar and Patna it appears that the Muslim physicians were generally taught privately by older practitioners.² The Ayurvedic system was older, and indigenous to India. The protohistoric text on medicine, the Ayur Veda, had survived only in fragments. Its ancient abridgements, by Charaka and Susruta, were thus the standard texts, the former author being better on medicine and the latter on surgery.³ Surgery, however, had disappeared from the Ayurvedic system as it was practiced in the eighteenth century; and it was but rudimentary in the Yunani system as it then prevailed. Both systems shared certain characteristics: they were both highly developed, and they were of great antiquity and arrested growth. Both depended on classical authorities, and there was little experimentation and innovation in the spirit of empirical science after the original systems had attained a state of perfection. It cannot be said that the popular medical practices, which served an illiterate society and made no reference to texts, had remedied this deficiency. They relied on incantations and herbs passed down from one generation to another, thriving on the superstitions of an illiterate population and practiced by rustic men and women who were themselves illiterate. Even systematic medicine based on texts was to some

¹D.G. Crawford, A History of the Indian Medical Service 1600-1913, Vol. II (London 1914), p. 43.

²Francis Buchanan, An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna, p. 302.

³Crawford, op. cit., p. 433.

extent a hereditary craft, as was found to be the case in a society where manuscripts were preserved in families; but as already noted, it was not caste-bound. Institutionalized professional training was not highly developed; but it was not absent.

A fairly detailed knowledge of traditional medical training and practice in eastern India at the beginning of the nineteenth century can be gathered from the surveys of Buchanan Hamilton and William Adam. Ayurvedic schools, a special category among the schools of learning, were maintained in Bengal by Brahman, Vaidya and Kayastha professors, and they gave to medical training there a more institutionalized character compared to neighboring Bihar. Adam, during his education survey in Bengal and Bihar, found eight medical schools: one in Rajshahi containing seven students taught by two professors; one in Birbhum containing six students taught by one professor; four in Burdwan containing forty-five students taught by four professors; and two in South Bihar containing two students taught by two professors. Medicine, it should be noted, was not the only subject taught in these schools: the Ayur Veda was an organic part of the Sanskrit learning imparted in the traditional schools of learning. The medical schools were so called because they gave a heavier emphasis to the Ayur Veda among other Sanskrit works. Not all the sixty students in the eight medical schools surveyed by Adam were receiving medical instruction: some were pursuing those grammatical and literary studies which were deemed indispensable preliminaries to a course of professional medical study. Moreover, some of the professors were teaching students who had no intention to take up the medical course, but were simply learning grammar and

¹Adam, Third Report, p. 211.

literature.¹ Usually, however, it was expected that medical students would previously acquire a knowledge of Sanskrit grammar and literature in the schools of learning taught by Brahman professors, and only then join the medical schools, commencing the study of medical works at the age of 22-25 and carrying on the study for five to eight years. The Sanskrit works current among the medical schools in Bengal were usually later works derived from Charaka and Susruta. The first work read at the medical school in Rajshahi was the Nidana, a standard medical work of antiquity, but works that followed were mostly commentaries by medieval authors, such as the commentaries of Vijaya Rakshita and Siddhanta Churamani on the Nidana.¹ The school at Vaidya Belgharia in Rajshahi was taught by two aged brothers of the Vaidya caste, held in high esteem as physicians. Neither the Vaidya teachers nor the Vaidya students received presents and invitations at ceremonies as the Brahman professors and their Brahman pupils did. Nevertheless the Vaidya professors housed and fed those pupils who had come from abroad, and they gave their instruction gratuitously. The medical schools were thus organized exactly like the schools of grammar, law and logic, the only difference being that the main means of their maintenance were not presents at assemblies, but the fees of medical practice or other private means of the medical teachers.²

Medical practice, especially the groups practicing medicine, varied from place to place. In the districts of Patna and Bihar, Buchanan Hamilton found 200 families of Sakadwipi Brahmans practicing medicine, 60 Muslim physicians residing mostly in the towns of Patna and Daudnagar and three Bengali

¹Long (ed.), Adam's Report, p. 129.

²Ibid., p. 129.

physicians. These were the only categories among the medical practitioners, besides the professors of medicine. The Sakadwipi Brahmans, by far the most numerous category, evidently served a much bigger rural clientele than the town-bound Muslim physicians. They were a hereditary medical group whom Buchanan distinguishes from the teachers and scholars of the schools of medicine. The Muslim physicians, too, were presumably connected with families which practiced medicine on a hereditary basis, since Buchanan mentions that they were generally taught by older physicians. Besides these groups, Buchanan found 150 surgeon-barbers called Jurrah "who cup, bleed and treat sores," midwives of low caste who cut the umbilical cord, and Ojhas or witch doctors who drove out devils, cured snake bites and opposed witchcraft by incantations.¹

Another district in Bihar, Purnea, was surveyed by both Buchanan and Adam.² As this district bordered on Bengal, the Bengali influence was greater in its medical system. Among the medical practitioners of the district, Buchanan found three groups of learned physicians. There were, in the first place, 26 Bengali physicians, who, while not spurning the use of incantations, based their practice on medical texts of repute. There were, secondly, 37 Sakadwipi Brahmans, who rejected incantations altogether and administered medicine only. Thirdly, there were five Muslim physicians, who, according to Buchanan, seemed to be little superior to the Hindus. Their doctrines appeared to Adam to be nearly the same as those of the Hindus.

¹Francis Buchanan, Account of Bihar and Patna, pp. 302-303.

²Francis Buchanan, Account of the District of Purnea, p. 185; Long, Adam's Reports, pp. 81-82.

These groups of learned physicians earned about Rs.10 to Rs.20 a month from their independent practice. They did not enjoy a high reputation in this district. To be fair, they did not keep their recipes and doctrines secret, but practiced in a liberal and open manner. A considerable number among them, however, were not independent practitioners. They were retainers, and attended on wealthy families for a monthly pension. Besides these three groups of learned physicians who possessed books, Buchanan found a larger number of practitioners who had no books and many of whom could not read even the vernacular. They numbered 450 in all, and they were to be distinguished from common quacks and witch doctors by the fact that they did not rely on incantations and prayers. They had been early instructed in the use of certain herbs for certain diseases and they relied on this popular herbal medicine. Finally, there were 62 jurrah treating sores and tumors who might be "compared in some manner to surgeons." But "they are totally illiterate and destitute of science, nor do they perform any operation."¹ They dealt chiefly in oils for treating sores. The only practitioner of surgery in the district was an old woman who had earned a reputation for extracting the stone from the bladder.

In Bengal, the most complete account of medical practice in a single district is to be found in Adam's report on Rajshahi, the second of his three reports on the state of education in Bengal. Adam made the same distinction as Buchanan between general physicians and illiterate practitioners. In the subdivision of Natore in Rajshahi district, where he conducted a detailed statistical survey, he found 123 "general practitioners," 89 of whom were

¹Buchanan, Account of Purnea, p. 185.

Hindus and 34 Muslims. These "general practitioners" were at the top of the native medical profession in Natore. Among them the professors of medicine ranked highest: two Vaidya brothers who maintained a school of medicine at Vaidya Belgharia. They each had a respectable general practice, and at the same time they were retained as domestic physicians by two wealthy families respectively. The junior brother drew a fixed monthly salary of Rs.25 from the family which he served, while the elder brother enjoyed a monthly pension of Rs.15, but only as long as his attendance was required during the periods of illness in the family which employed him. Adam found some other Hindu physicians in Natore who were professionally trained and highly learned, e.g., three Brahman brothers at Hajra Natore who had learned Sanskrit grammar and had subsequently applied their knowledge of it to the study of medical texts in Sanskrit. Their income from medical practice, however, was meager: the eldest brother made about Rs.5 a month, and one of the younger brothers Rs.3. Adam made a distinction among these "general practitioners" between "educated physicians" who prescribed from original Sanskrit medical texts and "the uneducated class of Hindu practitioners" who derived "all their knowledge of medicine from Bengali translations of Sanskrit works to which they servilely adhere."¹ This distinction between "educated" and "uneducated" physicians was apparently based on the criterion of professional training, which would necessarily imply knowledge of Sanskrit grammar. The "uneducated" Hindu practitioners were not illiterate: they knew Bengali and though they had not been to any school of learning the system of medicine which they followed was the same Ayurvedic system, which they learned through Bengali translations.

¹Long, Adam's Reports, pp. 138-139.

Such training was informal, usually imparted within families. Interestingly enough, Adam mentions that the Muslim physicians in Natore also derived their knowledge of medicine from the same Bengali translations of Sanskrit works. Presumably they, too, followed the Ayurvedic, not the Yunani, system, and it may be assumed that a large number among them were self-trained, as Hindu Kavirajs would not instruct Muslims. Adam gave the following description of medical practice in the Ayurvedic system by the two categories of professionally trained and professionally unschooled physicians:

The only difference that I have been able to discover between the educated and uneducated classes of native practitioners is that the former prescribe with greater confidence and precision from the original authorities, and the latter with greater doubt and uncertainty from loose and imperfect translations. The mode of treatment is substantially the same, and in each case is fixed and invariable. Great attention is paid to the symptoms of disease, a careful and strict comparison being made between the descriptions of the supposed disease in the standard medical works and the actual symptoms in the case of the patient. When the identity is satisfactorily ascertained, there is then no doubt as to the practice to be adopted, for each disease has its peculiar remedy in the works of established repute, and to depart from their prescriptions would be an act of unheard-of presumption. If, with general resemblance, there should be some slight difference of symptoms, a corresponding departure from the authorised prescription is permitted, but only as regards the medium or vehicle through which it is administered. The medicines administered are both vegetable and mineral. The former are divided into those which are employed in the crude state, as barks, leaves, common or wild roots, and fruits, etc., and those which are sold in the druggist's shop as camphor, cloves, cardamums, etc. They are administered either externally or in the forms of pill, powder, electuary, and decoction.¹

In Natore, Adam found roughly twelve professionally trained physicians, who prescribed from Sanskrit works. The rest of the 123 "general

¹Ibid., p. 139.

practitioners," including the 34 Muslim physicians, were unschooled physicians who prescribed from Bengali works.

This whole class, however, whether professionally trained or not, prescribed only the classical Ayurvedic medicine. Adam found a much larger class of medical practitioners in Natore who did not follow any classical system, and who ranked below the physicians. There were no fewer than 205 "village doctors" in Natore, both men and women. They were mostly Muslims and the population which they served was also predominantly Muslim in this district. "They have not the least semblance of medical knowledge, and they in general limit their prescriptions to the simplest vegetable preparations, whether preceded or followed by the pronouncing of an incantation and by striking and blowing upon the body. Their number proves that they are in repute in the villages; and the fact is ascribable to the influence which they exercise upon the minds of the superstitious by their incantations."¹ Besides these village doctors who practiced popular herbal medicine, there were 21 smallpox inoculators, mostly Brahmans, but untrained and ignorant, and 297 midwives, as ignorant as the rest of the illiterate class of people catering to popular medical needs. Finally, at the bottom of the medical hierarchy were the charmers, conjurers, and witchdoctors. The majority among them were ojhas or snake charmers who professed to cure snakebite, there being as many as 722 in Natore. There were also demon conjurers and tiger conjurers, as well as gunis who professed to prevent hail storms by incantations.²

¹Ibid., p. 139.

²Ibid., pp. 140-141.

From these accounts of the state of medical practice in different districts of Bengal and Bihar, it becomes clear that the medical profession was a hierarchy with incredible diversity. Still, the levels in the hierarchy are fairly clear, and must have been generally valid, though with some variations from one area to another. In general, it is possible to conceive of a three-tiered medical hierarchy in the traditional system of medicine. (1) At the top were the physicians who adhered to classical systems of medicine, Ayurvedic and Yunani. This class included the professors of medicine, those trained in the medical schools of learning, and a greater number of unschooled physicians who were trained informally and who prescribed usually though not necessarily from vernacular translations of classical medical texts. Their common characteristic was that they all possessed books; and insofar as there was any professional training through schools of medicine, it was to be found among this class, though more usually training was caste-based or family-centered. (2) Below this class of educated physicians were illiterate medical personnel who did not follow any classical system and who possessed no books, but who did not rely wholly on incantations. Among them were village doctors who administered popular herbs, surgeon-barbers who dealt in oils, and midwives and smallpox inoculators. (3) At the bottom was a numerous horde of snakecharmers and witchdoctors who thrived in the midst of a superstitious rural population.

Only the top category in this traditional medical hierarchy may be regarded as in some sense professionalized. Institutional training was accessible to this category of general physicians, and though there were specialized medical castes, such as the Sakadwipi Brahmans in Bihar and the Vaidyas in Bengal, medical training and practice were not confined to them

alone. Clearly, however, training was to an important extent informal and family centered. Furthermore, the medical families were an integral part of the high caste traditional literati which supplied the personnel of the revenue bureaucracy. High caste literate families had access to two types of higher education: Sanskrit learning and Persian learning. Sanskrit learning was meritorious in a religious sense, and it trained the priests, professors and physicians needed by traditional Hindu society. Persian learning was more secular in character and it trained the personnel employed in the revenue bureaucracy as writers, accountants, treasurers, auditors and collectors. The same families could and did branch out to Sanskrit and Persian learning, and to the divergent callings to which they gave access. The more orthodox families preferred Sanskrit; but there were always disobedient sons of adhyapaks and kavirajs who fulfilled their secular ambition by learning Persian and securing revenue posts.

A single example will clarify these points. The Basu Ray family of village Sugandhya in Hughly district had been famous as Ayurvedic physicians since Mughal times. They were not Vaidyas, as was commonly assumed on account of their fame as professors of medicine, but were Kayasthas, the writer caste of Bengal. Long before they had taken to medical instruction and practice, the family had distinguished itself in the service of the state in the old Kayastha tradition, under the independent Sultans of Bengal. When Bengal fell under Mughal rule, the family gradually began to specialize in Ayurvedic medicine. A famous physician in the family, Chintamani Basu, the Vaidyaraj (Prince of Physicians), successfully treated the daughter of Shah Shuja, the Viceroy of Bengal and son of Emperor Shah Jahan. He was rewarded with the landed property of Sugandhya and the title of Ray. He was the author of a

medical treatise entitled Chintamani Sara. From his time onward, the Basu Rays became a landlord family, but they sustained the family tradition as physicians and maintained a school of learning in which they instructed students belonging to Brahman and other castes in Sanskrit and Persian. The last professor and physician in the family was Tarini Charan Ray in the late nineteenth century. By that time the family had diversified into service under the British. Hemnath Ray of the family learned English in the Hindu College and became the chief mutsaddi in an English agency house. Another descendant, Girindranath Ray, embraced the reformed Brahmo creed and became a police inspector.¹ The history of the family exhibits the close connection between learning (Sanskrit, Persian and English), government service and professional specialization.

It is time now to draw certain generalizations from these detailed studies of individual professions in older India. The revenue bureaucracy of Mughal India had absorbed an enormous volume of professional skills, but certain professions had developed independently of service under the government. These did not exhibit the same specialization and separation as modern professions, and were constructed differently. Even so, certain groups, such as the professors of the Sanskrit and Islamic schools of learning and the Ayurvedic and Yunani physicians, were sufficiently learned and sufficiently specialized to fulfill the more exacting criteria of professionalization. They were still, of course, dependent to an important extent on the patronage of the wealthy and the powerful, and assignments of

¹Dinanath Basu Ray, Raya Vamsavali (Sugandhya, Hughly, 1909), pp. 14-74.

tax-free lands were an important factor in supporting them financially. Even more than land grants, gifts were important in maintaining scholars. However, the physicians were principally supported by fees. Many scholars and physicians were following hereditary caste callings, but many were not. Institutional training had come to play a vital role in sustaining the developed professions, though they still tended to be practiced by families on a hereditary basis. The professional structure in older India was broad and diffuse, rather than articulate and specialized. This was a consequence of the highly rural character of the traditional professions. They served the needs of a vast rural population and formed an organic part of a society formed by tradition and custom.

Their historical importance did not lie, however, merely in their forming a "background" to the modern professions -- as yardsticks to measure the "new" against the "old." It would be too facile to assume that their withering away would be the logical and inevitable background to the development of a modern professional structure. There was nothing inevitable or logical in such a process. Indeed, the initial British policy, under the influence of "Orientalism," was to assist rather than starve the older professions.

This was especially evident in the initial British efforts to support the indigenous educational system. The first college the British founded in India, under Warren Hastings, was the Calcutta Madrasa, set up in 1782. It was funded by Raja Nabakrishna Deb (Nobkissen), one of the early Hindu banians associated with the British, and the purpose was to extend to Calcutta the Persian learning which was essential to the functioning of the law courts. Subsequently Jonathan Duncan founded in 1791 the second college of British India -- the Sanskrit College at Banaras -- specifically to supply qualified

Hindu pandits as assistants to the European judges.¹ More important, the British made an initial effort to support and improve the extensive system of indigenous elementary vernacular schools through the Calcutta School Society, which was founded in 1818. It had under its patronage more than a hundred existing indigenous primary schools, and it did excellent work by introducing printed works and by holding public examinations to improve the quality of the teachers. After 1833, however, the Calcutta School Society decayed.² It was at this stage that Bentinck appointed Adam to hold an enquiry into the indigenous educational system.

Adam presented a comprehensive plan for the development of the indigenous educational and professional structure which, had it been adopted, might have significantly altered the course of evolution of modern Indian society. Furthermore, he recommended the preservation of the indigenous financial structure of the traditional professions of learning, instruction and medicine by means of new injections of British grants. The plan was elaborated in his third report of 1838, but even before that, in his second report on Rajshahi district in 1835, he gave a hint of a possible alternative to the Anglicized elitist model of education favored by Macaulay when he remarked at the end of the report:

¹Report of the Universities Commission 1902 (Simla 1902), pp. 2-3; R. Nathan, Progress of Education in India. Fourth Quinquennial Review, pp. 43-44.

²Long, Adam's Reports, pp. 20-22.

I beg, however, to be permitted now to remark that, according to the best judgement I have been able to form, all the existing institutions in the district -- even the highest, such as the schools of Hindu learning, and the lowest, such as the Mahomedan schools for the formal reading of the Koran, however remote they are at present from purposes of practical utility, and however unfamiliar to our minds as instruments for the communication of pure and sound knowledge, all without exception present organizations which may be turned to excellent account for the gradual accomplishment of that important purpose; and that so to employ them would be the simplest, the safest, the most popular, the most economical, and the most effectual plan for giving that stimulus to the native mind which it needs on the subject of education, and for eliciting the exertions of the natives themselves for their own improvement without which all other means must be unavailing.¹

The Anglicist school, headed by Macaulay in Bentinck's Council, was at this time engaged in a heated controversy with the Orientalists on whether the content and medium of education in India should be English or Oriental. Adam was no Orientalist and held a brief for neither Sanskrit nor Persian. But he regarded vernacular instruction for the masses as a more vital requirement than the provision of either English learning or classical Oriental knowledge for the educated classes. He saw the utility of the existing indigenous system of education for this purpose and he therefore presented a plan for its improvement and expansion in his third report as an alternative to the Anglicist and Orientalist plans of education. Briefly, Adam's plan was that instead of spending money on new English schools, the government should patronize the existing vernacular schools and the higher schools of learning suitable vehicles for introducing modern Western knowledge. Both the teachers

¹Ibid., p. 142.

in the primary schools and the professors in the schools of learning were in his opinion receptive to modern Western ideas, and could be usefully employed to the task of dissemination of modern knowledge through the indigenous medium. For this purpose he proposed that textbooks incorporating Western knowledge with the existing native learning should be prepared and distributed among the teachers and professors, and that systematic training should be provided for them through model or Normal schools. The most deserving among them, he proposed, should be given small assignments of land by the British government, in the tradition of the older native governments and the native landed magnates.¹

Adam also suggested more rigorous training through the Arabic schools of learning to improve the quality of the qazis and the law officers.² Even more importantly, he suggested the introduction of Western medical knowledge through the existing medical schools of learning and the provision of land assignments for the most deserving physicians in each district. He recommended the preparation of a series of medical textbooks which would incorporate both "European theory and Indian experience." These textbooks would gain ground through the existing medical schools and gradually effect an improvement of the medical profession. "Is not this," Adam asked rhetorically, "a class of institutions which it should be our object to draw out of obscurity? When it is considered how ill-provided the body of the people are with medical advice and assistance even on ordinary occasions, and much more in seasons of pestilence and disease prevailing locally or

¹Adam, Third Report, pp. 164-167, 195-197, 202, 205-206, 209.

²Ibid., pp. 216-220.

generally, is it not our duty to endeavour to increase the number of these institutions and to extend their usefulness by improving the instruction which the teachers communicate?"¹ The British government was not impressed by Adam's rhetoric. Instead of patronizing the Kavirajs, "the source of death to thousands,"² the government decided to train native doctors through the Calcutta Medical College. Had Adam's overall plan been adopted, the indigenous professional structure might have been organically assimilated in course of time into a modern social structure. But that was not to be. Bentick's government took a decisive step by rejecting his educational plan and by making English the medium of higher instruction.

Macaulay, who more than anyone else influenced the decision in favor of English education, despaired of indigenous learning, and the indigenous schools which imparted it. Nor did he agree with Adam's priority -- that the first aim of the government should be to give widespread instruction to the lower classes through the vernacular. In his view the first aim should be to raise up a class of Anglicized Indians through whom Western knowledge would percolate to the masses. "If we can raise up a class of educated Bengalis," he wrote, "they will naturally, and without any violent changes, displace, by degrees, the present incompetent teachers."³ The Committee of Public Instruction, having considered the clearly opposed views of Adam and Macaulay, decided in favor of the latter's view and refused even to experiment with Adam's suggestions.

¹Ibid., pp. 211-212.

²Long, Adam's Reports, Introduction, p. 39.

³Report on the Expansion and Improvement of Primary Education in Bengal, p. 10.

Consequently the indigenous educational and professional structure was segregated from the modern sector to which official funds began to flow. Even before this, because of the vast political changes that had affected the fortunes of the older classes of patrons, funds for the indigenous sector had begun to dry up. Adam had seen many signs of this. Both in Rajshahi and in Murshidabad, the munificent Rani Bhavani of the house of Natore had made scores of endowments for the schools of learning in the late eighteenth century. Adam found that these endowments had mostly been resumed.¹ As a result, the number of schools of learning was on the decline. "The diminution," he observed, "is attributed to the breaking up of the zamindaries and the withdrawal of the support which their owners gave to the cause of learning and of the endowments which they had established."²

Thus in the course of the nineteenth century the indigenous learned professions received a definite setback. They were, however, solidly rooted in the needs of the population, especially the vast rural population, which had only limited access to the services of the modern urban professions. In mere numerical terms, the stagnating indigenous sector far outweighed the modern professions down to the twentieth century.

As late as 1931, for instance, registered medical practitioners in India numbered 78,000 while "other persons practising the healing arts without being registered" (a category comprising the bulk of the indigenous physicians, village quacks and witchdoctors) numbered 107,000.³ An official educational

¹Long, Adam's Reports, Introduction, pp. 117-118.

²Ibid., p. 130.

³Census of India 1931, Vol. I, Part II (Delhi 1933).

survey at the beginning of the twentieth century reported that "on the whole, systems of oriental medicine have fallen into decay."¹ As a matter of fact, a movement of revival was already under way. In 1907 the Ayurvedic physicians of different parts of the country came together under an Ayurvedic Congress known as the All-India Ayurveda Mahasammelan, which received the blessing of the Indian National Congress, and in different provinces, organizations of Ayurvedic and Yunani physicians sprang up to represent their professional interests before the provincial governments. The politicization of the traditional medical groups resulted in new institutions being set up for teaching classical medicine, and official grants were made available to such institutions.²

Even before the politicalization of the movement, a trend toward formalization of training had become noticeable in the late nineteenth century, and this movement gathered momentum in the first three decades of the twentieth century. It was in the interior heartland of India, in Delhi, Punjab and U.P. that the movements of revival appeared first, because in these areas Yunani and Ayurvedic medicine had retained a strong hold over the population. Hakim Abdul Mejid Khan founded a Yunani school of medicine, known as the Madrassah Tibbiya, in Delhi, at the close of the nineteenth century. Further upcountry, in the Punjab, schools of Muslim and Hindu medicine, organized under the aegis of the Punjab University and aided by public funds, gave a combined course in European and Oriental medicine. Initially the

¹R. Nathan, Progress of Education in India 1897-98 - 1901-02. Fourth Quinquennial Review (Calcutta 1904), p. 245.

²Paul R. Brass, "The Politics of Ayurvedic Education: A Case Study of Revivalism and Modernization in India," in S.H. Rudolph and L.I. Rudolph, Education and Politics in India (Delhi 1972), pp. 345-346.

students of the Yunani and Ayurvedic classes in Lahore used to attend the school section of the Lahore Medical College, but as the arrangement did not work well, the Ayurvedic classes shifted to the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, and the Yunani classes to the Islamia College in 1898-1899. The Yunani school had thirty students in 1902, and the Ayurvedic school twelve scholars. The Yunani school taught the Yunani system of medicine, astronomy, anatomy, circulation of the blood, digestion, brain disease, and the use and properties of simple and compound Yunani medicines. The Ayurvedic school gave a three-year course with lectures in materia medica, pharmacy and botany in the first year, therapeutics, description of diseases and Vedic anatomy in the second year, and use of medicines in different seasons and places, with respect to the climate, in the third year. The Punjab University held a series of examinations, and awarded titles, in both systems.¹

In U.P. the Yunani and Ayurvedic systems of medicine developed at Aligarh Muslim University and Banaras Hindu University respectively. The government of U.P. set of a Board of Indian Medicine during the period of the Mantagu-Chelmsford reforms to control and improve the Oriental systems of medicine in the heartland of India. It was recognized that the indigenous system of medicine, as much as the Western system of medicine, formed "a profession which requires being protected against quacks for whom, unfortunately, there seems to be an unlimited scope in towns and villages alike."² Thus setting up the Board of Indian Medicine was generally welcome. The Board organized a system of examination and sought to control

¹R. Nathan, op. cit., p. 245.

²Report of the Unemployed Enquiry Committee, United Provinces 1935 (hence UP Unemployment) (Allahabad 1936), p. 57.

the training of the indigenous medical profession. It had certain sums of money which were given in aid to Yunani and Ayurvedic schools and colleges in U.P. The Aligarh Muslim University started the Tibbia College in 1927, with a course of five years controlled by the Board of Indian Medicine. It had about 75 students. Students of the first batch were successful in rural medical practice, and earned about Rs.50 -- a satisfactory income for the villages.¹ The complementary course in the Ayurvedic system of medicine was run by the Banaras Hindu University, which had a college with thirteen qualified professors and a hospital attached to the college. The products of the college found employment under the reformed municipal and district boards at a salary of Rs.50-60, or practiced independently as Vaid, charging a fee of Rs.2. They had done better than many products of the Agra medical school in the same province, better even than some graduates of the prestigious Lucknow Medical College.² "It may be," reported the provincial unemployment enquiry committee, "that in the village areas a vaid probably has a better chance than a medical man from Lucknow or Agra, or it may be that the ordinary villager finds the Ayurvedic medicine less expensive than Western medicine."³

While the indigenous medical profession thus continued to retain its hold over the countryside, it was segregated from the modern medical profession which slowly expanded its hold over the larger towns and cities. The segregation of the indigenous professional structures was evident in other sectors, too, though these groups by no means died out. The landholding

¹Ibid., p. 57.

²Ibid., pp. 56-57.

³Ibid., p. 57.

classes, in spite of changed conditions, continued to extend some measure of patronage to the traditional professional groups. The financial support given by Rajas and zamindars to priests, pandits and physicians diminished but was still substantial. A worthy mid-nineteenth century successor to the munificent Rani Bhavani of the eighteenth century was Maharani Swarnamayi of Kasimbazar, who maintained in her court learned Brahman scholars and the famous Ayurvedic physician, Gangadhar Kaviraj. These patron-client linkages were very much in the older tradition, which made the professional groups dependent on landed patrons. Gangadhar Kaviraj slapped a learned old Brahman in the court of Maharani Swarnamayi in a dispute over the status of the Vaidya caste, and the Rani promptly expelled him from her court and stopped his monthly pension.¹ The Kaviraj, however, had a large practice of his own and he was something of a celebrity in North Bengal.

As a means of support, the patronage of landholders was not best designed to create independent professions. Fortunately there were other means of support which continued to assure some sort of independence to traditional professional groups down to the twentieth century. Landed endowments, given in perpetuity, continued to support learning and religion; and the subscriptions of a generally poor but eager rural population provided these callings with a wide popular basis even at the beginning of the twentieth century. The centers of Islamic learning in Bengal -- madrasas and maktabas -- are an instance to the point. Tax-free landed properties, variously known as waqf, khairat and cheraqi, had been very extensively donated for the support of these institutions at the beginning of the nineteenth century; and it was

¹Dharmananda Mahabharati, Siddhanta Samudra, 4th Volume (Calcutta 1903), p. 60.

calculated at the start of the twentieth century that these endowments represented the greater half of the whole landed interests in the possession of the Bengali Muslim community.¹ Inhabitants of a group of villages would often unite to establish a small madrasas. Muslim landholders would sometimes support these institutions. The patrons -- zamindars, taluqdars, villagers -- did not dare to inspect the madrasas, because their teachers were also priests, and the wrath of Allah might be invoked. "No sooner are the students of these madrasas anointed with the titles of munshi and mollah, than they disperse throughout the country, some of whom turn out to be the teachers of the rural maktabas and madrassahs and others are ordained as village priests."² The teachers were moderately paid, and the students generously supported, by the foundations. Ninety-nine percent of the village priests, it was said, came from among the students and teachers of the rural madrasas and maktabas, and their audience also constituted ninety percent of the Muslim population of Bengal.³

The isolation of these traditional centers of learning from the modern educational sector, with its superstructure of universities, was a marked feature of the educational system of British India. A Universities Commission appointed by Lord Curzon observed in 1902 that there were older schools of Hindu and Muslim learning which "still subsist though they can hardly be said to flourish." The same Commission also noted: "There is as yet little or no

¹Note on Muhammandan Education in Bengal by Nowsher Ali Khan Euofzai, East Bengal and Assam Appointments and Municipal Proceedings, April 1906.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

direct intercourse between places of indigenous learning and the universities."¹

Thus the traditional professions survived into twentieth-century India, a sizable but quarantined sector in the professional structure. The overwhelmingly rural character of these traditional professions was a reflection of their wide popular base. It enabled them to survive in a backward and colonial country in which the modern professions were practically confined to the cities and larger towns.

¹Report of the Universities Commission 1902 (Simla 1902), p. 2.

III. New Professions

It will be sufficiently clear now that the modern professions in India did not develop out of the older professions. They were engrafted by the British and the grafting was not smooth. The modern professional sector did not become an organic part of the social fabric. Hence the curious paradox: the country was starved of professional skills for modernization and development and yet the modern professions soon encountered unemployment on a large scale. Had they developed out of the evolutionary needs of Indian society, this would not have been so. Yet one must not conclude from this that the implanted professional sector had no links with the older Indian society. As already stated, the modern professions were sustained by the revenue bureaucracy of the country; and more generally by the literate groups of lesser gentry who were traditionally employed in civil-revenue service. These groups were the earliest to take to the new English education; and through it to branch out into the subordinate civil services and the Western-style professions of British India.

An idea may be formed of these groups of lesser gentry if we look at some examples from different parts of the country. The East Bengali gentry, especially the Bikrampur babus, form a perfect example of the social continuity from traditional revenue service to colonial professional callings. That they were not an isolated case may be proved by reference to two other examples -- the Iyer and Iyengar Brahmans of Tanjore in the Madras Presidency and the Chitpavan Brahmans of Ratnagiri district in the Bombay Presidency.

The Bikrampur babus, and more generally the East Bengali gentry from the contiguous areas of Dacca, Faridpur and Bakarganj, were among the most highly educated and socially mobile groups in nineteenth-century India. They were prominent in English education, in government service under the British and in the new professions. But their high education and social mobility dated back to earlier times. Basically the Bikrampur Babus were a group of high caste landed gentry who supplemented their income from small landed property by earnings in government service for which they were well fitted by their education. Bikrampur had from antiquity been a seat of Sanskrit learning. Under Muslim rule, Persian learning spread rapidly as the avenue to government employment.¹ The lesser gentry of Bikrampur, having advanced their fortunes by education and service under Mughal rule, acquired the strength to revolt against the oppressive local landlords and rulers, the Chaudhuris of Nayapara. The Mughal government intervened in their favor and allowed them to separate their landed properties from the jurisdiction of the Chaudhuris. The lesser gentry of Bikrampur obtained an independent landed base, and it is from this event that the local chronicler dates the social progress of Bikrampur.² Bikrampur adjusted quickly to the new educational requirements of British rule. By 1859 there were as many as 45 schools in Bikrampur, out of which 20 were middle English schools.³ In course of the nineteenth century Bikrampur produced Suryakumar Goodeve Chakravarty, the first Indian

¹Jogendranath Gupta, Bikrampur Itihasa (Calcutta B.S. 1316), pp. 330-332.

²Anandanath Roy, Faridpur Itihasa (Calcutta 1909), pp. 59-69.

³Jogendranath Gupta, op. cit., p. 334.

doctor in the Indian Medical Service, Guru Prasad Sen, a leading lawyer who practiced in Bankipur in Bihar, Chndra Madhab Ghosh, Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, Jagadish Chandra Bose, a leading Indian scientist, and the brothers Manomohan and Lalmohan Ghosh, barristers in the Calcutta High Court and political leaders of the Indian National Congress.¹ As their landed properties divided and subdivided in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the lesser gentry of Dacca, Faridpur and Bakarganj, especially those of Bikrampur, found themselves under increasing pressure to migrate to Calcutta and beyond in search of higher education, government jobs and professional employment. Collectively they were called bhadralok or gentlefolk to distinguish them from the lower orders of the population, and they came mainly from three highest castes in Bengal, the Brahmans, the Vaidyas and the Kayasthas, who had long-established traditions of Persian and subsequently English education. "The term bhadralok," wrote the district magistrate of Bakarganj, "is locally used to include all who by birth, education or occupation consider themselves above the manual lot, but is almost exclusively confined to Hindus of the Brahman, Kayasth and Baidya castes, who form a very numerous and a very powerful element in the population and supply practically the whole district with officials, professional men and clerks, own most of the estates and nearly all the middlemen's tenures, while as dewans, naibs, gomasthas and muharirs they manage all estates in the district, since Muhammadan landlords employ them in preference to men of their own faith."² It was those lesser gentry of East Bengal who proved to be the

¹Ibid., Chapter II.

²J.C. Jack, Final Report on the Survey and Settlement operations in the District of Bakarganj 1900-1908 (Calcutta 1915), pp. 87-88.

main driving force behind the Swadeshi movement in Bengal in 1905-1908; and it was from their ranks that most of the revolutionary terrorists emerged after 1908.¹

What Bikrampur was to Bengal, Tanjore was to the Madras Presidency. The Tamil Brahmans of Tanjore, divided into the Iyers and the Iyengars, were the leading educated and professional element in the South. Like the Bikrampur gentry, they too were basically landlords who by means of education moved into service and professions and, in the process, migrated far beyond their homes. The district came first in literacy in the entire Madras Presidency, and its extraordinarily high intellectual reputation was due above all to the Iyers and the Iyengars, ancient custodians of Sanskrit learning in the South.² They were high caste Brahmans who had traditionally formed the backbone of the landed gentry of the district. The mirasi tenure predominated in Tanjore -- a form of privileged landed tenure -- and the Brahmans figured prominently as mirasdars.³ They did not cultivate themselves; untouchable serfs served them hereditarily as bonded agricultural labourers. They were thus free to devote themselves to intellectual pursuits. From antiquity they had acquired eminence in Vedic and Sanskrit learning but they did not neglect the more secular learning and the more lucrative pursuits. In South India they were among the first to respond to the new English education and the new opportunities for employment opened up by English education. When the Madras University was founded in 1857, they flocked to it in large numbers. By 1877,

¹See Sumit Sarkar, The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-1908 (New Delhi 1973).

²Madras District Gazetteer, Tanjore, by F.R. Hemingway (Madras 1906), pp. 81, 106.

the Madras University had produced 599 Bachelors and Masters, and of this number no less than 144 were Tanjoreans, the majority being Brahmans.¹ Regarding these Tamil Brahmans of Tanjore, an official manual of the district observed: "They are found in all grades and in all departments of Government service; as pleaders they are pre-eminently successful. No class of people have availed themselves, to the extent the Tamil Brahmans have, of the education imparted by the Coimbatore College and other schools scattered over the district, and the great majority of Tanjoreans, who have obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts, are of this class. There is hardly a family of Tamil Brahmans, which does not possess a competence in landed property; many own valuable estates. Agriculture is the primary occupation of all not employed in Government service; but many pursue trade. Whatever calling they pursue, the one object of every Tamil Brahman, whether he be a Government servant, a trader or a menial, is to preserve his earnings to augment his ancestral estate, large or small, whatever it is."² Here then was a typical example of social mobility culminating in large scale migration: from the land through higher education to government service, and then to law and other professions. The Iyers and Iyengars of Tanjore, and of other districts, established a virtual monopoly over the subordinate government establishments in the Madras Presidency in the late nineteenth century. Among lawyers and pleaders, they were by far the most successful in the South. From their legal base they were able to move prominently into early nationalist politics. Many of the early Congress leaders were Iyers, and some were Iyengars. But their

¹Ibid., p. 247.

²Ibid., p. 170.

predominance in the service and professional structure of the Madras Presidency had aroused the strong resentment of non-Brahman politicians in the South by the beginning of the First World War: an anger that found expression in the formation of the Justice Party, and later the Dravida Kazhagam and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.¹ These political parties captured the government machinery and employed discrimination in reverse. The Iyers, and to a lesser extent the Iyengars, were forced out of their native state in large numbers, and migrated to all parts of India in professional pursuits for which they were well equipped by their education and intellectual qualifications.

In Western India a group closely approximating the Bikrampuri Babus and the Iyers and the Iyengars of Tanjore were the Chitpavan Brahmans of Ratnagiri district on the Konkan coast. Chitpavans were an exceptionally large element of the population of Ratnagiri.² Ratnagiri was the area of their greatest concentration, although Chitpavans were to be found everywhere in Western India on account of their widespread migrations. They were the dominant section among the Brahmans of this district, about a half of the entire Brahman population. In the areas to which they migrated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they tended to concentrate in towns, such as Poona. In Ratnagiri, on the other hand, the Chitpavans were mainly country folk and constituted the backbone of the local gentry. Just as the Brahman and Vaidya taluqdars predominated in Bikrampur, and the Iyer and Iyengar mirasdars in Tanjore, so did the Chitpavan Khots predominate in Ratnagiri. Like Taluq in

¹Eugene F. Irschik, Politics and Social Conflict in South India. The Non-Brahman Movement and Tamil Separatism 1916-1929 (Bombay 1969), Introduction.

²Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. X: Ratnagiri and Savantvadi (Bombay 1880), p. 111.

Bikrampur, and Mirasi in Tanjore, Khoti was the characteristic form of land tenure in Ratnagiri, and a great many among the Khots were Chitpavans. Dominant landholders in Ratnagiri, the Khots cultivated their lands through dependent tenants over whom they wielded extensive powers.¹ Chitpavans owned many of the best coastal villages of the Konkan and with their landholding rights they combined money-lending and trading in agricultural produce.² However, they were by no means tied down to the land and to their locality. The Chitpavans were among the best educated communities in India. In Ratnagiri they dominated education from the start. A quarter of the schoolgoing population of Ratnagiri at the beginning of British rule was Brahman.³ They also began to monopolize the new English education which began in 1845, when the first English school was started by the government at Ratnagiri.⁴ Of 8,247 pupils in government schools in 1879, no less than 3,942 (about a half) were Brahmans, mainly Chitpavans. Other castes in the district came way behind. The Chitpavans formed the large majority of the 166 pupils of Ratnagiri School in 1880. English education gave them new openings and further augmented the stream of migrations which had started in the eighteenth century when the Chitpavan Peshwas became the heads of the Maratha confederacy. Chitpavans spread all over the Desh -- or the interior Deccan -- in the service of the Maratha government after Balaji Viswanath, a Chitpavan, became Peshwa at the start of the eighteenth century. With equal facility the

¹Ibid., pp. 204-206, 209.

²Ibid., pp. 112-113.

³Ibid., p. 238.

⁴Ibid., pp. 273-274.

Chitpavans took to the service of the British government, and then to the new professions. As early as 1880 the Gazetteer of the Ratnagiri district commented on their success as pleaders. "They have all over India a good name for their knowledge of Hindu lore, and in Bombay and Poona, some of the most distinguished native scholars in Sanskrit, mathematics, medicine and law, are Ratnagiri Chitpavans. Their scruples about serving under the British have long passed away, and now their favourite occupation is government service, in which they hold places from the humblest village accountant, schoolmaster and clerk, to very high and responsible posts."¹ Like other service communities, they migrated far and wide in the nineteenth century. The same District Gazetteer noted in this connection: "Ever ready to push their fortunes in other British districts or in native states, as a class they are successful and well-to-do."² Many Ratnagiri Chitpavans, settled in Poona, played a role in the emergence of the national movement in the Deccan. Some rose to the position of eminent leaders of the Indian National Congress. Tilak and Gokhale, the great rivals in early nationalist politics, were both Ratnagiri Chitpavans settled in Poona.³ It was, moreover, this very category which made the most prolific contribution to the making of modern Maharhi literature. In this they resembled the other two social groups we have taken as examples of the lesser gentry: the Bikrampuri Brahmans, Vaidyas and

¹Ibid., p. 113.

²Ibid., p. 113.

³See Stanley Wolpert, Tilak and Gokhale (California 1962); B.R. Nanda, Gokhale (Delhi 1977); Gordon Johnson, Provincial Politics and Indian Nationalism, Bombay and the Indian National Congress 1880-1915 (Cambridge 1973).

Kayasthas made a crucial contribution to the development of modern Bengali literature, as did the Iyers and the Iyengars of Tanjore and Tinnevely to the rise of modern Tamil literature.

Certain common characteristics of the educated groups we have been looking at stand out clearly. In the first place, the Bikrampur taluqdars, the Tanjore mirasdars and the Ratnagiri khots owned land and cultivated it through tenants. They were generally small landlords who found it necessary to resort to other callings to augment their rental incomes. Secondly, they belonged ritually to the highest ranks in the caste hierarchy. The Brahmans, Vaidyas and Kayasthas of Bikrampur, the Iyers and the Iyengars of Tanjore and the Chitpavans of Ratnagiri commanded ancient prestige of blood and were ceremonially pure. Thirdly, they had always been highly literate communities and had played a prominent role in the transmission of Sanskrit learning from antiquity. But their learning had not been confined to sacred Hindu lore alone, and even before the modern period they had shown an aptitude for secular learning which had enabled them to follow worldly pursuits successfully. This capacity for adaptation had been revealed especially in their early response to the opportunities presented by the new English education. Fourth, they were highly mobile groups, a tendency which found expression in their widespread migrations in the nineteenth century. They were service communities trained in revenue administration and were consequently prized by successive governments. Subsequently they turned their hereditary skills to the new professions of law, Western medicine, journalism, etc. -- callings which took them further and even further away from their ancestral homes and landed patrimonies. Each group combined within itself the characteristics of a lesser gentry, a pure descent group, a traditional

literati turned into a modern intelligentsia, and a mobile service community which was peculiarly well fitted for professional callings. The East Bengali bhadralok, the Iyers and the Iyengars of the deep South and the Chitpavans of Western India were, moreover, not isolated examples. The Punjabi Khattris and Aroras, the Kashmiri Pandits and Kayasths of Northern India, and the Prabhus of the Deccan were among other groups which shared many of the characteristics delineated above.

These groups came to form in course of the nineteenth century the new English-educated professional classes. As lesser gentry, traditional literati and service communities, they had been an organic part of the older Indian society. The new English-educated groups were not, however, so well integrated. Social continuity was maintained in terms of the groups which came to form the English-educated elite; but social break was in evidence in the relatively greater isolation of the English-educated groups from the rest of society. The introduction of English education damaged the organic linkages of the literate communities with the mass of the people.

The introduction of English education was the result of a conscious decision by the government of Lord Bentinck. William Adam, as we have seen, had presented alternative plans of education which might have made possible a greater continuity in social development. So had the Orientalists. Government therefore had a choice: it could build on the existing institutions and try to introduce necessary changes through them; or it could bypass them and build new institutions within a modern framework which would necessarily be alien. It was the latter choice that Bentinck made; and the choice shaped the subsequent development of professional society in India.

Bentinck's choice, it needs to be noted, was not unpopular among the Hindu service communities. In the switch-over from Persian to English as the official language, they were able to make the necessary adjustments, more easily -- it seems -- than could Muslim service groups. Whereas Muslim service gentry had a substantial cultural commitment to Persian, educated Hindus learned Persian for more straightforward material reasons.¹ The switch-over to English was for them a difficult adjustment, but not a loss of identity. In his autobiography an educated Bengali Hindu of this period, Kartikeya Chandra Roy, relates the personal difficulty which the switch-over posed for him, yet the same account shows that the necessary adjustment was made.²

Certain colleges played a key role in the training up of the new English-educated elite from which the modern professional groups derived. Of these the pride of place belongs to the Hindu College (later Presidency College) of Calcutta, the first modern college in India. Founded in 1817 by rich Hindu citizens of Calcutta, it was converted into a secular government college in 1855 and renamed Presidency College.³ It played a key role in the cultural phenomenon known as the Bengal Renaissance; and its Register shows that a great many of the leading government servants, lawyers, educationists and intellectuals of nineteenth century Bengal were trained

¹The attitude is clearly reflected in a Bengali letter from Baaram Karmakar to the District Judge, 24 Parganas, dated 11 Bhadra B.S. 1226 (1819), Church Missionary Society Papers.

²Svargiya Dewan Kartikeya Chandra Rayer Atmajivana-charita (Calcutta 1904), pp. 33-34.

³Presidency College Register, ed. Surendrachandra Majumdar and Gokulnath Dhar (Calcutta 1927); Presidency College, Calcutta, Centenary Volume 1955 (Alipore 1956).

in this institution.¹ Its critical role in the growth of a modern professional intelligentsia in India is reflected in the list of 45 famous students of Hindu College commemorated at the centenary of the Presidency College. Among these names may be mentioned the Reverend Krishnamohan Banerjee, scholar and missionary, Rajnarayan Basu, teacher, author and nationalist, Bholanath Chadra, author, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, poet, Ramgopal Ghosh, businessman, orator and politician, Dinabandhu Mitra, playwright, Kishorichand Mitra, scholar and journalist, Pearychand Mitra, scholar and author, Anukulchandra Mukherjee, lawyer and judge, Bhudeb Mukherjee, writer and educationist, Mahendralal Sarkar, scientist and physician, Keshabchandra Sen, leader of the Brahma Samaj, Nabainchandra Sen, poet and government servant, Debendranath Tagore, mystic and intellectual, and Jnanendramohan Tagore, the first Indian barrister.²

The counterpart of Calcutta's Presidency College in Western India was the Elphinstone College of Bombay. It originated in the desire of the rich native citizens of Bombay to erect a suitable memorial to their departing Governor, Mountstuart Elphinstone. A fund was collected in 1821 for the purpose of instituting a number of professorships. Two English professors, one of natural philosophy and the other of general literature, arrived in 1835 and launched the Elphinstone Institute. In 1856, when the college was separated from the Elphinstone High School, it assumed the designation of Elphinstone College. The College was instrumental, as Christine Dobbin has shown, in

¹Presidency College Register, see especially register of ex-students 1857-1884, pp. 85-139, and register of ex-students 1885-1908, pp. 141-290.

²Presidency College Centenary Volume, pp. 307-308.

creating an "intelligentsia" in Bombay which sustained modern social and political movements on the western side of India.¹ Among the distinguished professional men who graduated from the College were Dadabhai Naoroji, intellectual and nationalist, M.G. Ranade, judge and scholar, K.T. Telang, lawyer and politician, Pherozeshah Mehta, pleader and Congress leader, G.K. Gokhale, educationist and nationalist leader, D.K. Karve, intellectual and social reformer, and so on.²

Among the key government colleges that fostered English-educated and professional groups in the nineteenth century were Presidency College of Calcutta, Presidency College of Madras, Elphinstone College of Bombay, Muir Central College of Allahabad, Government College, Lahore, and Deccan College, Poona.³ Certain nongovernment colleges, pioneered by Christian missionaries, rich Indians, or leaders of communities, also played an important role: Serampore College founded by the Baptists in Bengal (1818), Madras Christian College (1853), Ferguson College in Poona (1884), St. Stephen College of Delhi and the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in U.P. (1875). These institutions contributed to the expanding number of modern professional groups in nineteenth-century India.

The universities came later than the colleges and completed the educational superstructure that was needed to train up the modern professional

¹Christine Dobbin, Urban Leadership in Western India. Politics and Communities in Bombay City 1840-1885 (Oxford 1972).

²Elphinstone College, 1856-1981 (brief history published on 125th anniversary of the college).

³For a detailed account of some of these colleges, see Irene Gilberg, "Autonomy and Consensus under the Raj: Presidency (Calcutta), Muir (Allahabad), M.A.O. (Aligarh)" in S.H. Rudolph and L.I. Rudolph (eds.), Education and Politics in India (Delhi 1972).

men to a higher level of competence. They were intended -- as the Court of Directors ordered -- "not so much to be themselves places of instruction, as to test the value of education obtained elsewhere" -- i.e., in schools and colleges. The first Indian universities -- those of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras -- were set up on this plan in 1857. They held examinations and granted degrees -- in literature, science, law, civil engineering and medicine. Two upcountry universities founded later on -- Lahore (1882) and Allahabad (1887) Universities -- also remained basically nonteaching bodies that examined knowledge and conferred degrees. The knowledge that they examined -- and conferred degrees upon -- was modern Western knowledge. There was, as we have already seen, little or no connection between the universities and the traditional institutions of learning, a fact that inevitably produced a cleavage between the old and new professional groups.¹ The Punjab University sought to strike out on a new course -- it conferred degrees for Oriental professional knowledge as well -- but it was an exception in the nineteenth century. Aligarh Muslim University and Banaras Hindu University, both products of revivalist movements in the twentieth century, brought a greater measure of support to the indigenous Hindu and Muslim professional groups, but they too derived their importance basically from their strategic position in the training structure of modern professions.

The training structure of the modern professions was based squarely on English education imparted through schools and colleges and tested by the universities. By 1885 there had come about an English-educated class of about 55,000 Indians, including several thousands who had received their education

¹Report of the Universities Commission 1902, pp. 2-5.

before 1857. They sprang, as B.T. McCully notes, from a fairly distinct economic and social stratum of the native population. The wealthy and upper classes of natives -- the chiefs and landed magnates and merchant princes -- kept aloof from English education. It was the middle income groups, mostly from the Presidency towns, which composed the new educated class -- a class ranging from government service to the professions of law, Western medicine, civil engineering, education and journalism.¹ It was not the original intention of the British that this middling stratum in Indian society should monopolize English education and its benefits. They expected to rear up a class of English style native gentlemen of education as well as substance, drawn from the upper landed and commercial strata of native society. This expectation was not fulfilled because of the structure of Indian society. The landed and commercial magnates, who had no need for going into service as a means of living, were indifferent to English education. On the other hand, the literate caste groups which had long formed service communities drawn from the lesser gentry, proved to be eager for English education and better able to man the modern professions. Christine Dobbin, in her study of mid-nineteenth century Bombay society, clearly distinguishes between the rich shetia class of conservative merchants who proved indifferent to English education and the intelligentsia trained up in Elphinstone College who depended on government service, clerical and teaching jobs and professional callings.² It should be stressed, however, that these urban educated groups had strong ties with the land. An examination of the Calcutta Presidency College Register conveys

¹B.T. McCully, English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism (Gloucester, Mass. 1966), pp. 177-198.

²Christine Dobbin, op. cit., pp. 2-50.

the impression that a great many of the students came from the families of lesser gentry in the districts.¹ This impression is further confirmed by two directories of the Aligarh MAO College prepared by Tuhfail Ahmed in 1897 and 1913, a meticulous examination of which has led to the conclusion that the majority of the students came from Muslim landed and titled families.²

The training structure of the modern professions included, besides general English education as the starting point, a final stage of more specialized training through professional institutions. The creation of universities gave an impetus to such specialized professional training by virtue of the standardization imposed through university degrees. Even before the founding of the universities, however, professional training through specialized colleges (and general colleges with specialized departments such as law) had long been established. What the universities contributed was a means of testing and improving the value of the professional training imparted through such institutions.

By the beginning of the twentieth century India probably had one of the most complete systems of professional and technical education outside Europe and America, a system embracing law, medicine, engineering and surveying, agriculture, veterinary science, forestry, commerce and art.³ Because of weak linkages with the countryside and with the mass of the population, the

¹Presidency College Register.

²Iqtidar Alam Khan, "A Note on the Social Antecedents of the Students of the MAO College," unpublished paper. Also see David Lelyveld, Aligarh's First Generation (New Delhi 1978), which conveys a rather different impression.

³R. Nathan, op. cit., p. 8.

system had limited value, but it was a highly sophisticated system built up almost entirely under government initiative.

For lawyers in India the essential qualification was a formal law training through a college culminating in a university law degree called Bachelor of Law (BL) which enabled the degree-holders to enroll as pleaders through any High Court of Judicature and to practice in any District or High Court. Only successful arts graduates were entitled to read for a university law degree. They did so through government law colleges which had law classes. The Madras Law College was a full-time college which admitted only BA's. The Bombay Law School was an evening school, taught by practicing lawyers, which was located in the Elphinstone College. In Punjab law teaching was centralized in the School of Law at Lahore. In U.P. the Muir College and some other colleges had law classes under the control of Allahabad University, while Aligarh MAO College gave its own law degree. In Calcutta there was no Central School of Law and law was taught in many arts colleges. Except in Calcutta, the Universities Commission noted with favor in 1902, the teaching of law was more or less centralized. For Calcutta the Commission recommended a Central Law School and abolition of law classes in arts colleges to improve legal studies.¹ This reform, which was unpopular on account of the heavy financial stake of many colleges in law classes, was forcibly carried through by Lord Curzon. There was a marked improvement of legal education in India as a whole in the decade following the Universities Commission of 1902. The improvement assumed the form of centralization and development. In 1901 there were 35 institutions in all -- colleges, classes and schools -- containing

¹Report of the Universities Commission, pp. 34-35.

2,800 students studying law. By 1913 there were 27 such institutions, with a slightly higher number of students. In Bengal the teaching of law was confined to certain colleges, and a Law College was established under Calcutta University. Law courses were lengthened and improved everywhere in India.¹

The universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were empowered in 1857 to give medical degrees, but the medical colleges antedated the universities: the Calcutta and Madras Medical Colleges were set up in 1835, the Grant Medical College of Bombay in 1845, and the Lahore Medical College in 1860 (i.e., before the Punjab University). Higher medical teaching, the Universities Commission observed, was rightly centralized in the four large government medical colleges at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Lahore, which ensured a high standard.² Each of these colleges was connected with a large native hospital in which clinical instruction was given to students. The principal of each college was invariably a member of the Indian Medical Service and all the major professorships -- those in medicine and surgery -- were also monopolized by the IMS. The largest of these colleges, the Calcutta Medical College, had professorships of medicine, materia medica, surgery, anatomy, midwifery, ophthalmic surgery, chemistry, pathology, physiology, medical jurisprudence, botany and comparative anatomy and zoology, as well as lectureships on dentistry and hygiene.³

¹Indian Educational Policy 1913. Being a Resolution Issued by the Governor-General in Council on the 21st February 1913 (Calcutta 1913), pp. 32-33.

²Report of the Universities Commission, p. 35.

³R. Nathan, op. cit., pp. 233-235.

Engineering colleges in India served mainly to train a large number of technical personnel for the lower branches of the engineering profession. As for the higher branches of the profession, which were filled mainly by recruits from England, a small number of engineers were turned out by the colleges in India, and it was only these graduates of whom the universities took cognizance.¹ At the beginning of the twentieth century, engineering instruction was available in India in three main branches: civil, mechanical and electrical. The four main government engineering colleges were the Thomason Civil Engineering Colleges at Roorkee in U.P. (1847), the Civil Engineering College at Sibpur near Calcutta (1880), the College of Science at Poona (developing out of the Poona Engineering Class and Mechanical School of 1854) and the Madras College of Engineering (developing out of a survey school in 1793 and assuming the shape of an engineering college between 1858 and 1862).² At the beginning of the twentieth century these four engineering colleges were offering instruction in (1) civil engineering, (2) subordinate classes for training of overseers in public works, (3) mechanical engineering, (4) electrical engineering, (5) sanitary engineering, (6) surveying and (7) draughtmanship.³ These classes give an idea of the limits of the development of the engineering profession at the end of the nineteenth century. Mining, metallurgy and industrial chemistry were not taught in the engineering and technical colleges. There were important posts in these fields but they were in general filled by persons recruited

¹Report of the Universities Commission, p. 40.

²R. Nathan, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-247.

³*Ibid.*, p. 250.

from outside India.¹ At the time of the Swadeshi movement in Bengal in 1905, great enthusiasm arose throughout the country for industrial and technical education. Many scholarships were instituted for technical study in Europe, America and Japan. The First World War and its aftermath gave further stimulus. A Technological Institute was set up in Cawnpore for the chemistry of sugar manufacture and leather, for textiles and for alkalis and acids.² The new Banaras Hindu University had an excellent mining and metallurgy department and its metallurgy degree won wide recognition from industrial employees in India.³

At the turn of the century there was little commercial education of an advanced character in India, and no management training at a high institutional level. The Universities Commission noted in 1902 that unlike America, Europe and England, where universities had developed faculties of commerce, commercial teaching was neglected in India.⁴ Some schools taught shorthand and typewriting and a few privately managed schools gave elementary instruction in bookkeeping, correspondence, commercial geography, etc. In around 1904 the most important school of commerce was a Parsee institution in Bombay which gave a two-year course in commercial subjects and sent pupils up for the London Chamber of Commerce senior certificate.⁵ There was considerable expansion of commercial education in the following decade. From

¹Ibid., p. 264.

²Indian Educational Policy 1913, pp. 24-25.

³Report of the Unemployment Committee, United Provinces 1935 (Allahabad 1936).

⁴Report of the Universities Commission, p. 42.

⁵R. Nathan, op. cit., p. 9.

10 colleges with 600 students in 1904, it expanded to 26 institutions with 1,500 students in 1913. The standard attained was not high -- it merely prepared students for clerical duties in government and business offices rather than for conduct of business itself.¹ In the interwar period the universities started producing an increasing number of Bachelors of Commerce, but the links between such commercial training and practical business remained weak. Indeed, the "B.Coms" were popularly and humourously described as "be Kam" (workless) on account of the unwillingness of the merchants and industrialists to employ them.²

Formal education in arts and crafts had made much progress by 1900. There were four government schools of art at the turn of the century -- the School of Art and Industry in Madras, the Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art in Bombay, and the Government Colleges of Art in Calcutta and Lahore. These schools of art provided fine arts teaching as well as industrial craft education which had no special reference to decorative treatment. The Calcutta School emphasized fine arts teaching and was instrumental in giving birth to the "Bengal School" of painting under its two inspiring principals, E.B. Havell and Abanindranath Tagore. The Calcutta and Bombay Schools succeeded in creating a new breed of modern individualist painters as distinct from hereditary groups of craftsmen and artists. The Madras School on the other hand, under the inspiration of Alfred Chatterton, emphasized industrial crafts.³

¹Indian Educational Policy 1913, p. 13.

²UP Unemployment Committee Report, p. 48.

³R. Nathan, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

Finally, there was advanced scientific research and training, which developed perhaps last of all. At the beginning of the twentieth century there was no institution in India capable of housing advanced scientific research. Such research as went on was mainly by individual scientists, usually within the fold of the most advanced colleges in India. Presidency College, where two leading Bengali scientists taught at the same time (the botanist Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose and the chemist Prafulla Chandra Roy), was a prominent example. The first advanced institution of science in India was the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, founded by the Tata family with the aid of the Maharaja of Mysore and the Government of India. Originally planned in 1896 by Sir J.N. Tata, it was finally thrown open to students in 1911. It was planned as a postgraduate university institution for promotion of higher scientific studies and original research. The emphasis was to be on those branches of pure and applied science as were more directly applicable to Indian arts and industries. In accordance with this plan four departments were initially housed in the Institute -- general chemistry, organic chemistry, applied chemistry and electrical technology. The staff were European at this stage. The equipment purchased was sufficiently advanced to compare favorably with any high class European or American technical college.¹ By the 1930's the Institute had made substantial progress: new departments had come up and the staff had been substantially Indianized, the Nobel Prize winning scientist C.V. Raman being now its Director. It was offering advanced instruction and carrying on research in the departments of physics, general and organic chemistry, biochemistry and electrical

¹Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, India, Calendar 1911-12, pp. 13-14.

technology.¹ Several Indian universities, especially Calcutta University, was also supporting advanced scientific research by this time; and the number of science graduates in the country was steadily rising, a considerable change from the situation in 1900 when virtually every graduate was an arts graduate.

Higher intellectual and professional training in India, it will be evident from the foregoing account, was highly developed by 1900, and it advanced even further in course of the first three decades of the twentieth century. It acquired a high and sophisticated character -- too sophisticated, perhaps, for an underdeveloped society like India. Consequently it did not link well with the economy and society and a much larger traditional professional sector -- if it could be called "professional" any longer in the advanced century after 1900 -- survived.

It is time now to have a look at the overall structure of professional groups, old and new, in India at the end of the nineteenth century, and to trace further changes in this structure in the following decades. The material for this study is imperfect, but certain inferences can be drawn from census data, income tax figures and other scattered sources.

The Government of India carried out decennial census surveys in 1872, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1941 and 1951. Unfortunately these surveys do not give us a times series of comparable occupational statistics, except between 1911 and 1931, which is too short a series for measurement of long-term changes in the professional structure. The censuses of 1872 and 1881 are too full of inaccuracies to merit any reliance. The census of 1891 did not compute the number of "actual workers," but gave combined figures for

¹Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, India, Calendar 1936-37,
pp. 9-14.

"workers and dependents." The census of 1941, because of wartime economies, did not collect occupational statistics at all. A completely different occupational classification was adopted during the census of 1951 (which in any case excluded Pakistan). Thus it is not possible to compute, with census data, the growth or decline of professional groups in India either in the nineteenth or in the twentieth century. The census of 1901, however, gives us a somewhat blurred view of the professional-occupational structure as it had evolved at the end of the nineteenth century (see Table 1).

In looking at the number of actual workers under "learned and artistic professions" in India in 1901, the first impression that a trained eye receives is the smallness of the genuinely modern professional component within this occupational category as defined by the census. The vast majority included under the census category of learned and artistic professions were not in any sense professional men as we understand it in the modern sense of the term. The census commissioners, Risley and Gait, themselves commented on this fact. The category included, as they put it, "several occupations which are neither learned nor artistic" -- e.g., 376,000 religious mendicants and inmates of monasteries, many of them indistinguishable from ordinary beggars; 174,000 temple servants, cremating attendants, etc.; 38,000 petition writers, lawyers' clerks, stamp vendors, and touts who far outnumbered the 20,000 barristers, advocates and pleaders; 106,000 midwives, as against a mere 13,000 registered medical practitioners (not all of whom were modern doctors). Of the 109,000 "bandmasters and players" the majority were low caste village drummers. The 155,000 "actors, singers and dancers" also "belonged mainly to

Table 1
Actual Workers 1901

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
A. Government	2,105,044	102,370
<u>I. Administration</u>	1,307,999	70,973
1. Civil Service of the state	424,672	843
1. The Viceroy, the heads of local governments, administrations and agencies	26	0
2. Officers of government	15,564	4
3. Clerks, inspectors, etc.	108,573	140
4. Constables, messengers, warders and unspecified	300,509	699
2. Service of local and municipal bodies	95,932	12,175
5. Inspecting & supervising officials	27,629	10,668
6. Clerical establishment	20,575	135
7. Menials other than scavengers	47,728	1,372
3. Village service	787,395	57,955
8. Headmen, not shown as agriculturists	90,231	4,050
9. Accountants, not shown as agriculturists	124,313	5,356
10. Watchmen & other village servants	572,851	48,549
<u>II. Defense</u>	238,193	455
4. Army	234,550	455
11. Military officers	5,989	0
12. Noncommissioned officers and privates	127,980	0
13. Followers	20,217	412

Table 1

	<u>Actual Workers 1901</u>	(continued)
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
14. Military administrative establishments	31,640	36
15. Military police, etc.	18,355	0
16. Military service unspecified	30,369	7
5. Navy and Marine	3,643	0
17. Naval officers	310	0
18. Naval engineers, warrant officers and seamen	2,996	0
19. Naval administrative staff	377	0
<u>III. Service of Native & Foreign States</u>	558,852	30,962
6. Civil officers	393,315	30,564
20. Chiefs & officers	20,345	421
21. Clerical establishments	41,846	248
22. Menials & unspecified	331,124	29,895
7. Military	?	?
23. Officers	9,640	1
24. Privates, etc.	155,896	397
<u>IV. Law</u>	76,577	315
1. Barristers, advocates, pleaders	20,210	29
2. Solicitors & attorneys	459	56
3. Law agents, mukhtiar, etc.	11,807	0
4. Kazis	6,128	143
5. Articled clerks & other lawyer's clerks	17,325	5

Table 1

Actual Workers 1901

(continued)

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
6. Petition writers, touts, etc.	14,879	62
7. Stamp vendors	5,769	0
<u>V. Medicine</u>	133,477	70,644
1. Administrative & inspecting staff (when not returned under general head)	1,770	27
2. Practitioners with diplomas, licence or certificate	11,222	1,469
3. Practitioners without diplomas	99,882	6,485
4. Dentists	442	100
5. Oculists	982	79
6. Vaccinators	4,475	192
7. Midwives	910	58,724
8. Compounders, matrons, nurses, and hospital, asylum and dispensing service	13,846	3,578
<u>VI. Engineering and Survey</u>	36,645	255
1. Administrative & inspecting staff	2,207	4
2. Civil engineers & architects	3,071	5
3. Topographical, archaeological and revenue surveyors	5,745	1
4. Draughtsmen & operators in survey officers, overseers, etc.	7,539	8
5. Clerks, etc., in offices of the above	18,083	237
<u>VII. Natural Science</u>	524	24
1. Astronomers & meteorologists and establishments	144	12

Table 1

Actual Workers 1901

(continued)

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
2. Botanists, naturalists and officers of scientific institutions	128	10
3. Metallurgists	29	0
4. Persons occupied with other branches of science	504	233
<u>VIII. Pictorial Art and Sculpture</u>	12,304	4,517
1. Painters, superintendents of schools of art, etc.	6,443	727
2. Sculptors	2,559	268
3. Photographers	1,637	51
4. Tattoosers	1,665	3,471
<u>IX. Music, Acting, Dancing, Etc.</u>	209,411	58,898
1. Music composers & teachers	3,019	443
2. Bandmasters & players (not military)	104,371	4,596
3. Piano tuners	1,076	185
4. Actors, singers & dancers and their accompanists	100,945	53,674

Source: Census of India 1901, Vol. 1A, Part II (Calcutta 1903).

the gypsy and vagrant fraternity, and many of them might have been more correctly returned as prostitutes.¹

The following categories were professional groups in the modern sense of the term: officers of the British government in India (excluding government doctors, engineers and other professional men) -- 16,000; principals, professors and teachers -- 180,000 (this figure is unduly swelled by the inclusion of primary school teachers not returned separately); authors, editors and journalists -- 1,000; barristers, advocates, pleaders, law agents, mukhtiar, solicitors and attorneys -- 33,000; registered medical practitioners and dentists -- 13,000; engineers and architects -- 3,000; scientists -- 500; painters, sculptors, photographers, music composers and teachers -- 15,000 (a figure swelled by the inclusion of many hereditary rural artists and musicians of the uneducated type). It is a commentary on the skewed development of the modern professional structure in India that lawyers numbered 33,000, while doctors, engineers and scientists together numbered no more than 17,000. Law was the one profession in which the traditional element was now reduced to numerical insignificance, the qazis numbering no more than an additional 6,000. Elsewhere the traditional component predominated: priests and ministers of religion numbered 505,000, astrologers and diviners 44,000, unregistered medical practitioners 106,000.² It cannot be said that thirty years later, 1931, the pattern of things had changed fundamentally. Lawyers of all kinds, including the qazis, had now increased from 39,000

¹Census of India 1901, Vol. I, Part I, Report (Calcutta 1901), p. 216.

²Census of India 1901, Vol. I, Part II, tables.

to 69,000, and were still the most important group among professional men. The number of registered medical practitioners and dentists had gone up substantially from 13,000 to 82,000, but they were still outnumbered by 107,000 unregistered medical practitioners. Scientists were still a mere 2,000; engineers, architects and surveyors, including their employees, 10,000. The modern professions were expanding, but were still a small component in the total occupational structure. The army of religion was still formidable: 832,000 priests and ministers, 155,000 monks, nuns and mendicants, and 26,000 horoscope casters, astrologers, fortune tellers, wizards, witches and mediums.¹ If religion were a profession, it was by far the dominant component in India's professional structure well into the twentieth century.

The census figures, therefore, are misleading if we begin to seek in them an exact computation of the number of modern professional men. The formidable number of artists, sculptors and image makers in 1931 -- 15,000 men and women -- and of musicians, actors and dancers -- 107,000 -- makes sense only if we remember that very few among them were modern professional artists and musicians, the overwhelming majority being traditional rural artist groups of a hereditary character. The income tax statistics give us a better view of the top levels of the modern professional structure. These statistics cover only those assessed for income tax, by implication, the top earning bracket of the professions. The following is the breakdown of the income tax levied on different categories of income in India in 1910:²

¹Census of India 1931, Vol. I, Part II (Delhi 1933), table.

²Statistics of British India for 1910-11 Part IV(b), Finance and Revenue (Calcutta 1912). Figures have been rounded off.

Table 2

	<u>Amount of Tax (in Rs. Million)</u>	<u>Number of Assesseees</u>
1. Salaries and pensions of Government servants	6.4	37,000
2. Profits of companies	2.5	8,000
3. Interest on securities	1.2	-
4. Professions	1.0	13,000
5. Manufacturers, construction, etc.	0.4	6,000
6. Commerce and trade	9.6	155,000
7. Property owners	1.2	-

In terms of earning power, the modern professions and government service did not compare unfavorably with manufacturers, commerce and companies. The professions in the narrower sense, excluding the civil servants, were, however, dwarfed by government service. Within the professional structure in the narrower sense, lawyers predominated as will be evident from the further breakdown of the professions:¹

Table 3

	<u>Amount of Tax (in Rs.)</u>	<u>Number of Assesseees</u>
Professions	10,35,059	12,782
a) Education	16,138	107
b) Engineering and Architecture	14,791	85
c) Law: Barristers	1,18,512	522
d) Law: Attorneys, pleaders. etc.	6,16,574	8,814
e) Medicine	1,29,169	1,601
f) Others	1,39,875	1,653

¹Ibid. Slight differences in number with previous table arises from the fact that the figures are not rounded off.

The two major professions in India in the early twentieth century were law and medicine, in that order, in terms of earning power. Out of 133,000 professional men assessed to the income tax, 9,000 were barristers, attorneys, pleaders, etc. They paid Rs.7.35 lakhs out of the total tax of Rs.10.35 lakhs by professional men. The only other considerable profession was medicine, in which two thousand doctors, etc., paid Rs.1.29 lakhs. Engineering, a major profession of future independent India, was but in its infancy. But education, while not very lucrative as a profession, had expanded to very wide limits, as indicated by census figures.

The above figures make two things clear about the modern professional structure in early twentieth-century India. In the first place, civil and public services outweighed all the independent professions -- i.e., those in the proper sense of the term. A total of 37,000 government servants paid an income tax of Rs.6.4 millions; 13,000 professional men paid an income tax of Rs.1.0 million. Even allowing for the fact that professional men found it far easier to evade the income tax, it is clear that civil service was the dominant profession of British as of Mughal India. Secondly, among the professions proper, an entirely new modern profession which had not existed in Mughal India, namely, legal advocacy, had become the most significant. It outweighed, in earning power, all the other professions together; and in terms of public and political activity, it was the most important, the breeding ground of the Indian National Congress and of other political parties.

So much for the occupational structure of the modern professional sector as revealed by census and income tax statistics. In the rest of this section we shall seek to identify certain fundamental features of the historical evolution of the modern professional structure in India. Two basic aspects

require our close attention. First, the critical role of the British government in fostering the modern professions during the nineteenth century and the consequent predominance of government in the entire professional sphere together with the problems of racial discrimination and Indianization that arose from the fact that the government in question was an alien white government. Second, the hiatus between this artificially introduced modern professional sector and the backward Indian social structure, a hiatus leading inevitably to problems of unemployment in course of the further expansion of the modern professions in the twentieth century. In what follows, these two aspects of the development of the modern professions in India will be sketched one after the other.

First, the predominance of government in the modern professional structure and the accompanying racial discrimination. When, early in the nineteenth century, the highly literate service communities in India took to English education, they did so, as we have seen, with an eye to government employment. Subsequently they spilled into the modern professions, to which, also, English education was the passport. But the primary aim remained government service. Even in the twentieth century, when the modern independent professions had developed much further, government service retained its primary attraction despite the fact that Indians had gained free entry only into the subordinate and not the top government services. The UP Unemployment Committee declared in 1935:¹

¹UP Unemployment Committee Report, p. 92.

Upon the evidence before us, we can entertain no doubt that the vast majority of the products of our universities -- and their parents share the feeling -- aim at securing some appointment or other in Government service. It is only when they fail to secure Government appointments that they think either of private service or some other profession. Government service has a great attraction partly because of the social value attached to official positions and mainly because of the security of tenure and the certainty of pension. It is perhaps true that the brainiest and the best of our students are absorbed in or, at any rate, try to secure Government appointments with the result that certain professions such as Law which at one time used to attract some of our best men, are starved of first class talent.

The prestige of government service was sustained by very considerable improvements in the quality of personnel by the beginning of the twentieth century. What the British did was to create, out of the pre-existing Mughal revenue bureaucracy, a new type of subordinate government service. It was a more professionalized service. In the older system, certain families tended to get hold of key positions in the revenue hierarchy, and even formal offices tended to become hereditary. This trend continued in princely India in the nineteenth century. As Karen Leonard has shown, the Kayasth Malwala family got hold of the Daftar-i-Mal or revenue record office in the 1830's, and made it a hereditary office under the Nizam of Hyderabad in the nineteenth century, so much so that when the Salar Jung carried out modern reform of the Hyderabad state in the mid-nineteenth century, he had to strip this office of its powers instead of ending the monopoly of the Malwala family over the office.¹ Such

¹Karen Isaksen Leonard, Social History of an India Caste. The Kayasths of Hyderabad (Delhi 1978), pp. 62-63, 82-85.

a thing would have been inconceivable in contemporaneous British India. No positions in the subordinate civil services of British India could be openly and professedly hereditary. Not that the hold of certain families on government offices was at once ended. Informally, as R.E. Frykenberg has shown in the case of the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency, where in the mid-nineteenth century all the vital positions in the subordinate civil and revenue establishments were monopolized by certain Maratha Deshasth Brahman families, much the same kind of thing was carried on as in Hyderabad, though less openly. But in this case the Government of Madras made systematic attempts to break the ring and it attained success in this endeavor in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹ Nepotism and corruption, of course, did not abate at once. Success was slow. But as David Washbrook has shown, the Government of the Madras Presidency brought its subordinate establishments under increasing and more centralized control by the turn of the twentieth century.² It laid much greater emphasis on the English education of its servants, which was seen as the road to improvement of the quality of the personnel. Before the mutiny, many native servants had passed the uncovenanted service examinations in the vernacular for appointments to legal posts, but government steadily exerted pressure in favor of English in the 1860's. To take an instance, the vakil or pleader, Sheshiyer, applied to take a test in the vernacular for appointment to a judicial post, but the

¹This interesting story is related in Robert Frykenberg, Guntur District 1788-1848: A History of Local Influence and Central Authority in South (Oxford 1965).

²David Washbrook, The Emergence of Provincial Politics: The Madras Presidency, 1870-1920 (Cambridge 1976).

application was rejected in 1867 because English knowledge was considered essential by the Madras government.¹

This trend toward professionalization of the civil and public services was general in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century India. The Public Service Commission of 1886-1887 explored the possibility of systematization, improvement and Indianization, and it was followed during the First World War by the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India. Between the Mutiny and the First World War, great advance had been made by Indian judges and magistrates "in education, in legal training, and in uprightness of character."² The Government of India declared with satisfaction in 1911:

Fifty years ago few of these officers knew English, none of them had obtained a University degree, and hardly any had enjoyed a legal training. At the present time civil judges know English as a matter of course, and many are University graduates in arts or law, while in most provinces all salaried magistrates appointed in recent years are men of education. The average salaries paid to Indian Judges are double what they were 50 years ago. They compare favourably with the scale of official salaries in continental Europe. With the improvement in education and in salary has come a much higher standard of probity and a sense of duty. In the old days public officers of this class were often accused or suspected of corrupt motives. At the present time, such accusations against these officers are rare.

The increased prestige of government officers sustained the attraction of the public services even after the self-employed professions got off the ground. But more than that, the government itself absorbed the modern

¹Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, No. XVIII, pp. 3-5.

²Memorandum on Some of the Results of Indian Administration during the Past Fifty Years of British Rule in India (Calcutta 1911), p. 15.

professions within its fold, so that the self-employed professions outside the government apparatus were of peripheral importance, the only exception being the profession of law. But even that, as we shall soon see, originated in the altered needs of a colonial government. As for the other professions, most of their personnel were absorbed in government service. The most qualified among the professional men in British India were government servants. This was the peculiar feature of the growth of the modern professions in India. They were brought into existence by the action of the colonial government and the larger part of them remained in government employ.

The British government maintained, besides the Indian Civil Service, many specialized professional services. In 1913, among its 11,064 officers receiving salaries over Rs.200, 2,874 were in the Indian Civil Service and the provincial civil services. Among the other officers were more specialized professional personnel: 827 in education, 264 in finance, 929 in legal-judicial service, 760 in medical service, 5 in mining, 1,066 in public works (engineers), 1,388 in railways, post and telegraph, and 22 in geological survey.¹ These legal, educational, medical, technical, engineering and scientific personnel were among the most highly paid and highly rewarded professional men in India. Except for the top-ranking barristers and pleaders, few among the self-employed professional men could claim as high rewards for their professional expertise as these specialized officers of the government. Members of the Indian Medical Service, the Indian Educational Service and the Indian Railway Service of Engineers and Indian Service of Engineers were the most highly honored among professional men in India.

¹Royal Commission on the Public Services in India. Report of the Commissioners Vol. I (London 1916), p. 24.

The structure of the government services is a clue why the British governmental apparatus played such a key role in fostering and structuring the the modern professional groups in India. The modern professions originated, in general, from the specialized services created by the British, and these governmental services continued to be the most important element in the professional structure even after professional men began to find private service and private practice in increasing number. The only profession in which the government did not maintain an official service was legal advocacy, but even in this profession the weight of the omnipresent government was, as we shall see, considerable, and the very profession originated in the altered needs of government when the British succeeded the Mughals to the supremacy of India.

The history of some key government services, namely, the Indian Medical Service, the Indian Educational Service and the Indian Service of Engineers, afford an insight into the structure of the professions of medicine, education and engineering, and in fact show how these professions originated. All these were government services, just like the Indian Civil Service, the only difference being that self-employed groups sprang into existence in these professions in the course of time, a development ruled out in the case of the civil services. From this historical point of view civil service should be considered a profession in modern India. Let us, therefore, make a quick survey of civil, medical, educational and engineering services, along with the development of self-employed groups in these areas and in the sphere of legal advocacy. Such a survey will throw light on the origins of the modern professional structure in India. It will also reveal the problems of white

domination and discrimination against natives which contributed in no small measure to the birth and development of the nationalist movement in India.

Among the various government services, the most attractive were the civil services, the Indian Civil Service being the most prestigious but even the subordinate civil services having first preference over other services. The Indian Civil Service, which grew out of the covenanted civil servants of the East India Company, gave racial cohesion and distinction to the top white administrative elite, in nineteenth-century British India. Entry into this "Heaven-Born" service, the most powerful and well-paid colonial bureaucracy in the world, was regulated by carefully designed competitive examinations in England, which few Indians succeeded in passing in the nineteenth century. Demands for simultaneous examinations in India, which formed one of the first demands of the Indian National Congress, were consistently set aside. The native revenue bureaucrats whom the British had inherited from the earlier governments were systematically eliminated from the top positions, but were employed, for purposes of economy, in the subordinate and uncovenanted establishments of the government.

After the Mutiny, the need was felt for appointing Indians to higher positions in the the administrative ladder, because of the expanding needs of government and the strident demands by educated Indians. New administrative and judicial posts were created to meet these pressures and many educated Indians rose to be deputy magistrates and subordinate judges. The Public Service Commission of 1886-1887 explored the possibility of appointing more Indians to top civil posts, and recommended that instead of an Indian Civil Service and an uncovenanted civil service, there be an Indian Civil Service , to be maintained in the same rigidly structured form, and Provincial Civil

Services, which would accommodate the aspirations of educated Indians and, hopefully, divert the pressures building up for freer entry of Indians to the ICS.¹ Provincial Civil Services were set up under the new scheme in each province, and by 1908 they accommodated 2,263 subordinate judges and magistrates, of whom 2,067 were natives of India. The ICS was still predominantly European, and 661 highest posts in government were reserved for the "Celestials." But the predominantly native Provincial Civil Services had also got hold of 51 "listed" posts.² In the inter-war period, with greater constitutional devolutions of power to Indians, the ICS became more open. A Public Service Commission was set up in Delhi to recruit, by competitive examination, officers for the All-India and Central Services -- the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Police and the Indian Audit and Accounts Service. The ICS was now recruited partly in London by the Indian Civil Service Examination and partly in India by competition and nomination. At the time of independence India had a highly trained and partly Indianized ICS which stabilized the country during the transfer of power.

By then the modern accounting services had also been organized. The Indian Audit and Accounts Service, the Imperial Customs Service, the Military Accounts Department and the Indian Railway Accounts Service, all recruited through competitive examinations under the Public Service Commission, had sprung into existence to meet the needs of a sophisticated bureaucratic government. Compared to the scales of pay of the ICS (Rs. 450-2,250) or even the Indian Police (Rs.350-1,450), the scales of pay in the accounting services

¹Royal Commission on the Public Services. pp. 9-11.

²Memorandum on Some Results of the Indian Administration, pp. 9-10.

were lower (Rs.250-950), but even so they were attractive enough, and considerably higher than the scales of pay in the Provincial Civil Services (e.g., Bengal Civil Service Rs.150-750).¹ Accountancy as a scientific profession, supporting self-employed groups of chartered accountants, was, however, as yet undeveloped; and no specialized knowledge of accountancy was demanded in the competitive examinations of the Public Service Commission, which a candidate could pass with a combination of papers in, say, English, general knowledge, elementary geography, elementary mathematics and history.²

In the academic profession again, paid officers of the British government were the commanding element. Universities in India, as we have seen, were not involved in teaching until 1917. The B.A. courses, and later on the M.A. courses which were introduced in the 1870's, were taught in colleges. The different provincial governments imported English professors, recruited by the Secretary of State in England, in order to staff the government colleges, through which the British sought to maintain a certain standard and retain control over education. There was at first no articulate structure for the superior education services, but gradually, as the nineteenth century wore on, the services were organized into definite structured services with grades. Indians were admitted into the graded educational services, but only at two thirds of the pay of the English professors. Racial exclusiveness and segregation became even more pronounced in 1896, when the graded services were reorganized into the Indian Education Service, recruited solely from England

¹These details are drawn from The Handbook of the Avenues of Employment (prepared by the Employment Adviser to the Government of Bengal, Calcutta 1940).

²Ibid., pp. 22-23.

and filled by English professors alone. The subordinate education services were turned into Provincial Education Services, which were to accommodate Indian professors. The IES succeeded in recruiting Oxford and Cambridge graduates who set a high standard in teaching and "moral" instruction. But the highest posts in the education departments were administrative posts, concerned with the inspection of school education. This tended to attract the education officers to academic administration, and away from teaching. The heavy emphasis on administration impeded research and specialization. The resentment which had been aroused among educated Indians over the racial exclusiveness of the IES led to its abolition under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.¹ The Provincial Education Services remained to ensure the control of the government over education. But from 1916 the Calcutta University became a teaching university, to be followed by other universities, and a new breed of more research oriented academics, mostly Indians, found accommodation in the universities.

The modern medical profession in India originated in the needs of the British government, especially the requirements of the armies of the East India Company. The Indian Medical Service, and its British surgeons and doctors, occupied the commanding height of the profession throughout the nineteenth century, and it was only in the twentieth century that private practice, with a strong component of Indian private doctors, could develop to an appreciable degree, Indian doctors being practically confined to the

¹Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, no. CCC VIII, Papers Relating to the Reorganization of the Educational Service in India from 1891-97 (Calcutta 1998); Irene A. Gilberg, The Organization of the Academic Profession in India: the Indian Educational Services 1864-1924, in S.H. Rudolph and L.I. Rudolph, op. cit.

Subordinate Medical Service in the nineteenth century. The Indian Medical Service was originally divided into three separate branches, the Bengal Medical Service, the Madras Medical Service and the Bombay Medical Service, all organized around 1763 to serve the East India Company's armies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, and united into a new combined or general service only in 1896 following the amalgamation of the three Presidency armies. The members of the IMS were all commissioned officers of the army, and those who served as civil surgeons in the districts were but temporarily lent for civil duty, forming a reserve for the army and liable to call for military duty at any moment. The IMS, it will thus be seen, contributed little toward meeting the needs of the Indian population, the total sanctioned civil appointments for the IMS being in any case no more than 328 for the whole of India. Of these the majority held the position of civil surgeon, the key medical officer who looked after an entire district. His primary duties were to treat gratis the officers of the district, to visit the district jail and the district hospital every day, to do post mortems for the police, and to supervise vaccination in the district by occasional tours; he was free, in his spare time, to engage in private medical practice, which was seldom considerable except in the Bengal districts. The IMS officers were recruited in England and the East India Company strictly forbade the appointment of native doctors in the Service. But in 1855, when competitive examinations in England were introduced for the first time, an uncovenanted medical officer of Bengal, Surya Kumar Goodeve Chakravarti, not only passed these examinations but topped the list of successful candidates. Within three years two other Indians, a Bengali named R.C. Chandra and a Parsee named Rustomjee Byramjee, also entered the IMS through competitive examinations. In subsequent years the number of Indian

members of the IMS increased, but even so the Indian component was small before the First World War, only 109 natives having entered the IMS in the half century between 1855 and 1913. In general, Indian graduates of the medical colleges in India could not rise higher than the Subordinate Medical Service, which was graded into two ranks, a higher grade of assistant surgeons trained in the medical colleges, and a lower grade of hospital assistants turned out by the medical schools.

The Calcutta and Madras Medical Colleges, founded in 1835 for training subordinate medical officers, produced the first real Indian doctors by providing medical education on a higher scale. This new breed of Indian doctors, whose services were extended deeper into the interior of India by the government in course of the nineteenth century, improved the existing Subordinate Service, which had evolved out of the native assistants employed to act as dressers and apothecaries by the East India Company's medical officers from early times. Such native assistants were uneducated and had no professional training of an institutionalized character. Very different in character were the four educated Bengalis who graduated out of the newly founded Calcutta Medical College by 1839. All of them found employment as civil sub-assistant surgeons in the Subordinate Medical Service, serving in the new hospitals which the government had opened in the districts. Before the First World War the strength of this subordinate cadre of civil assistant surgeons throughout India had grown to about 500, a small figure considering the vast Indian population.¹ Nor was the number of qualified private doctors sufficient to meet the needs of even the urban Indian population,

¹All the above details about the medical services are drawn from D.G. Crawford, A History of the Indian Medical Service.

though an increasing number of medical graduates had flocked into private practice in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. At the turn of the twentieth century the Government of India's quinquennial educational report noted: "The natives of India show considerable aptitude in the study and practice of medicine; many of them have attained a considerable degree of proficiency, and some have gained distinction in their profession."¹ Lt. Colonel Crawford, the historian of the Indian Medical Service, also observed in 1913: "During the last half-century also many Indian medical men have earned considerable reputation and met with much success in practice, especially in the Presidency towns."² The medical profession was thus no longer confined to the government medical services; but it was still very much an urban profession, and the countryside was dominated by Yunani and Ayurvedic physicians, and village quacks and snake charmers.

The engineering profession in India developed much later than the medical profession and the government's domination over it was even more pronounced. The late development of the engineering profession was directly related to the backward state of the Indian economy. Throughout the nineteenth century, civil engineering was the only branch of engineering that developed to any appreciable degree, for there was little scope for mechanical and electrical engineering in view of the small size of heavy industry. It was only after the First World War that the growth of the steel industry, the hydroelectric industry, and various engineering and mechanical industries such as automobiles, machine tools and textile machinery created a genuine demand for

¹R. Nathan, op. cit., p. 233.

²Crawford, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 371.

mechanical and electrical engineers in private industrial firms.¹ Before that, it was the government -- its public works and its railways -- which employed engineers in India, and that, too, only from around the 1840's. At that time the public works department undertook the construction of the Ganges canal, a huge project which immediately created a need for trained engineers, and this pressing need led the government to open the Thomason Civil Engineering College at Rooki in 1847. This was followed by the setting up of other government engineering colleges, such as the one at Sibpur near Calcutta, but the graduates of these Indian engineering colleges were meant only to fill up the subordinate positions in the public works department and the state railways. The personnel for the senior engineering positions in the public works, railways and the telegraph departments were all imported from England. For this purpose the Government of India financed the setting up of the Royal Engineering College at Coopers Hill in Britain, which produced its first batch of graduates in 1872. Its constitution forbade the admission of any but "British subjects of European race," with this exception that its President might admit, to unfilled positions, up to two "natives of India." From the beginning to 1889, the President of the College exercised this power on three occasions, as a result of which it produced three Indian graduates out of a total of 454 who obtained government employment in India. These three, namely, Ali Akbar (1882), P.N. Sen (1888) and L.M. Bose (1889), all obtained posts in the PWD as assistant engineers.¹ It must not be thought

¹A.K. Bagchi, Private Investment in India 1900-1939 (Cambridge 1972); R.K. Ray, Industrialization in India: Growth and Conflict in the Private Corporate Sector 1914-1939 (Delhi 1979).

²The Royal Engineering College, Coopers Hill, Calendar for 1890-91 (London 1891).

that the engineering colleges in India were free from racial bias. The Thomason Civil Engineering College at Roorkee was notoriously dominated by Europeans, locally known as Anglo-Indians, and Europeans. Lord Ripon, the liberal Viceroy of India in the early 1880's, earned much opprobrium for making the college more open to the Indians. Even the less racially exclusive college at Sibpur, between 1865 and 1882, produced 26 Assistant Engineers, out of whom 11 were Europeans and Anglo-Indians. All the top posts of Executive Engineers went to them in due course, and none at all to the Indian graduates of the Sibpur College.¹

Both at Coopers Hill College and in the engineering colleges in India, the courses were designed "with a general view to the recruitment of the several branches of the Public Works Department."² They supplied most of the recruits to the Engineer Establishment of the PWD, and some of the recruits to the Upper and Lower Subordinate Establishments, consisting of overseers and suboverseers maintained by the PWD. True to the distinction between graduates of the British and the Indian Engineering Colleges, the Engineer Establishment of the PWD was divided into two branches. One was "Imperial," recruited from the college at Coopers Hill and from the corps of royal engineers, and the other "provincial," recruited from the students of Indian colleges who were "statutory natives" of India (including those of European descent).³ In the inter-war period, with the rapid political, constitutional and economic changes that forced the pace of Indianization,

¹Civil Engineering College, Sibpur, Calendar for 1896 (Calcutta 1896).

²R. Nathan, op. cit., p. 246.

³Ibid., p. 246.

recruitment from England for imperial engineering service in India ceased to be the most important factor in filling up the top branches of the engineering profession in India. Instead, competitive examinations held under the Public Service Commission became the highway to the reorganized engineering services. The imperial branch of the Engineer Establishment of the PWD had been organized in course of time into the Indian Service of Engineers. Recruitment to this service stopped and the Public Works Department in each province, under Indian ministers who came to power in the inter-war period, began to recruit engineers solely for the Provincial Engineering Services. In Bengal, for instance, there were sixteen superior posts in PWD -- one Chief Engineer, four Superintending Engineers and eleven Executive Engineers. The Indian Service of Engineers still monopolized in 1940 all the posts of Chief and Superintendent Engineers, but the Bengal Senior Service of Engineers, which was meant to replace the Indian Service of Engineers under the scheme of responsible government in the provinces, had got hold of four posts of Executive Engineers, and as members of the Indian Service of Engineers were due to retire one by one, the members of the Bengal Senior Service of Engineers were waiting to take over all sixteen highest posts. All the posts of Assistant Engineers were by now the monopoly of the Bengal Engineering Service, a junior service recruited from B.E.'s of the Calcutta or other Universities.¹ Recruitment to two other imperial engineering services, the Indian Railway Service of Engineers and the Superior Telegraph Engineering and Wireless Branches of the Post and Telegraph Department, continued as railways and telegraph both continued to be all-India public services under the control of the central government.

¹Handbook of Avenues of Employment, pp. 175-176.

As for employment in private industry, the prospects of young Indian engineers were pitiful, though after the Swadeshi movement an increasing number of ambitious young Indians went abroad for training and returned with high qualifications. Partly this was because of the limited size of industry, and partly because of racial discrimination in employment of technical personnel within the existing private industry. The bigger general engineering workshops, the bigger mines, the electric supply companies, the kerosene and petrol installations, the automobile engineering workshops, and many other private concerns which employed mechanical, mining and electrical engineers, happened to be in the main European concerns. They gave systematic racial preference to European and Anglo-Indian technical and managerial personnel, often justifiably so as young Indian engineers possessed only paper qualifications without much practical experience or training. But this deficiency was perpetuated by the refusal of the European concerns to take in Indian apprentices and train them up for responsible positions.¹

The legal profession, like the engineering profession, also emerged in India under the fostering care of the British government, and it remained until the late nineteenth century, well under the control of the British. Then it broke free from the tutelage, successfully resisted the attempt of the government to reimpose control and formed the vanguard of the national movement in India (W.C. Bonnerjee, Pherozeshah Mehta, Motilal Nehru, Mahatma Gandhi, C.R. Das, C. Rajagopalachari, Vallabhbhai Patel, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Fazlul Huq, and scores of other leaders of national consequence, were lawyers). But the very profession of legal advocacy, it may be noted, was

¹A.K. Bagchi, op. cit., New Avenues of Employment for Bengali Youths (prepared by the Employment Adviser to the Government of Bengal, Alipore 1940).

nonexistent in older India and it was the deliberate consequence of official action, and not, in every respect, a happy product of colonial social engineering.

It is possible to distinguish three phases in the emergence of the characteristic Indian class of lawyers known as vakils or pleaders. Before the vakils came to coalesce as a specifically legal profession -- i.e., pleaders -- there had been a miscellaneous group of ambassadors, intermediaries and go-betweens -- known as vakils (literally, "representatives") -- who had been employed by patrons of all sorts for transacting diplomatic, political and legal business. Vakils were employed by princes to deal with other princes, by nobles to deal with the prince and other nobles; by landlords to represent their interests to the Government, often in matters relating to land law.¹ In the British courts, similarly, the zamindars, following an established pattern, began to send vakils, but because of the specifically legal character of this business, the vakils began to specialize in law to represent their patron's interests more effectively. In this second phase the vakils emerged as lawyers, but compared to the English educated pleaders of the third phase, they were lawyers of the old sort. They were required to have a grounding in Hindu and Muslim law as well as the regulations of the British government relating to land, but they hardly knew any English and their understanding of the laws and regulations of the new rulers was imperfect. Still, no doubt was left that the vakils were lawyers, appointed for the pleading of legal causes, and not dependents of

¹For the role of the vakils in a traditional political system, Hyderabad, see Karen Leonard, "The Hyderabad Political System and Its Participants," Journal of Asian Studies, May 1971.

patrons who might be given any kind of cause to plead with the government and the courts. Cornwallis's reforms of 1793 made this clear when he forbade the use of private parties and dependents by the zamindars to plead their legal causes, and made it obligatory to use men who practiced law in the courts for a living. He thus laid the foundation of a distinct legal profession. The third phase was marked by the Anglicization and improvement of the pleaders, and the rise of the barristers returned from England. Law classes, started initially in the Hindu College and the Elphinstone Institution, spread further and improved more in quality after the rise of the universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras (1857), which set rigorous law courses and started giving Bachelor of Law degrees.¹ The newly set up high courts of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras (1862) were empowered to prescribe the qualifications for entry into the legal profession, but since the high courts automatically enrolled as pleader any law graduate of a university, the B.L. degree became the main and obligatory qualification for entry into the legal profession in the 1860's.² During the same decade a few highly intelligent Indians went to England to qualify successfully as barristers-at-law of the Inns of Court, and they returned to practice in the high courts, The legal profession in the meanwhile spread to the interior and in every district an organized bar sprang into existence. The increasing volume of civil suits arising from complex land settlements sustained this growth of the legal profession, the number of suits rising from 730,000 in 1856 to 1,900,000 in 1886. Law became the most

¹This account is based on B.B. Misra, The Indian Middle Classes, pp. 162-174.

²R. Nathan, op. cit., p. 224.

popular and remunerative of all the professions; and the new law graduates, who knew English and commanded social prestige, replaced the old and not-too-highly regarded practitioners of law.¹

The new lawyers, however, had to fight hard in their initial attempt to enter the high courts. The high courts were dominated by English barristers; and the Bench, which was wholly European in the beginning, discriminated against native barristers and pleaders. In 1880 the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court refused to confirm the leading Indian barrister, W.C. Bonnerjee, whom he admitted to be "second to none" in ability, as Standing Counsel of the government, on the ground that "the appointment of a Native Barrister, however good he might be, to the post of Standing Counsel would be generally distasteful to the Bar."² The government also sought to control the growth of the legal profession by defining the powers of the high courts over the lawyers under the Legal Practitioners' Act of 1879.³ But nothing availed. The number of Indian advocates in the high courts grew steadily: in 1877 they were 21 out of a total of 165 advocates, the rest being Europeans; in 1886 their number had grown to 76 out of 254. In the districts also, the government's attempt to control the bar, even for such justifiable purposes as the elimination of touts, was foiled by a strenuous agitation which compelled the government to suitably modify a new Legal Practitioners' Act (popularly

¹Anil Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism (Cambridge 1971), pp. 124-130.

²Ripon Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India, 1880, Vol. 1, No. 146B, from Chief Justice to Viceroy.

³The India Code, Vol. V (Calcutta 1957), Legal Practitioners Act 1879 (text).

known as the Touting Bill) in 1896.¹ By the beginning of the twentieth century the legal profession was very much an Indian profession.

From this survey of the individual modern professions, two features stand out clearly: (a) the government services dominated the professions; (b) the ruling white elite dominated the government services. Racial discrimination was built into the modern professional structure, a factor which goaded professional Indians into the national movement in the late nineteenth century. W.C. Bonnerjee, the victimized barrister we have just noticed, was the first President of the Indian National Congress. From the beginning of the twentieth century, a new reason appeared for inciting professional men to opposition to the rulers: growing overcrowding in the professions and narrowing prospects for professional families.

This brings us to the second major aspect of the modern profession structure which we have already outlined: the weak linkages of the modern professional sector with the society and the economy at large. How was it that a country so poorly served by modern professional services faced educated and professional employment? The reason is not unconnected with the features we have just analyzed -- the domination of the professions by the government services and the domination of the government services by white aliens. The modern professional structure was artificially created by the effort of a colonial government. It did not evolve naturally out of the felt needs of the Indian population. Consequently the effective demand for professional services was not large; and as infrastructural facilities for professional training expanded in the twentieth century, the supply began to run ahead of

¹The Bengalee, 11 January 1896, 14 March 1896.

the demand. The result was that professional men began to encounter unemployment problems in a country which sorely needed their services for rapid modernization. The mobile literate communities which had moved into the service of the British government and the modern professions in the nineteenth century and thus risen to prominence in Indian society found their economic prospects increasingly difficult in the twentieth century.

From the end of the nineteenth century Bengali vernacular newspapers had started complaining that there were so many doctors and pleaders that these professions were no longer paying.¹ At the end of the First World War, a leading Bengali attorney and politician was writing to England: "The manufacture of hungry applicants for employment is going on at a furious pace and I discern grave danger to our national life in Bengal owing to this mad pursuit of literary knowledge. I find all my grand-nephews who have passed the B.A., making pitious appeals to me for employment."² The "grave danger," especially its political implications as manifested in revolutionary terrorism, prompted the Bengal government to appoint an unemployment enquiry committee, which found that the problem was "overwhelming" among educated middle class Bengalis. But the committee could come up with no helpful solution.

Bengal being the province where the modern professions had started earliest and grown to the largest size, problems of educated unemployment had naturally appeared there first, but after the First World War the problem was no longer confined to Bengal, but was spreading to every province of India.

¹Report on Native Papers 1899, Bardwan Sanjivani, 12 December 1899.

²Bhupendranath Basu Papers, from B.N. Basu to Suresh C. Basu, 19 August 1919.

The question of educated unemployment was raised in the Central Legislative Assembly in 1926, but the Government of India stalled it by referring the question to provincial governments. Its own opinion was that "psychological factors inherent in the habits and customs of the people are all contributory causes to a state of affairs for which from the nature of the case no government can find a panacea."¹ The Government of Punjab, which appointed its own enquiry committee, was no more sympathetic and its solution, typical enough of British bureaucrats in India, was that "unpromising and needy boys should not be tempted into this dangerous path by easy examination standards and excessively cheap education."² The U.P. government drew up a more sympathetic report which threw a flood of light on the condition of the professional classes in the heartland of India in the 1930's. Since U.P. was a province where professional development had taken place much later than in Bengal, Bombay and Madras, the acute conditions described here show the magnitude of the problem. We shall therefore consider this evidence in detail.³

It will be easier to follow this evidence if we bear in mind the following considerations. In the first place, the professions had been largely undeveloped among the indigenous population of U.P. in the nineteenth century. The public services at the non-European levels were dominated by immigrant Bengalis and by certain service communities of Upper India -- the well-born Muslims (collectively called ashraf), the Kashmiri Pandits and the

¹UP Unemployment Committee Report, pp. 16-17.

²Ibid., p. 23.

³What follows, unless otherwise stated, is based on UP Unemployment Committee Report.

indigenous Kayasths of U.P. Such professions as had developed in the nineteenth century were monopolized by these same highly urbanized, highly literate and highly mobile communities. In the twentieth century the conditions changed. The large growth of professions throughout India was reflected in their extensions to the interior from the coastal Presidencies. This movement of expansion left its clear mark on U.P. There was more to it than mere expansion. Throughout the country the professional structure was becoming more diversified and sophisticated and new professions were being defined in this process of diversification. As the older professions became crowded in U.P., there was a rush into the new professions -- from civil engineering to mechanical engineering, from surgery to dentistry, from public services to managerial service in firms, and so on. As the professional structure grew in size, its weak linkages with the economy of the countryside -- and the entire social structure of a backward country -- became more evident. Young graduates found it increasingly difficult to make their way -- every profession was becoming crowded. The U.P. countryside was but poorly served in terms of advanced professional services. If the real needs of the population were to be effectively catered to, then the professional services would have to be expanded and diversified immensely. But even the limited growth in the professional services was running into difficulty -- because the rural population could not afford to pay for them, nor did they feel the need to. Educated and professional unemployment became a familiar thing in U.P. in these conditions. The difficulty began to be felt from around 1920, and the problem became acute from 1930. As professional unemployment grew in size, the pressure to open up new professions for the employment of educated young men became more severe -- and the professional structure began to diversify in

response to this pressure. The gap between the modern professional sector and the rest of the backward social structure became wider. The educated sons of the smaller gentry joined the campaign of Civil Disobedience of 1930-1932 against the British in large number -- they were the backbone of the Congress in U.P. They incited the peasants, but the social distance between the unlettered peasantry and the educated young men who aspired to a professional existence was so great that the campaign ran aground by 1934.¹

Now to the details of the evidence. U.P., as we have seen, had witnessed an early development of the engineering profession on account of the Roorkee Engineering College situated there. The Public Works Department employed a large number of civil engineers in the huge public works -- especially irrigation works -- it constructed in U.P. in the nineteenth century. Many of these civil engineers became unemployed when recruitment to the Buildings and Roads Branch of the PWD stopped in 1923. This was followed by an even harder blow when the Irrigation Branch ceased to recruit in 1931. There was now a thrust in newer branches of engineering, and the spearhead of the thrust was the newly opened Banaras Hindu University. It produced 562 engineering graduates in mechanical and electrical engineering. These mechanical and electrical engineers from BHU were in a better position than the civil engineers during the Great Depression -- there was only about 10 percent unemployment among them. The BHU was also producing graduates in mining and metallurgy -- its metallurgists were highly regarded by the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur, the Ordinance Department of the government, the

¹See Gvanendra Pandey, The Assendancy of the Congress in Uttar Pradesh 1926-34. A Study in Imperfect Mobilization (Delhi 1976).

Railway workshop and the India Copper Corporation. Almost all the metallurgists and the mining engineers of BHU got jobs in metallurgical works and mines, mostly at a low starting salary of Rs.100 a month.

The growing sugar mill industry in U.P. also gave employment to 500 engineers and 500 chemists in the 30's. But the Indian industrialists who controlled the new sugar mills in U.P. treated them in a high-handed way, and in this respect there was not much to choose between European industrialists and Indian industrialists. The chemists and engineers were kept on low pay, and were not paid any salaries during non-working seasons. A good number among the chemists turned out by Allahabad and Aligarh Universities was absorbed into the sugar mills, soap factories and collieries, but a large number sought jobs as deputy magistrates or lawyers, and a good section went into teaching and research.¹ This tendency was strengthened by conditions of employment in industry. The chemists were treated like seasonal laborers by the sugar mills. The UP Unemployment Committee was coolly informed: "The contracts are not broken. They (chemists) are employed for the cane crushing season, that is, from November to May, and they are paid their full salary for the season. When the factor closes down they are not paid for the off season." Questioned by the Committee -- "Are these terms explained to them in the letter of employment?" -- the informant told the Unemployment Committee: "Even without that there is always the notice clause." No doubt conditions of unemployment encouraged the employers to adopt this callous

¹In Bengal, chemical, pharmaceutical and soap works were absorbing several hundred chemists in the 30's. New Avenues of Employment for Bengali Youths, pp. 56-61.

attitude toward their chemists. New professions -- such as chemists -- were springing up, but they had to start in much harder conditions now.

Three universities in U.P., Allahabad, Lucknow and Agra, had by now acquired faculties of commerce. They produced between them from 1929 to 1934 as many of 690 "B. Com's" -- "be kam," or workless, to employ the popular term. Professionalization of management was not making much headway in the province, or, indeed, anywhere else in the country. The Director of Public Instruction was not hopeful that the expansion of commercial education would lead to any concrete results: "It seems that the B. Com's who think that they may get jobs in commercial concerns cannot get any, not that there are no jobs but there is nobody to back them and there is a strong prejudice among Indian merchants and Indian businessmen against these young men, partly because the former feel that they have not got the necessary practical knowledge, and partly because they think that they can get their work done much more cheaply by engaging semi-educated men." The Indian industrialist who started a factory did not want a B. Com. "simply because" said a European manager of a chemical works at Cawnpur "he can get along with the Rs.20 munim."¹ The munim was the traditional type of business employee employed by indigenous bankers and merchants, highly skilled in indigenous methods of business and accounting, but lowly paid. Padampat Singhania, a leading mill owner of Cawnpore, complained that the B. Com's carried on their studies without any practical experience. But on being crossexamined by the Committee, he

¹In Bengal, the big banks, which were European, discriminated against Indians in recruitment at executive level. The insurance companies, which were mainly Indian, were employing many Indian officers, actuaries and accountants. Ibid., pp. 116-121.

admitted that commercial offices and banks did not afford opportunities for practical training to these young men. Kalka Prasad Bhatnagar, the Dean of the Faculty of Commerce in Agra University, went to the root of the problem: "Practical knowledge can only be given in business firms. For instance, take the case of the banks. I don't think any bank would allow our students to touch their ledgers and find out about the accounts of different persons. They do not think that students can be entrusted with that kind of confidential information. So far as the theory of banking is concerned we teach them all right. Six months' training would enable our students to work in any bank very well." Thus B. Com's tended to crowd into certain branches of government service for which they were particularly well equipped -- income tax, customs, railways, audit and accounts, etc. In these services, for instance in appointments as income tax inspectors, they began to gain ground at the expense of arts and science graduates.

For the whole of U.P., with the largest unit of population in India, there were only two medical colleges, the King George's Medical College at Lucknow and a government medical school at Agra. The Principal of King George's Medical College, Lt. Col. H. Scott, smugly told the Unemployment Committee: "We have been careful not to turn out such numbers as would flood the Province." This was a province where the overwhelming majority of the rural, and even urban, population were still deprived of modern medical services. Even so, the evidence belied his complacency: there was incipient unemployment among doctors. The Provincial Medical Service took in only five recruits each year, and the Subordinate Service about seventeen. The number of graduates and licentiates from the two medical colleges was 110 each year. So graduates not only offered themselves for Subordinate Service at low pay,

but were even offering to work as honorary doctors in the hospitals of the government. As to private practice, in rural areas there were only 21 private doctors in the whole of U.P., with a population larger than that of England. A large number of districts had no government or private dispensaries, and no doctors. The medical graduates showed no enthusiasm to settle in rural areas, and for understandable reasons: the rural people could not afford to pay them, and in any case seemed to prefer the hakims and vaides. Even in towns, a doctor's prospects were not too bright. Allahabad, a typical big town in U.P., had about 130 doctors. Of these only about twenty made a decent living, and fifty were not able to make two ends meet. Before the First World War there were hardly twenty doctors in Allahabad, but the going had become tough for medical graduates since then. In other large towns also -- Lucknow, Cawnpore, Banaras, Meerut and Bareilly -- there was appreciable unemployment among medical graduates.

In such conditions, the pressure to create more employment in the medical profession by specialization and diversification increased. The natural target of attack was the civil surgeon, a white officer appointed from the IMS to every district. A general practitioner with no specialization, he was nevertheless the most highly paid man among doctors. Indian doctors now began to press for the appointment of a greater number of medical graduates at lesser pay who could specialize in particular branches of medicine at each district headquarters. Leading the attack against the civil surgeon, Rai Bahadur R.N. Banerjee, supported by other Indian doctors, said in evidence to the UP Unemployment Committee:¹

¹UP Unemployment Committee Report, p. 55.

The modern system of medicine requires specialization and I submit that if the present medical administration which has become very old and antiquated is modernized and if we are allowed to practice the profession as it is done in the West and the whole of the civilized world and do it by specialists, the present system will simply have to be broken. In Mirzapur, Fatehpur or any second class or third class district there is a civil surgeon.... And there is an assistant surgeon who is called a medical officer. They are controlled by the Government. They are expected to be masters of everything in medical science. If that system is broken and modernized and instead of paying Rs.1,000 to the civil surgeon we employed 5 medical graduates on an honorarium of Rs.200 each and we divide the work among them, the same money will be utilized and you will not only be providing for medical graduates but you will make the system efficient.... A general practitioner in the Western system uses the stethoscope. Our present system demands that we take his sputum, blood, urine, etc. If this work is done in a hospital by a number of honorary surgeons the work will be more efficiently done and the people will appreciate it.

This was an attack against the IMS, and against the entire medical system in which a small number of highly paid white general practitioners monopolized the top ranks of the medical profession. Fueling the attack was racial antagonism, sharpened by professional unemployment. As the prospects of doctors grew bleak, attention was focused on other possible openings, on pharmacy and on dentistry, both of which were in a degraded state. The UP Unemployment Committee drew the attention of young men to openings as pharmacists and compounders. It also pointed out the fair scope in U.P. for men trained in scientific dentistry. There was no provision for training of dentists in U.P., and quacks who had served as assistants to some dental surgeon often set up as independent dental practitioners, sometimes causing incalculable injury to innocent patients. The danger was not confined to U.P. The Employment Adviser of Bengal reported in 1940: "Until recently

there were very few institutions in India where one could study dentistry along scientific lines and, as a consequence, those who wanted to practice as qualified dentists had to go to Europe or America for the training -- an arrangement which was both inconvenient and costly. As a direct result of this lack of suitable training facilities in India, the market was flooded with quack dentists. People without any basis of preliminary education would become apprenticed to European, American or Japanese dentists practicing in India, learn a smattering of the mechanical aspects of dentistry and set up as dentists. They in turn would teach others and thus there came to practice a large number of inexperienced "dental surgeons." As there was no regulation to regulate this stream of quacks, often foreigners (Japanese, Chinese and others), innocent of any scientific education in dentistry, would flock to India and establish themselves as dentists.¹ But this set of conditions was slowly changing. Two government dental institutions were set up in India, one in Bombay and the other in Lahore. Two private dental colleges of repute also sprang up in Calcutta and Bombay respectively. As the dental profession was still not crowded, there were excellent prospects for the graduates of these colleges.²

One profession in U.P. in which the headlong rush continued even in the difficult 30's was law. All five universities in the province had concentrated on producing lawyers. Between 1930 and 1934, the Universities of Allahabad, Benaras, Lucknow, Aligarh and Agra produced between them 3,162 law graduates. The increase in the number of law graduates was out of all

¹New Avenues of Employment for Bengali Youths, p. 98.

²Ibid., pp. 98-99.

proportion to the requirement of the litigating public. Kailas Nath Katju, a leading lawyer of U.P., testified to the Unemployment Committee that the large majority of practicing lawyers were unable to earn adequate incomes: "Under the best of circumstances a growth in the numbers of lawyers in this scale cannot be looked upon as a satisfactory feature of national life; and from the point of view of the profession itself it is bound to lead, as we fear it appears to have led, to very unhealthy competition, undercutting, and lowering of standards. We regret to say that the legal profession, which is and ought to be a very honourable profession, has lost a great deal of prestige and position in these provinces." The litigiousness on which the legal profession fed for its growth was an unhealthy social symptom that appeared under British rule. For most litigant families, law was the road to ruin, not justice. In a land of illiterate peasants, this was naturally so.

This brings us to a general question. What was the relevance, and value, of the modern professional structure to Indian society? By the 1930's the modern professional structure in India had reached a fair degree of articulation. True, in inland regions like U.P., accounting, insurance, architecture, librarianship, secretarial work, veterinary surgery, journalism and several other new callings had hardly developed as trained professions.¹ But in the major Presidency capitals, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, and in the highly educated province of Bengal,² they were on the way to some degree of professionalization. But how well was this articulated professional structure serving the emerging nation? Insofar as India had become a modern society --

¹UP Unemployment Committee Report, p. 86.

²See New Avenues of Employment for Bengali Youths.

at any rate in certain pockets -- the modern professional structure was probably the most vital component in it. Because of the presence of this component, the India of the large cities was a more educated, more sophisticated, more recognizably modern society than other backward societies of the Third World at the time of decolonization. But the evidence presented above also reveals certain negative features in the process by which the articulated professional structure had turned India into a semi-modern society. Compared to the real needs of the vast Indian population, the modern professional services were infinitesimally small. In a population of 330 million there were less than one million men and women engaged in the modern professions (strictly so defined minus civil services) in the 1930's, most of them concentrated in cities and towns.¹ Yet there was every sign that the modern professions had already overgrown the effective demand within the Indian economy for their services. In a minute professional sector, there was acute overcrowding and unemployment, with bleak prospects for those young men rushing into professional training courses in increasing numbers.

The modern professional sector, it is clear, was an enclave in the Indian economy, introduced from outside; it had not fused organically into the society at large, which was still predominantly traditional. The economy, insofar as it had remained in Indian hands, was controlled by indigenous bankers, merchants and a few budding industrialists. They did not want modern professional managers, accountants, engineers, chemists and scientists, except on terms which were insulting to the new graduates; and were content so far with their low paid, semi-educated, faithful minions who served the indigenous

¹This is a rough estimate made from the 1931 census.

economy with traditional excellence. Insofar as the economy, at higher levels, was dominated by an alien government and alien white businessmen, there was systematic racial discrimination against native professional men. The population was as yet making but limited use of the modern professional services that British rule had created. Characteristically, the service which they availed of most, both unwary landlords and illiterate peasants in ruinous litigiousness fostered by alien laws and regulations, was legal advocacy in the deadly courts of British India. For the rest, traditional professional groups, far larger in size, continued to serve the natural and age-old needs of a predominantly rural population, to which the modern professional services created by the alien rulers still did not cater effectively enough to completely undermine the decaying older professions. If we balance the growth in the modern professions against the decay in the older professions, then there is reason to doubt whether there was much real increase in professional services to the predominantly rural Indian population under British rule. What the modern professional structure did was to articulate and serve modern urban systems in a backward agricultural country, and, it was this, along with the growth of organized industry under the budding Indian business houses, which gave India the character of a "developing" country. The breaks and continuities in India's professional structure under British rule are relevant to the context of backwardness and modernization that the country faced at the time of independence. Which were the older professions which were quickest to disappear? What older professions withstood the challenge of modern professions more tenaciously? Which among them got absorbed into the modern professions and fueled their growth by a continuous process? The answers to these questions are now fairly clear. Modern educational and legal systems

had violently broken the hold of the older schools of learning and the law officers (qazis and pandits) who had interpreted Muslim and Hindu law. The older scholars and interpreters of law had decayed irreversibly by the end of our period. The traditional medical groups withstood the challenge of the modern medical system much better and were still dominating the countryside in India. The vast army of religion and divination, catering to the needs of a deprived population by an enormous variety of spiritual services, showed no signs of withering away. The older revenue bureaucracies, on the other hand, had been effectively absorbed into the new subordinate civil services. Finally, a completely new development, with no links to pre-existing skills, was noticeable in the growth of engineers and scientists, and in a less healthy manner, in the more massive expansion of lawyers. It was only after independence that the modern professional sector really "took off" in sheer numerical terms and swamped traditional professional groups such as the physicians, but by no means the quacks -- and certainly not the armies of religion.

What, finally, was the political contribution of the modern professional groups to the making of the nation that won independence in 1947? The enormous historical literature on this issue can only be touched upon briefly in conclusion. The rise of English education and of professional groups has been seen by some historians to be the critical factor in the emergence of modern Indian nationalism.¹ In estimating their importance in the birth and development of the nationalist movement, it is necessary to bear in mind the

¹For instance, B.J. McCully, *op. cit.*; Anil Seal, *op. cit.*, Judith Brown, Gandhi's Rise to Power, Indian Politics 1915-22 (Cambridge 1972); J.R. McLane, Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress (Princeton 1977).

important role played by other less well educated groups which lacked the sophistication to play a prominent role on the public political platform. As C.A. Bayly and David Washbrook have cautioned us, professional men who were prominent in the Indian National Congress were often there as representatives of rich but unsophisticated local magnates, both landed and commercial, who could not themselves play a role in the sophisticated constitutional dialogue with the British. They lacked the English political idiom to articulate their own needs, and therefore patronized lawyers, journalists and teachers who were best in that sort of articulation.¹ It is also evident that Indian merchants and industrialists played a more active role in the politics of British India after the First World War, when they gained the economic strength to challenge the monopoly of white business houses.² Furthermore, this was the time when peasants, including many richer ones who later on reaped the benefits of the political movements, broke into national politics.³ Professional groups were no longer the only groups active in formal politics, as was the case in the late nineteenth century. Their role was, however, and continued to be, the leading role. Before the First World War, racial discrimination within the modern professional structure had

¹C.A. Bayly, The Local Roots of Indian Politics. Allahabad 1880-1920; D.A. Washbrook, The Emergence of Provincial Politics. The Madras Presidency 1870-1920 (Cambridge 1976).

²A.D.D. Gordon, Businessmen and Politics. Rising Nationalism and a Modernising Economy in Bombay 1918-1933 (New Delhi 1978); Christopher Baker, Gordon Johnson and Anil Seal (eds.), Power, Profit and Politics. Essays on Imperialism, Nationalism and Change in Twentieth Century India (Cambridge 1981); R.K. Ray, op. cit.

³Judith Brown, op. cit.; D.A. Low (ed.), Congress and the Raj. Facets of the Indian Struggle 1917-47 (London 1977), Gyanendra Pandey, op. cit.

constantly pushed educated Indians, who were generally willing enough to enter government service, into the forefront of the Congress. After the First World War, a growing crisis of unemployment among professionally trained young Indians provided the cadres which organized Gandhi's mass movements in town and country.

At more sedate levels of politics, professional groups, especially lawyers, played a crucial part in the constitutional devolution of power by the British through the Legislative Councils of British India. A Constitutional-representative structure, which would not have operated without the participation of the educated professional groups, thus evolved, providing the foundation of the Indian Republic. The subsequent growth of democracy in India, which survived despite major shocks, was in some measure due to the strength and sophistication of the professional groups in India. It is significant that in other parts of the Subcontinent, where the professional groups have neither been as large nor as influential as in India, military dictatorships have replaced the initial democratic constitutions. The strength and influence of professional groups in India may also be seen in the size and importance of the public sector in the Indian economy. It is this which has given the Indian Republic its professed "socialist" character. The massive growth of the professional groups in independent India -- of doctors, engineers, lawyers, civil servants, accountants and executives -- could not have been possible otherwise. It was the creation of the public sector which made possible their absorption and employment. The bureaucracy and the public sector are the instruments through which the professional groups in contemporary India have ensured a place for themselves in the country's

political and economic systems, in which they share power with the big business houses and the dominant landed peasantries of the countryside.

The cleavages within this system -- between big business and the educated middle class -- are a product of the historical character of the evolution of mercantile and professional groups in India. These groups had developed along entirely separate economic and cultural lines during the British period. The English-educated professional groups -- intellectuals, journalists, writers and artists -- created a modern culture in India in which the indigenous bankers and merchants played a marginal role. The Marwari, Gujarati, Chettiar and other typical merchant communities did not have much English education and they remained steeped in their Hindu (or Jain) culture. But though they lacked Western sophistication, they had the marketing network and the surplus capital which enabled them to break into industry in the inter-war period, something in which the educated professional groups, despite a strenuous effort in Bengal during the Swadeshi movement of 1905-1908, had signally failed, because of their lack of capital and marketing channels. The structure of the business enterprises of these merchant communities was dominated by traditional corporate groups, the family and the caste, with little emphasis on professional management.¹ The merchants preferred their munims to English-educated managers, accountants and executives. Historically, the modern professional groups were derived from the older service communities -- the Bengali Bhadrak, the Kashmiri Pandits, the Chitpavan Brahmans, the Tamil Iyers and Iyengars, and so on; the industrial

¹ See A.K. Baychi, op. cit.; Sumit Sarkar, The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-1908 (New Delhi 1973); Thomas A. Timberg, The Marwaris (Delhi 1980).

capitalist groups were derived from the traditional merchant communities -- the Oswals, the Agarwals, the Maheshwaris, the Bhatias, the Khojas, the Chettiars and so on. This social cleavage was reinforced by cultural distance and economic disparity. No integrated bourgeoisie developed in British India. Consequently the professional and mercantile groups had to come to a class compromise in independent India which defined its economic and political system -- a republic with a mixed economy. Essential to the smooth functioning of the class compromise between big business and the professions was a new professional group of executives, at first largely trained abroad and then in the newly established Indian Institutes of Management, whom the top industrial houses began to employ on attractive terms as a managerial cadre. New bonds integrated urban society in the course of its expansion in independent India, though it cannot be said that an integrated bourgeoisie has yet developed.

RESEARCH WORKS ON MODERN SOUTH ASIA: A SELECT CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY
FOR THE COLONIAL PERIOD IN INDIAN HISTORY 1700-1947

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M.L.P. Patterson and R.B. Inden, South Asia: an Introductory Bibliography (Chicago 1962); L.A. Gordon and B.S. Miller, A Syllabus of Indian Civilization (New York 1971) cover Indian history and culture as a whole. More up-to-date surveys on modern India specifically: C.A. Bayly, "English Language Historiography on British Expansion in India and Indian Reactions since 1945," in P.C. Emmer and H.L. Wesseling, Reappraisals in Overseas History (Leiden 1979), a brilliant exploration of new lines of research; N.G. Barrier, "Current Research on the British in India 1857-1947: an Annotated Bibliography," in R.I. Crane and N.G. Barrier, British Imperial Policy in India and Sri Lanka (New Delhi 1981), an up-to-date list of works on modern India since the Mutiny.

INDIAN HISTORY, CULTURE AND SOCIETY -- THE BACKGROUND

The best single volume survey of Indian history and culture is A.L. Basham (ed.), A Cultural History of India (Oxford 1975), broader than its title indicates, covering political, cultural and social history by a team of specialists, more authoritative and up-to-date than the Pelican two-volume introduction, A History of India, Vol. 1 by Romila Thapar and Vol. 2 by Percival Spear (Penguin Books, 1965). The Pelican history is uninspiring but it is factually more reliable than the two recent Soviet and American products, K. Antonova, G. Bongard -- Levin and G. Kotovsky, A History of India, 2 vols. (Moscow 1979), and Stanley Wolpert, A New History of India (New York 1977), vitiated respectively by dogma and inaccuracy. Among more comprehensive histories, R.C. Majumdar (ed.) History and Culture of the Indian People, 11 vols. (Bombay 1953-1977) continues to hold the field despite charges of communal prejudice. A.L. Basham, The Wonder that was India: A Survey of the Culture of the Indian Subcontinent before the coming of the

Muslims, is the outstanding work on pre-Muslim India. Equally sensitive on Muslim society and culture in India is M. Mujeeb, The Indian Muslims (London 1967), which comes down to modern times; also, S.M. Ikram and A.T. Embree, Muslim Civilization in India (New York 1964), a general survey of the period of Muslim supremacy in India. For modern Indian history, there is no up-to-date general survey incorporating the results of major advances in research since 1960. Though dated, the accurate and informative Oxford History of India, Part III, by Percival Spear (Oxford 1965) is still the most well recommended survey of modern Indian history.

For two central institutions of the traditional social structure, caste and the village community, stimulating general surveys are the controversial Louis Dumont, Homo Hierarchicus: the Caste System and Its Implications (London 1972), and B.H. Baden-Powell, The Indian Village Community (London 1896), old but irreplaceable. Roald Inden, Marriage and Rank in Bengali Culture (California 1976) is a study of the medieval Bengali kinship system which argues in favor of indigenous, non-class categories for understanding of Indian society, while Andre Beteille, Studies in Agrarian Social Structure (Delhi 1974) is an attempt to understand the class structure of Indian agrarian society in terms of indigenous economic categories. Valuable essays on Indian social structure in the colonial and pre-colonial periods are collected in E. Leach and S.N. Mukherjee (ed.), Elites in South Asia (Cambridge 1970); and R.S. Sharma (ed.), Indian Society: Historical Probing in Memory of D.D. Kosambi (New Delhi 1974).

The last named collection contains an authentic survey of pre-colonial land rights from the time of Mohenjodaro by Irfan Habib, "The Social Distribution of landed property in pre-British India (a Historical Survey)." S. Nurul Hasan, Thoughts on Agrarian relations in Mughal India (New Delhi 1973) identifies three layers of land control and authority below the Mughal ruling class of officer-nobles: the "autonomous chieftains" and princes, the "intermediary zamindars" between the Mughal government and the peasantry, and the "primary zamindars" embedded in the upper level of the peasantry. Two masterly original works on pre-colonial agrarian systems are the classic old W.H. Moreland, The Agrarian System of Moslem India (Allahabad 1920),

especially valuable for the Delhi Sultanate, and the more up-to-date Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1556-1707) (London 1963); also a more particular and rigorous statistical study of the Mughal ruling class of officer-nobles superimposed over the three layers of zamindars -- M. Athar Ali, The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb (Bombay 1968). The impression of a centralized agrarian despotism in Muslim northern India that one receives from these works does not quite tally with the more recent study of the Hindu South under the Cholas and the Vijayanagara Kingdom by Burton Stein, Peasant, State and Society in Medieval South India (California 1980), which, together with Richard Fox (ed.), Realm and Region in Traditional India (New Delhi 1977), argues that the traditional Indian political systems resembled the "segmentary state" discovered by anthropologists in Africa. Even in the highly centralized North, there were persistent kin-based local Rajput and Jat political systems below the Mughal bureaucracy which continued to give trouble to the British, especially during the Mutiny; see Richard Fox, Kin, Clan, Raja and Rule (California 1971), and R.C. Halissey, The Rajput Rebellions against Aurangzeb (Columbia 1977) for the Rajput lineage systems; and M.C. Pradhan, The Political System of the Jats of Northern India (Oxford 1966) for the rebellious Jat clan states under Muslim and British rule. Furthermore, regional patriotisms in the Deccan and in the Punjab, driven by agrarian discontent and religious fervor, gave rise to more dynamic and powerful Maratha and Sikh states: see the classic M.G. Ranade, The Rise of the Maratha Power (Bombay 1900); the more recent A.R. Kulkarni, Maharashtra in the Age of Shivaji (Poona 1969); a painstaking study of the structure of Maratha polity under the Peshwas by Surendranath Sen, The Administrative System of the Marathas (3rd ed. Calcutta 1978); N.K. Sinha, The Rise of the Sikh Power (Calcutta 1936); W.H. McLeod, The Evolution of the Sikh Community (Delhi 1975); and Indu Banga, Agrarian System of the Sikhs: Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century (New Delhi 1978). Awareness of these local political systems that survived and flourished under the apparently centralized Mughal agrarian despotism will enable the reader to have a firmer grasp on the nature of the crisis that overtook the Mughal Empire in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

Speculation has been rife among economic historians whether pre-colonial India was likely to experience endogenous capitalist economic development -- a possibility said to have been cut off by the ascendancy of foreign monopoly capital. A.I. Chicherov, India's Economic Development in the 16th-18th Centuries: Outline History of Crafts and Trade (Moscow 1971) argues so, on an inadequate factual basis. So do Surendra Gopal, Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat, 16th and 17th Centuries: a Study in the Impact of European Expansion on Pre-Capitalist Economy (New Delhi 1975), and Hamida Khatoon Naqvi, Urbanization and Urban Centres under the Great Mughals 1556-1707 (Simla 1972), on a more solid data base. W.H. Moreland's two pioneering studies, India at the Death of Akbar (London 1920) and From Akbar to Aurangzeb (London 1923), argue formidably against the possibility, and the seminal article by Irfan Habib, "Potentialities of Capitalist Development in the Economy of Mughal India," in Journal of Economic History, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (1969), is distinctly pessimistic of those potentialities because of the parasitic relationship of the urban commercial and industrial sector to the rural agricultural sector, though Habib does emphasize important advances in the technology and organization of the urban sector under Mughal rule. M.N. Pearson, Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: the Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century (California 1976), is an interesting exploration of the relationship between indigenous merchants and the state.

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CRISIS

The tragic, historical trilogy -- Jadunath Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, 5 vols. (completed Calcutta 1925), William Irvine, The Later Mughals, 2 vols. (ed. Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta 1921-22), and Jadunath Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, 4 vols. (Calcutta 1932-50) -- provides an inspired political narrative with a brooding sense of the underlying process of moral decay. More recent research monographs, tracing the moral decay of the Mughal ruling class to a structural-economic crisis in the Jagirdari system, are Satish Chandra, Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court 1707-1740 (Aligarh 1959, 2nd ed. Delhi 1972), and Irfan Habib, The Agrarian System of Mughal India, both products of the Aligarh school, and now implicitly challenged by the latest

study, J.F. Richards, Mughal Administration in Golconda (Oxford 1975), which reverts to the earlier themes of overextended imperialism and consequent mismanagement. As the studies of the local and regional political systems referred to in the previous section suggest, the Mughal agrarian bureaucracy was an umbrella which covered a dense political undergrowth that might upset it at any point when the umbrella happened to be unsteady, swayed in this instance by a strong wind from the Deccan which, against better judgment, Aurangzeb had sought to bring under subjection. The consequent Maratha insurrection under Shivaji, followed by a Maratha bid for Indian hegemony under the Peshwas, is surveyed in an old fashioned but authentic manner by G.S. Sardesai, A New History of the Marathas, 3 vols. (1st ed. Bombay 1946-48).

Amidst the turbulence caused by Mughal decrepitude and later by Maratha cupidity, local political systems showed considerable resilience in the eighteenth century, a theme interestingly explored in Bernard S. Cohn, "Political Systems in Eighteenth Century India: the Banaras Region," in Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 82, No. 3 (1962); Philip B. Calkins, "The Formation of a Regionally oriented Ruling Group in Bengal 1700-1740," in Journal of Asian Studies, August 1970; Karen Leonard, "The Hyderabad Political System and Its Participants," in Journal of Asian Studies, Vol XXX, No. 3 (1971); and in the older work, N.K. Sinha, Haidar Ali (Calcutta 1949), a study of new political entrepreneurship in Mysore. As a result of these local political initiatives, eighteenth-century India became a patchwork of widely divergent polities: fragments of the old Mughal empire, such as Awadh, Bengal and Hyderabad; clan states, such as those of the Rajputs and the Jats; religious sects transformed into political powers, such as the Sikhs; centralizing despotisms of adventurers, such as Hyder Ali of Mysore and Martanda Varma of Travancore; and regional nationalist confederacies, such as the Marathas. There is no single volume structural survey of these polities; a factual account is Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, A Study of Eighteenth Century India, Political History 1707-1761 (Calcutta 1976).

The political crisis of the eighteenth century upset the balanced relationship between merchants and rulers. Rulers such as Tipu Sultan of Mysore and Martanda Varma of Travancore sought to impose state monopolies over

trade, and in the main port of India, Surat, the Mughal ruling class resorted to enormous exactions which produced an uncharacteristic and ultimately ineffective revolt in 1730 among the merchants. These themes are explored in two important studies by Ashin Dasgupta: Malabar in Asian Trade 1740-1800 (Cambridge 1967) and Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat c. 1700-1750 (Wiesbaden 1979). Dasgupta uses his enormous but well controlled documentation to show that the indigenous merchant communities had been adversely affected in overseas trade by political monopolies and exactions from Malabar to Gujarat before the British colonial ascendancy on India's West Coast. Thus the crisis in India's overseas trade was due to an endogenous political process, not the British attempt at commercial monopolization that was to come later. Despite the political uncertainty, however, Indian merchant communities showed a characteristic resilience in adjusting to new conditions, a theme explored in a stimulating article by C.A. Bayly, "Indian Merchants in a 'Traditional' Setting: Benares 1780-1830," in Clive Dewey and A.G. Hopkins (ed.), The Imperial Impact: Studies in the Economic History of Africa and India (London 1978). For a rather different picture, S. Arasaratnam, "Trade and Political Dominion in South India 1750-1790: Changing British-Indian Relationships," in Modern Asian Studies, Vol. 13, Part 1 (February 1979).

TRADE AND EMPIRE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

There is, surprisingly, no modern research work which analyzes the political and social process of British expansion in India in structural terms: almost nothing on the way the indigenous political systems were penetrated by forms of British control, or on the organization of manpower and money that enabled the British to penetrate these systems. The study of eighteenth-century political systems has revealed several levels of land control and political authority. It has been suggested that the British might penetrate by capturing one level of an indigenous political system, altering in due course the relationship between the agrarian base and the superimposed levels of political authority. Barnard Cohn's studies of the Banaras region, e.g., "The Initial British Impact on India: a Case Study of the Benaras

Region" in Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. XIX, No. 4 (August 1980), suggest this interesting line of research, but the theme awaits full length studies. There are excellent possibilities of new research on the methods by which British diplomacy and British military power sought to manipulate the levels within the indigenous political systems to achieve formal or informal control. The systems that offered the toughest resistance, the Marathas, Mysore and the Sikhs, have not yet been fully explored in terms of their structural interaction with the East India Company, which itself was no monolithic entity, and might well be driven by private and contending interests. Given the many levels at which power lay within the indigenous political systems, the process of colonial penetration and native displacement was bound to be complex and long-drawn out, not a matter of abrupt shattering and total replacement. The struggle for supremacy in Hindustan is best narrated in J.N. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, which is inspired on the defeat of the Maratha bid for hegemony. The final Maratha submission to the British is studied in P.C. Gupta, Baji Rao II and the East India Company 1796-1818 (Bombay 1964). Other contenders for power are dealt with in N.K. Sinha's two political studies, Haidar Ali and Ranjit Singh (Calcutta 1933); Khuswant Singh, A History of the Sikhs, 2 vols. (Princeton 1963-66); and M.H. Khan, History of Tipu Sultan (Dacca 1951). In Bengal, the main base of British power, the gradual process of native displacement may be traced through Brijen K. Gupta, Sirajuddaullah and the East India Company 1756-1757 (Leiden 1962); and Abdul Majed Khan, The Transition in Bengal 1756-1775: a Study of Sayyid Muhannad Reza Khan (Cambridge 1972). The study of British political and military expansion has hitherto mainly taken the form of biographies of Governors-General, such as Keith Feiling, Warren Hastings (London 1955); and P.E. Roberts, India under Wellesley (1929). Two analytical studies that have appeared more recently are Ainslie T. Embree, Charles Grant and British Rule in India (New York 1962); and T.G.P. Spear, Master of Bengal: Clive and His India (London 1965). P.J. Marshall gives a short analytical sketch in Problems of Empire: Britain and India 1757-1813 (London 1968).

A good deal of research has been directed to the economic forces behind British expansion -- the trade of the East India Company, the country trade of private British traders and the economic impact of monopoly trade. The way

was shown by Holden Furber's masterly work on the decade between 1783 and 1793, John Company at Work (Harvard 1948), which has been followed by a growing emphasis on private English trade as a force of expansion: Pamela Nightingale, Trade and Empire in Western India 1784-1802 (Cambridge 1970); P.J. Marshall, East India Fortunes: the British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century (Oxford 1976); and I.B. Watson, Foundation for Empire: English Private Trade 1659-1760 (New Delhi 1980). Company trade, the critical role of which has been unduly ignored, has recently received authoritative econometric treatment in K.N. Chaudhuri, The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company 1660-1760 (Cambridge 1960). The English triumph in India is seen against the background of contending European mercantile imperialisms in Asia by Holden Furber, Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient 1600-1800 (Oxford 1976), and Dietmar Rothermund, Asia Trade and European Expansion in the Age of Mercantilism (New Delhi 1981). The economic impact of British trade in Bengal is studied in N.K. Sinha, The Economic History of Bengal, 3 vols. (Calcutta 1961-70), a loosely written but influential work; and Amales Tripathi, Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency 1793-1833 (2nd ed. Calcutta 1980), a solid and rigorous study. The new international trade patterns that emerged in the nineteenth century are brilliantly analyzed in K.N. Chaudhuri (ed.), The Economic Development of India under the East India Company 1814-1848 (Cambridge 1971); and Michael Greenberg, British Trade and the Opening of China (Cambridge 1951). By bringing out the British-India-China triangle, they show India's central role in sustaining Britain's trade and empire in the first half of the nineteenth century, as does, for the following period, S.B. Saul, Studies in British Overseas Trade 1870-1914 (Liverpool 1960), which exposes the new Britain-India-America triangle.

LAND SETTLEMENTS AND AGRARIAN RELATIONS

Ideas behind land settlements in British India are traced in two rigorous studies, Eric Stokes, The English Utilitarians and India (Oxford 1959), and Ranajit Guha, A Rule of Property for Bengal; an Essay on the Idea of the Permanent Settlement (The Hague 1963). Stokes and Guha explored in great depth the intangible links between ideas and institutions in their studies of

the impact of English utilitarianism and French physiocratic doctrines on British policymakers in India. This interesting line of research was not pursued subsequently due to a shift of interest. As R.E. Frykenberg demonstrated in a seminal work on a particular locality, Guntur District 1788-1848: a History of Local Influence and Central Authority in South India (Oxford 1965), high policy and ideas were too often frustrated in practice by local pressures. This emphasis on the realities on the ground characterizes two recent monographs on the permanent settlement in Bengal, Sirajul Islam, The Permanent Settlement in Bengal: a Study of Its Operation 1790-1819 (Dacca 1979), and Ratnalekha Ray, Change in Bengal Agrarian Society c. 1760-1850 (New Delhi 1979). Zamindari and Mahalwari settlements further upcountry are studied in W.C. Neale, Land Tenure and Reform in Uttar Pradesh 1800-1955 (Yale 1962); Asiya Siddiqi, Agrarian Change in a North Indian State: Uttar Pradesh 1819-1833 (Oxford 1973), a more rigorous study than Neale's; and in the latest T.R. Metcalf, Land, Landlords and the British Raj. Northern India in the Nineteenth Century (California 1979). The Ryotwari settlement in Madras and Bombay awaits modern research monographs. Nilmani Mukherjee, The Ryotwari system in Madras (Calcutta 1962) is a policy study which does not dwell on its social impact. The theme has received partial but more modern treatment in Ravinder Kumar, Western India in the Nineteenth Century: a Study in the Social History of Maharashtra (London 1968).

AGRARIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

D. Rothermund, Government, Landlord and Peasant in India, Agrarian Relations under British Rule 1865-1935 (Wiesbaden 1978) is more about agrarian legislation than about agrarian social structure. For persistent agrarian servitude, Dharma Kuman, Land and Caste in South India. Agricultural Labour in Madras Presidency in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge 1965), who shows it existed substantially before the British, and Jan Breman, Patronage and Exploitation, Changing Agrarian Relations in South Gujarat, India (California 1974), who shows its nature changed under the British fundamentally. A brilliant essay on peasant control is David Washbrook, "Country Politics: Madras 1880 to 1980," in J. Gallagher, G. Johnson, and A. Seal (eds.),

Locality, Province and Nation: Essays on Indian Politics 1870 to 1940 (Cambridge 1973). The deteriorating condition of the peasantry, which did not, however, lead necessarily to their outright reduction to the status of landless laborers, is chronicled in substantial articles by B.B. Chaudhuri in the Indian Historical Review: "The Process of Depeasantization in Bengal and Bihar 1885-1947," Vol. II, No. 1 (July 1965), and "Movement of Rent in Eastern India 1793-1938," Vol. III, No. 2 (January 1977). Seminal essays on agrarian social structure under British rule, most notably, B.S. Cohn, "Structural Change in Indian Rural Society," are collected in R.E. Frykenberg (ed.), Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History (Madison 1969). The muted impact of British rule on nineteenth-century agrarian society is the deeply analyzed theme of E.T. Stokes, The Peasant and the Raj. Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India (Delhi 1978). For planters, landlords and peasant unrest in nineteenth-century Bengal, Blair Kling, The Blue Mutiny: Indigo Disturbances in Bengal 1859-60 (Philadelphia 1969), and Chittabrata Palit, Tensions in Bengal Rural Society. Landlords, Planters and Colonial Rule 1830-1860 (Calcutta 1975); and a solid study of a single landlord, Nilmani Mukherjee, A Bengal Zamindar, Jayakrishna Mukherjee of Uttarpara and His Times (1808-1888) (Calcutta 1975).

AGRICULTURAL TRENDS

I.J. Catanach, Rural Credit in Western India. Rural Credit and the Cooperative Movement in the Bombay Presidency 1875-1930 (California 1970) deals more with government policy and the cooperative movement than with the social economy of agricultural credit and indebtedness. B.M. Bhatia, Famines in India: a Study in Some Aspects of the Economic History of India 1860-1945 (London 1963), for the terrible agrarian phenomenon of famine, and Paul R. Greenough, "Indian Famines and Peasant Victims: the Case of Bengal 1943-44," in Modern Asian Studies, Vol. 14, Part 2 (April 1980), for its terrifying impact on social structure. For agricultural performance, George Blyn, Agricultural Trends in India 1891-1947: Output, Availability and Productivity (Philadelphia 1966), a pioneering statistical study; M.M. Islam, Bengal Agriculture 1920-1946: a Quantitative Study (Cambridge 1978), a more in-depth

local statistical analysis; Benoy Chaudhuri, Growth of Commercial Agriculture in Bengal (1757-1900) (Calcutta 1964); Dharm Narain, The Impact of Price Movements on Areas under Selected Crops in India 1900-1939 (Cambridge 1965), which shows that peasants, uncritically supposed to be "non-economic" men, did respond to price opportunities; and Elizabeth Whitcombe, Agrarian Conditions in Northern India: the United Provinces under British Rule 1860-1900 (California 1971), a formidable denunciation of British policy.

ECONOMIC CHANGE

There is no up-to-date economic history of India. The Cambridge Economic History of India (Cambridge 1981 forthcoming), Vol. 1, 1200-1750 (ed. Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib), and Vol. 2, 1757-1970 (ed. Dharma Kumar) is in press. Till then, V.B. Singh (ed.), The Economic History of India (Bombay 1965). More sophisticated and substantial research is collected in C.J. Dewey and A.G. Hopkins (ed.), The Imperial Impact: Studies in the Economic History of Africa and India (London 1978) and K.N. Chaudhuri and C.J. Dewey (ed.), Society and Economy: Essays in Indian Economic and Social History (Delhi 1979). For a controversy which emitted more heat than light, M.D. Morris et al., Indian Economy in the Nineteenth Century: a Symposium (Delhi 1969). British economic policy is studied in S.K. Sen, Studies in the Economic Policy and Development of India 1848-1926 (Calcutta 1966), -- and with greater documentation and wider range in S. Ambirajan, Classical Political Economy and British Policy in India (Cambridge and New Delhi 1978), a theme indicating a renewed interest in ideas behind policy formulation.

Business and industry. Upendra Narayan Singh, Some Aspects of Rural Life in Bihar. An Economic Study 1793-1833 (Patna 1980), informative on the system of rural transport and industry that preceded the modern business and industrial sector. Early European enterprise: S.B. Singh, European Agency Houses in Bengal (Calcutta 1966). Indian entrepreneurs who rose in association with private European traders: Blair Kling, Partner in Empire: Dwarkanath Tagore and the Age of Enterprise in Eastern India (California 1978); Somendra Chandra Nandy, Life and Times of Canto Baboo, Vol. 1 (Calcutta

1978). For modern business and industry: D.R. Gadgil, Industrial Evolution of India in Recent Times (Calcutta 1948), dated but still useful; R.S. Rungta, The Rise of Business Corporations in India 1851-1900 (Cambridge 1970), more up-to-date; A.K. Bagchi, Private Investment in India 1900-1939 (Cambridge 1972), a penetrating and massively documented analysis of the political economy of the British empire and its constricting effect on Indian industrialization; R.K. Ray, Industrialization in India: Growth and conflict in the Private Corporate Sector 1914-1947 (New Delhi 1979). Suggestive biographies of three modern industrial entrepreneurs: F. Harris, Jamsetjee Nusserwanjee Tata: a Chronicle of His Life (Bombay 1958); G.D. Khandkar, Walchand Hirachand (Bombay 1969); and Arun Joshi, Lala Shri Ram (New Delhi 1975). V.I. Pavlov, The Indian Capitalist Class (New Delhi 1964), a more general and dogmatic study; D.R. Gadgil and M.V. Namjosh, Origins of the Modern Indian Business Class (New York 1959), a short but suggestive survey. Before a modern capitalist class could coalesce in India in the 1930's and the 1940's, the typical Indian groups which carried on trade with a growing component of industrial investment were merchant communities. T.A. Timberg, The Marwaris: from Traders to Industrialists (Delhi 1978), is an imaginative study of such a merchant community which became later on the most important element in the modern Indian capitalist class. The Parsees, an immigrant community who made the most important initial Indian contribution to industrialization, are portrayed as a social community in Eckehard Kulke, The Parsees in India: a Minority as Agent of Social Change (Delhi 1965). Two occasional papers of the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, by A.K. Bagchi, No. 5, "Reflections on Patterns of Regional Growth in India during the Period of British Rule" (January 1976), and No. 38, "Merchants and Colonialism" (September 1981), are important studies on the differing mercantile bases of frustrated and successful entrepreneurship in different regions of India. For labor supply in Indian industrialization, M.D. Morris, The Emergence of an Industrial Labour Force in India. A Study of the Bombay Cotton Mills (California 1965).

International economic relationships. The Indian economy was integrated into a worldwide British imperial economy in the nineteenth century. So its performance cannot be understood without reference to these external links,

and the major modifications in these links in the period of the Great Depression and the Second World War. Imports and exports -- capital flows, and balance of payments, with implications about the "drain," are dealt with in Y.S. Pandit, India's Balance of Indebtedness 1898-1913 (London 1937), and A.K. Banerjee, India's Balance of Payments. Estimates of Current and Capital Accounts from 1921-22 to 1938-39 (Bombay 1963). The British economic stake in India: Daniel Thorner, Investment in Empire (Philadelphia 1950), which exposes "private profit at public risk" in the railway construction enterprise of the British government in India; A.W. Silver, Manchester Men and Indian Cotton 1847-1872 (Manchester 1966); Peter Harnetty, Imperialism and Free Trade: India and Lancashire in the Mid-Nineteenth Century (Vancouver 1972); Hugh Tinker, A New System of Slavery: the Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1830-1920 (London 1974) for the use of Indian labor to develop British colonies beyond India. The British economic position in India in the last phase is treated in B.R. Tomlinson, The Political Economy of the Raj: the Economics of Decolonization in India 1914-1947 (London 1979), but this important theme awaits more intensive study.

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Conventional histories of social reform and cultural awakening have emphasized the fruitful interchange between India and the West. To understand the colonial context of this interaction, however, requires awareness of a less pleasant dimension of the social situation-racial antagonism, accompanied by a profound clash of values, ideas and sentiments. These less pleasant aspects are revealed in a few unusual studies which have gone off the beaten track in their exploration of the mental and social interaction between the ruling race and the subject population: Benita Parry, Delusions and Discoveries: Studies on India in the British Imagination 1880-1930 (California 1972), a disturbing analysis of English fiction on India which taps all the submerged fears, prejudices and instinctive racial antipathies; A.J. Greenberger, The British Image of India: a Study in the Literature of Imperialism 1880-1960 (London 1969), dealing with the same theme; and K.A. Ballhatchet, Race, Sex and Class under the Raj. Imperial Attitudes and

Policies and Their Critics 1793-1905 (London 1980), which dwells especially on the white army of occupation.

But to turn to more positive aspects, G.D. Bearce, British Attitudes Towards India 1784-1858 (Oxford 1961), analyzes "conservative," "humanitarian" and "liberal" English attitudes. Orientalism, a powerful initial force of the new age, is studied in S.N. Mukherjee, Sir William Jones: a Study in Eighteenth Century British Attitude to India (Cambridge 1968) and David Kopf, British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: the Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773-1835 (California 1969), a study of the key role of the Fort William College. Christian missionaries were less tolerant of Indian culture than the Orientalists, but were more effective as an agent of change until the British government itself took the initiative in reform. Two sober and well-documented studies of the missionary contribution are E. Daniel Potts, British Baptist Missionaries in India 1791-1817 (Cambridge 1967), and M.A. Laird, Missionaries and Education in Bengal 1793-1837 (Oxford 1972). For the Bentinck era of reform, John Rosselli, Lord William Bentinck: the Making of a Liberal Imperialist 1774-1839 (Delhi 1974), and for the long-term impact of the English education which he introduced, B.T. McCully, English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism (New York 1940), a valuable old study, and B.B. Misra, The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times (London 1961). The subsequent effort of the British to control English education because of its adverse political implications, and the frustration of the attempt, are chronicled in Aparna Basu, The Growth of Education and Political Development in India 1898-1920 (Delhi 1974). A new social history of the impact of one key educational institution is David Lelyveld, Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India (Princeton 1978); and the growing loss of British control over education is the theme of Irene Gilbert's two well-researched articles, "Autonomy and consensus under the Raj: Presidency (Calcutta), Muir (Allahabad); M.A.O. (Aligarh)" and "The Organization of the Academic Profession in India: the Indian Educational Services 1864-1924," in S.H. Rudolph and L.I. Rudolph (eds.), Education and Politics in India (Harvard 1972).

Religious and social reform movements indicated the passing of the initiative from British to Indian hands in the course of the nineteenth century. Among the more worthwhile studies of this theme, cast in a stimulus (Western)-response (Indian) formula, are Susobhan Sarkar, On the Bengal Renaissance (Calcutta 1979), a sympathetic Marxist study; J.N. Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India (Delhi 1967, first published in 1918), a pioneering survey which has not been replaced; Charles H. Heimsath, Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform (Princeton 1964), a more recent study. Two new but highly contrasted sects within Hinduism, the Brahma Samaj and the Arya Samaj, form the respective themes of David Kopf, The Brahma Samaj and the Shaping of the Modern Indian Mind (Princeton 1979), and K.W. Jones, Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in Nineteenth Century Punjab (New Delhi 1976). Three important seers and reformers of nineteenth-century India have evoked stimulating studies: Iqbal Singh, Rammohun Roy (New York 1958); Christian W. Troll, Sayyid Ahmed Khan: a Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology (New Delhi 1978); and J.T.F. Jordens, Dayananda Saraswati: His Life and Ideas (New Delhi 1978). V.C. Joshi (ed.), Rammohun Roy and the Process of Modernization in India (Delhi 1975), contains Marxist essays which raise the question whether a genuine "Renaissance," was possible by imbibing Western values in the colonial context; the same doubt is raised by Barun De, "The Colonial Context of the Bengal Renaissance," in C.H. Philips and M.D. Wainwright, Indian Society and the Beginnings of Modernizations (1830-1850) (London 1976), and Asok Sen, Vidyasagar and His Elusive Milestones (Calcutta 1977). R.K. Ray, "Man, Woman and the Novel: the Rise of a New Consciousness in Bengal 1858-1947," in Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (January-March 1979), carries on this debate to argue a continuity in values and sentiments from the old to the new culture which gave a genuinely Indian character to the new culture.

The debate remains unsolved: was there a fruitful response to Western ideas? Or cultural stultification due to colonial exploitation? Or a link with the older culture which flowered into the new? These problems of the moral and cultural interaction between East and West are studied in works on two great contemporary Indians, Tagore and Gandhi: Stephen Hay, Asian Ideas of East and West: Tagore and His Critics in Japan, China and India (Cambridge

1970), and Raghavan Iyer, Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi (New York 1973). Yet these intellectual problems of adjustment to the West are not the problems that were pondered deeply beyond the circle of the English educated intelligentsia. The ordinary pilgrims, in their millions, continued to flock, not to the ashrams at Santiniketan or Sabarmati, but to the great traditional temples of Banaras, Puri and the South, a process studied in a somewhat unimaginative monograph on the temple administration and pilgrim control of the Puri temple: Prabhat Mukherjee, History of the Jagannath Temple in the Nineteenth Century (Calcutta 1977). The corporate units of the older society -- castes and communities -- continued to be the most effective vehicles of social change, a theme explored in some well-researched and sophisticated recent monographs: R. Hardgrave, The Nadars of Tamilnad: the Political Culture of a Community in Change (California 1969); D.F. Pocock, Kanbi and Patidar (Oxford 1971); Frank F. Conlon, A Caste in a Changing World: the Chitrakut Saraswat Brahmans 1700-1935 (California 1977); Karen Isaaksen Leonard, Social History of an Indian Caste: the Kayasths of Hyderabad (California 1978), the most outstanding of the caste studies; and Rafiuddin Ahmad, The Bengal Muslims 1871-1906; a Quest for Identity (Delhi 1981), a brilliantly original community study. Social change in cultural and linguistic regions under the impact of British rule is chronicled in a number of studies on Maharashtra and Bengal, the two regions which responded earliest to the new British policy: K.A. Ballhatchet, Social Policy and Social Change in Western India (London 1957), an unimaginative study of the impact of Elphinstone's policy on Maharashtra; Ravinder Kumar, Western India in the Nineteenth Century, a more sensitive study; A.F.S. Ahmad, Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal 1818-1835 (Leiden 1965), one of the best Bengal studies; Pradip Sinha, Nineteenth Century Bengal: Aspects of Social History (Calcutta 1965), which covers a longer time span; Nirmal Kumar Bose, Modern Bengal (Calcutta 1959) a small but suggestive pamphlet; Rachel Van M. Baumar (ed.), Aspects of Bengali History and Culture (New Delhi 1976), an indifferent collection. A more backward region is studied in Howard Spodek, Urban-Rural Integration in Regional Development: a Case Study of Saurashtra, India 1800-1960 (Chicago 1976). Urban social formations: K.L. Gillion, Ahmedabad: a Study in India Urban History (California 1968), a pioneering monograph; Christine Dobbin, Urban Leadership in Western India: Politics and Communities

in Bombay City 1840-1885 (Oxford 1972), a brilliant work on Bombay; K.P. Misra, Banaras in Transition (1738-1795): A Socio-Economic Study (New Delhi 1965); Narayani Gupta, Delhi between Two Empires (New Delhi 1981); S.N. Mukherjee, Calcutta: Myths and History (Calcutta 1977); and Pradip Sinha, Calcutta in Urban History (Calcutta 1978). For long-term change in village social structure, a pioneering study using new village records is T. Kessinger, Vilayatpur 1848-1968: Social and Economic Change in a North Indian Village (California 1974), an original micro-level study of a Punjab village.

The range of social change indicated in the works referred to above would at once show that the growth of a modern culture in India was but one component in it, a small one confined necessarily to the Western-educated classes. Its most characteristic expression was the growth of a new literature in course of the nineteenth century, and then the emergence of a new art at the end of it. New forms of poetry, and the birth of prose literatures, immensely enriched the vernacular literatures, which found in printed works a new vehicle to reach a wider public. Research in this field has not been taken up by historians meaningfully and in a critical historical perspective. The following works, by men of literature rather than historians are of sufficient weight to have historical value: R. Russell and K. Islam, Ghalib (London 1969), a critical biography of the great Urdu poet of the Mughal twilight; Mary M. Lago, Rabindranth Tagore (Boston 1976), the latest worthwhile English language survey of the poet of "New Bengal"; Robert O. Swan, Munshi Prem Chand of Lamhi Village (Durham 1969), a biography of the leading Hindi novelist of the twentieth century; Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Languages and Literatures of Modern India (Calcutta 1963), an introduction by a well-known linguistics scholar; Shushil Kumar De, Bengali Literature in the Nineteenth Century (revised ed. Calcutta 1962), old but valuable for its strong historical and social setting; Edward C. Dimock (ed.), Bengal: Literature and History (East Lansing 1967), an interesting collection of essays; Sayyid Abdul Latif, The Influence of English Literature on Urdu Literature (London 1924), a masterly analysis of the transition from old to new forms which can never be replaced; Muhammad Sadiq, A History of Urdu Literature (London 1964), a more recent and well-written work; G.C. Bhate, History of Modern Marathi Literature 1800-1938 (Poona 1939), unimaginative but

scholarly; K.M. Munshi, Gujarata and Its Literature: a Survey from the Earliest Times (Bombay 1935), a sensitive work by a leading Gujarati scholar and writer; and T.W. Clark (ed.), The Novel in India: Its Birth and Development (London 1970), the most well-researched historical survey of the rise of imaginative prose literature in the major languages of modern India. Modern Indian art -- Ravi Varma, the Bengal School, and later developments -- await a serious historical study. W.G. Archer, India and Modern Art (London 1959), is a short but thought-provoking work.

GOVERNMENT

The British built up a sophisticated structure of rule in India which sought, successfully in the nineteenth century to: a) adjust the relations between Home and Indian authorities, b) defend India against external menace and c) ensure control over the subject population by coercion where necessary and accommodation where possible. In the twentieth century, by contrast, a) the delicate balance between London and Delhi came under new strains, b) the global strategic balance turned against the British empire and c) the Raj had to accommodate rising Indian expectations to such an extent as to be forced ultimately to rule itself out. It was the sophisticated machinery it had built up which explains its success in maintaining control; but equally a machinery geared to highly sophisticated bargaining was liable to gradual takeover of its levers of control. These themes had always been prominent in the British historiography of India but recently a new sophistication of research is evident. British rule in India was originally the rule of a monopolistic commercial Company, which posed complex problems of adjustment between the Company, the British government which had granted it its monopoly, and its administrative representatives in India. These themes are treated in a standard early monograph by C.H. Philips, The East India Company 1784-1834 (Manchester 1940). The evolution of government within India is treated in two successive works by B.B. Misra, The Central Administration of the East India Company 1773-1834 (Manchester 1959) and The Administrative History of India 1834-1947: General Administration (Bombay 1970). The Bengal system that came to constitute the central British administration in India was a government by

regulations set up by Lord Cornwallis, for which a standard old work is A. Aspinall, Cornwallis in Bengal (Manchester 1931). New systems of administration, consciously opposed to the Bengal model and based on direct bargains with villages and peasants, were set up in Madras, Delhi and Punjab, for which T.H. Beaglehole, Thomas Munro and the Development of Administrative Policy in Madras 1792-1818 (Cambridge 1966), a study of the birth of ryotwari administration; T.G.P. Spear, Twilight of the Mughals (Cambridge 1951), a sensitive work on Metcalf's Mahalwari system of administration in the Delhi region based on the then newly discovered village community; and Ph.M. van den Dungen, The Punjab Tradition: Influence and Authority in Nineteenth Century India (London 1972), which deals with the greatest British success story in India, "the Punjab School" of administration. In the nineteenth century, the main British preoccupation in India was not with any menace within India, but with the danger from beyond, a few arising out of "the Great Game" that Russia and England had started to play in continental Asia, as distinct from the earlier maritime rivalry between Britain and France. Three recent works on this subject are Edward Ingram, The Beginning of the Great Game in Asia 1828-1834: a Study in British Imperial Expansion (Oxford 1979); M.I. Yapp, Strategies of British India: Britain, Iran and Afghanistan 1798-1850 (Oxford 1980); and Suhas Chakraborty, From Khyber to Oxus: a Study in Imperial Expansion (New Delhi 1976).

Only one occurrence within India fundamentally shook the British in the nineteenth century, and that was the Mutiny. That event is argued to have brought about a fundamental reorganization of the Raj, the theme of T.R. Metcalf, The Aftermath of Revolt: India 1857-70 (Princeton 1964). British policy after the Mutiny: S. Gopal, British Policy in India 1858-1905 (Cambridge 1965). Reorganization of finances: Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, Financial Foundations of the Raj: Men and Ideas in the Post-Mutiny Period of Reconstruction of Indian finance 1858-1872 (Simla 1971). The new civil service that was to rule India till 1947: Bradford Spangenberg, British Bureaucracy in India: Status, Policy and the ICS in the Late 19th Century (New Delhi 1976). Francis G. Hutchins, The Illusion of Permanence (Princeton 1967), for the motivations and perceptions underlying British rule in India in the post-Mutiny period. The new developments at home after the First World War that shattered the illusion and undermined the will to rule is dealt with

in Partha Sarathi Gupta, Imperialism and the British Labour Movement 1914-1961 (London 1965). For the new constitutional structure of the Raj, discussed within the framework of post-Mutiny Indian agitation for reform, A.C. Banerjee, Constitutional History of India, 3 vols. (New Delhi 1977-78). For the new legislative politics within the reformed structure, Manoranjan Jha, The Role of the Central Legislative in the Freedom Struggle (New Delhi 1972); and Amalendu Guha, From Planter Raj to Swaraj: Freedom Struggle and Electoral Politics in Assam 1826-1947 (New Delhi 1977). For the growth of local self-government after the Mutiny, Hugh Tinker, The Foundation of Local Self-Government in India & Burma (London 1954); and for a particular study of municipal politics within a new elective Corporation, Rajat Ray, The Urban Roots of Indian Nationalism: Pressure Groups & Conflict of Interests in Calcutta City Politics 1875-1939 (New Delhi 1979). Lord Curzon abruptly brought the devolution of power to Indians through legislatures and local self-governing bodies to a halt, and partitioned the politically troublesome province of Bengal, an administrative measure that is studied, along with its failure, in R.P. Cronin, British Policy and Administration in Bengal: Partition and the New Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam (Calcutta 1977).

The note of failure on which Curzonian autocracy ended brought to a close the nineteenth century heyday of the Raj. Constitutional devolution of power began to modify increasingly the autocratic structure of the Raj. The first Act in the series of constitutional reforms in the twentieth century that ended with the transfer of power in 1947 was the Morley Minto reforms, on which there are as many as four studies: an Indian version, M.N. Das, India under Morley and Minto: Politics behind Revolution, Repression and Reforms (London 1964), valuable because of the racial and communal setting in which it analyzes the reforms; a Pakistani version, S.R. Wasti, Lord Minto and the Indian Nationalist Movement (Oxford 1964), which establishes that the initiative for separate electorates came not from the British but from the Muslim side; and two American versions, S.A. Wolpert, Morley and India 1906-1910 (California 1967); and Stephen Koss, John Morley at India Office (Yale 1969). The subsequent process of transfer of power, with a modern emphasis on the politics of reform, may be traced in rough succession through the following works: P.G. Robb, The Government of India & Reform: Policies towards Politics and the Constitution 1915-21 (Oxford 1976); R.J. Moore, The

Crisis of Indian Unity 1917-40 (Oxford 1974); R.J. Moore, Churchill, Cripps and India 1939-1945 (Oxford 1979); and H.V. Hodson, The Great Divide: Britain, India, Pakistan (London 1968).

POLITICAL CHANGE

Nationalism in India has been the happy battling ground of contending schools of interpretation. Marxist interpretations, not necessarily of the same mold and sometimes torn by sharp differences of opinion, have developed in India as well as the Soviet Union. A rigid class analysis is given by A.R. Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism (Bombay 1954), a line of argument further developed by Soviet historians in I.M. Reisner and N.M. Goldberg (ed.), Tilak and the Struggle for Indian Freedom (New Delhi 1966), which has discovered the bourgeoisie behind the moderates and the petty bourgeoisie behind the extremists. In some recent Marxist works in India, e.g., Bipan Chandra, Nationalism & Colonialism in Modern India (New Delhi 1979), this rigid economic determinism has been eschewed in favor of a greater emphasis on the ideology of nationalism. In the West, a good deal of research on political change and the nationalist movement in India has recently been devoted to the continuing importance of traditional social institutions such as caste in political mobilization, a theme neatly summed up in L.I. and S.H. Rudolph, The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India (Chicago 1967), and explored in greater depth by a brilliant group of historians gathered around D.A. Low, who has edited Soundings in Modern South Asian History (London 1968), and more recently, Congress and the Raj: Facets of the India Struggle 1917-1947 (London 1977), with which is associated another brilliant collection of essays edited by Ravinder Kumar, Essays on Gandhian Politics: the Rowlatt Satyagraha of 1919 (Oxford 1971). Another school, gathered around J.A. Gallagher in Cambridge, has emphasized the crucial role of government structure, of partron-client linkages and of local connections in the development of modern Indian politics. The "Cambridge School" has produced, besides a number of research monographs, two outstanding collections of essays which emphasize the predominance of interests and connections: J. Gallagher, G. Johnson and A. Seal (eds.), Locality, Province and Nation:

Essays on Indian Politics 1870-1940 (Cambridge 1973), and C. Baker, G. Johnson and A. Seal (eds.), Power, Profit and Politics: Essays on Imperialism, Nationalism and Change in Twentieth Century India (London 1981).

The mutiny rebellion of 1857 provides a convenient starting point for tracing political change in modern India. It has been identified by Eric Stokes, "Traditional Resistance Movements and Afro-Asian Nationalism: the Context of the 1857 Mutiny Rebellion," in The Peasant and the Raj, as the greatest of the violent traditional resistance movements in nineteenth-century India, the failure of which opened the way to the development of modern institutional nationalist politics. Such traditional resistance movements, however, continued in the countryside even after English-educated nationalism had developed in the cities of late nineteenth-century India and, as Stokes claims, this older current of rural resistance, based on tribes, millenarian sects and messianic cults, flowed into the Gandhian mass movements of the twentieth century. For the Mutiny, the somewhat dated centenary historical works are S.N. Sen, Eighteen Fifty Seven (Publications Division, Government of India, 1957), which argues that at least in Oudh the Mutiny assumed the proportions of a nationalist rebellion; R.C. Majumdar, The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857 (2nd. ed. Calcutta 1963), which argues to the contrary; and S.B. Chaudhury, Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies (Calcutta 1957), which emphasizes its agrarian populist character and finds a sequel in his Theories of the Indian Mutiny (Calcutta 1965). Two later and more particular studies, which have nevertheless been overtaken by the late Professor Stokes's seminal but unconcluded Mutiny studies, are J.A.B. Palmer, The Mutiny Outbreak in Meerut in 1857 (Cambridge 1966), narrow in scope but valuable as an in-depth study of a crucial event, and John Pemble, The Raj, the Indian Mutiny and the Kingdom of Duddh 1801-1859 (London 1977), an unsatisfactory study of the civil rebellion in Oudh. Nor is there any full-length research monograph on the uprising in Delhi, the center of Mutineers, without a study of which it is impossible to determine the "nature" of the rebellion. Despite the widespread peasant disturbances, joined in by a great many rural magnates and some dispossessed princes, the mutiny of the Sepoy Army was in a way the critical and the most "modern" element in the series of revolts in 1857 and the aims and methods of the central Mutiny administration under Bakht Khan and its

relationship to the Mughal Court at Delhi require further exploration before historians can finally pronounce on the characterization of the uprising of 1857 as a "traditional" resistance movement. Other violent agrarian and sectarian movements before and after the Mutiny are studied in S.B. Chaudhury, Civil Disturbances during the British Rule in India (1765-1857) (Calcutta 1955); S. Fuchs, Rebellious Prophets: a Study of Messianic Movements in Indian Religions (London 1965); Qeyamuddin Ahmed, The Wahabi Movement in India (Calcutta 1966); Muin-ud-Din Ahmad Khan, History of the Fara'idi Movement in Bengal 1848-1906 (Karachi 1965); M.M. Ahluwalias, Kukas: the Freedom Fighters of the Punjab (Bombay 1965); V.S. Joshi, Vasudeo Balvant Phadke: First Indian Rebel against British Rule (Bombay 1959); and a brilliant recent essay by Conrad Wood, "Peasant Revolt: an Interpretation of Moplah Violence in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in Dewey and Hopkins, The Imperial Impact.

Thus violent resistance movements did not die out in late nineteenth-century India. But the growth of urban political associations, culminating in the Indian National Congress of 1885, defined a new type of constitutional and agitational politics which was at first isolated from the unorganized, inchoate and potentially violent political response of the masses. The most brilliant, if controversial, analysis of this new politics is Anil Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century (Cambridge 1968). The heavy emphasis on English educated elites and on competition between caste groups and regions in this work has been subsequently modified in favor of a greater attention to patronage systems and government structure in Anil Seal, "Imperialism and Nationalism in India," Locality, Province and Nation, and in John Gallagher and Anil Seal, "Britain and India between the Wars," Power, Profit and Politics, recently published as the Gallagher memorial volume. There are two other detailed but unimaginative studies of the emergence of the Congress: S.R. Mehrotra, The Emergence of the Indian National Congress (Delhi 1971), and Briton Martin, New India 1885: British Official Policy and the Emergence of the Indian National Congress (California 1969); and a more sensitive treatment of the ideological and social background to the Congress, Sudhir Chandra, Dependence and Disillusionment: Emergence of National Consciousness in later Nineteenth Century India (New Delhi 1965), with a protest against the "Seal thesis"

implicit in its title, "dependence and disillusionment," as opposed to "competition and collaboration." The unpleasant racial controversy over the Ilbert Bill played a critical role in the emergence of the Congress, a theme treated in N.S. Bose, Racism, Struggle for Equality and Indian Nationalism (Calcutta 1981), and Edwin Hirschman, The Ilbert Bill Crisis in India and the Genesis of the Indian National Congress (New Delhi 1980). A sense of racial abasement, and an associated sense of economic exploitation which found expression in the "drain" doctrine, were basic impulses behind the growing nationalist consciousness in late nineteenth-century India. On the latter aspect an immensely detailed work is Bipan Chandra, The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India: Economic Policies of the Indian Nationalist Leadership (Delhi 1966). Bipan Chandra shows that the middle class Congress leadership was willing to take into account the broad economic interest of the nation and of the lower orders of the population.

There is no denying, however, that the early Congress leadership was not in tune with the inchoate populist movements of protest at the grass roots, which tended to express itself through religious and linguistic symbols at great variance with the secular Anglicized political culture of the Congress high command. This theme is brilliantly analysed in J.R. McLane, Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress (Princeton 1977), the best work on the early Congress. For the development of an extremist challenge to the early moderate leadership, using these potent religious and cultural symbols, Amal Tripathi, The Extremist Challenge: India between 1890-1900 (Calcutta 1969). The use of these indigenous cultural symbols transformed Bengal politics in course of the anti-partition agitation, a theme treated with deep sensitivity and imaginative scholarship by Sumit Sarkar, The Swadeshi Movement in Bengal 1903-1908 (New Delhi 1973). However, the roots of the moderate-extremist confrontation which split the Congress in 1907 went further back than the anti-partition agitation in Bengal, and lay really in the late nineteenth-century political struggle between Bombay and Poona in Western India. The relationship between the growing centers of modern politics in Poona and Bombay is documented in the earliest phase by J.C. Masselos, Towards Nationalism: Group Affiliations and the Politics of Public Associations in Nineteenth Century, Western India (Bombay 1974). Gordon Johnson, Provincial

Politics and Indian Nationalism: Bombay and the Indian National Congress 1890 to 1915 (Cambridge 1973), analyzes the growing conflict within this relationship in acid political detail characteristic of the Cambridge School to show how the Poona-Bombay dispute split the All-India Congress in the next phase. A more sympathetic but less powerful culturalist treatment of the same theme is to be had in R.I. Cashman, The Myth of the Lokamanya: Tilak and Mass Politics in Maharashtra (California 1975), which shows the use of mythological, historical and religious symbols by the leader of the extremists to attain popular support in a linguistic region. B.R. Nanda, Gokhale: the Indian Moderates and the British Raj (Princeton 1977), presents the story from the viewpoint of the moderate leader with imagination and balance. The now somewhat dated S.A. Wolpert, Tilak and Gokhale: Revolution and Reform in the Making of Modern India (California 1962), is spiced by the murky details of the personal and financial quarrel between the leading extremist and the leading moderate, but is otherwise rather flabby.

The attempted use of indigenous cultural symbols by Tilak and the Bengal anti-partition leaders to gain wider popular support remained confined within provincial and linguistic boundaries; nor did they truly break the barrier to communication with the peasantry in their own linguistic regions. It was Gandhi who first used these symbols successfully to mobilize the vast agrarian hinterlands of India against the British. Gandhian mass agrarian politics is the theme of D.N. Dhanagare, Agrarian Movements and Gandhian Politics (Agra 1975), a slight but suggestive work by a sociologist. There is a good single volume biography -- B.R. Nanda, Mahatma Gandhi: a Biography (London 1959). For greater depth of scholarship, we must turn to two considerable historical works by Judith Borwn, Gandhi's Rise to Power: India Politics 1915-1922 (Cambridge 1972) and Gandhi and Civil Disobedience: The Mahatma in Indian Politics 1928-1934 (Cambridge 1977), and to the volume of Essays on Gandhian Politics, edited by Ravinder Kumar, which analyzes in depth the response of cities and towns to Gandhi's call for Satyagraha in 1919, and to D.A. Low (ed.), Congress and the Raj, which deals with agrarian mobilization.

The degree of political mobilization in the agrarian interior differed from province to province. In the Central Provinces it was slight; see D.E.U.

Baker, Changing Political Leadership in an Indian Province: the Central Provinces and Berar 1919-1939 (Delhi 1979). It was much greater in Gandhi's home province, Gujarat, for which, David Hardiman, Peasant Nationalists of Gujarat: Kheda District 1917-1934 (New Delhi 1981), a study of a typical Gandhian satyagraha by the peasants of the Patidar community in a rural locality. The most explosive agrarian political situation, however, arose in the vast North Indian hinterland of U.P., which had a longer political tradition of populist politics characterized by merchant patronage, use of Hindu religious and linguistic symbols and disconnected local radical dissidences which, as C.A. Bayly shows in a seminal work, the early Congress tapped fitfully before 1920. His Local Roots of Indian Politics: Allahabad 1880-1920 (Oxford 1975) is the most sympathetically imaginative among the works of the Cambridge School. The subsequent explosion of agrarian discontent in U.P. and the use which the Gandhian Congress made of it during the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1920-1922 and the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-1934 are treated in two significant works: M.H. Siddiqi, Agrarian Unrest in North India: the United Provinces 1918-22 (New Delhi 1978), which for the first time uses the papers of a grass-roots peasant leader, a sannyasi named Baba Ramchandra who led a "movement from below" as distinct from the Congress "movement from above"; and Gyanendra Pandey, The Ascendancy of the Congress in Uttar Pradesh 1926-1934: a Study in Imperfect Mobilization (Delhi 1978), which is hitherto the most well-reasoned Indian reply in opposition to the Cambridge School. B.R. Tomlinson, The Indian National Congress and the Raj 1929-1942: the Penultimate Phase (London 1976), a work of the Cambridge School, sternly ignores the mass movements of 1930 and 1942 and analyzes the Gandhian Congress in terms of a structural interaction between the "Central" and "Provincial" levels of politics as defined by the constitutional structure of the Raj. For an account of the Quit India Movement launched by Gandhi in 1942, we must therefore turn to F.G. Hutchins, India's Revolution: Gandhi and the Quit India Movement (Harvard 1973).

The Madras Presidency, politically the least troublesome of all the major provinces but which nevertheless produced the most smashing Congress victory in the elections of 1937, has provided the ideal ground for the Cambridge interpretation, developed in two related works of considerable power

and sophistication: D.A. Washbrook, The Emergence of Provincial Politics: Madras Presidency 1870-1920 (Cambridge 1976), a formidable product of an acid intelligence, and C.J. Baker, The Politics of South India 1920-1937 (Cambridge 1976), a pure political analysis with an atomistic tendency which presents caste as a political figment of the imagination. Opposition to the Baker-Washbrook line in South India has come from three students of D.A. Low, who have sought to restore to its politics the mind, culture, and the caste-woven social fabric: David Arnold, The Congress in Tamilnad: Nationalist Politics in South India 1919-37 (New Delhi 1977); Robin Jeffrey, The Decline of Nayar Dominance: Society and Politics in Travancore 1847-1908 (London 1976); and James Manor, Political Change in a Princely State, Mysore, 1910-55 (Delhi 1977). There is also a useful biography by A.H.R. Copley on the chief Congress leader in the South, The Political Career of C. Rajagopalachari 1937-54 (New Delhi 1978); a culturalist work on non-Brahman anti-Congress politics, E.F. Irschik, Politics and Social Conflict in South India (California 1969); and a work on early nationalist consciousness in the South, R. Suntharalingam, Politics and Nationalist Awakening in South India 1852-91 (Tucson 1974),

Gandhi's peculiar brand of moralist, incorporative politics mobilized not merely the peasants and the workers, but also the merchants and the mill owners. The Indian capitalist class was coming into its own in the inter-war period, and its financial center, Bombay, provided the Gandhian Congress with large funds that enabled it to mount non-violent rebellions and to fight electoral campaigns. The growing connection between business and politics is the theme of a highly original and analytical study by A.D.D. Gordon, Businessmen and Politics: Rising Nationalism and a Modernizing Economy in Bombay 1918-1933 (New Delhi 1978); and of two essays in Power, Profit and Politics: C. Markovits, "Indian Business and the Congress Provincial Governments" and B. Chatterji, "Business and Politics in the 1930's: Lancashire and the Making of the Indo-British Trade Agreement, 1939." Incorporative politics, based on conciliation between conflicting interests, necessarily implied certain limitations on mass mobilization, a theme interestingly developed by Sumit Sarkar, "The Logic of Gandhian Nationalism: Civil Disobedience and the Gandhi-Irwin Pact 1930-1931," in Indian Historical

Review, Vol. III, No. 1, which shows how big businessmen who had patronized Gandhi's cause financially pressed him to halt the Civil Disobedience Movement and to come to an advantageous bargain with the Viceroy. After the failure of the movement, a leftist opposition to Gandhi crystallized within and outside the Congress, which opposed the use of religious symbols in politics and pressed for peasant and worker mobilization on a strictly economic platform. The leader of this opposition within the Congress is portrayed in a standard biography by S. Gopal, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vol. 1 (New Delhi 1976). A persistent regional opposition to Gandhi derived from radical politics in Bengal, on which the outstanding work is J.H Broomfield, Elite Conflict in a Plural Society: Twentieth Century Bengal (California 1968), an original interpretation of elitist radicalism that stimulated a hot controversy on the Bengali bhadralok elite. There is also a dark and pessimistic study by John Gallagher, "Congress in Decline: Bengal 1930 to 1939," in Locality, Province and Nation, and a survey of uneven quality by Leonard Gordon, Bengal: the Nationalist Movement 1876-1940 (New York 1974), which seeks to challenge Broomfield's categories of analysis somewhat uncertainly; and a more particular work on terrorist and Marxist politics in Bengal, D.M. Laushey, Bengal Terrorism and the Marxist Left: Aspect of Regional Nationalism in India 1905-1942 (California 1975). The growth of a possible communist alternative to the Gandhian leadership may be studied through J.P. Haithcox, Communism and Nationalism in India: M.N. Roy and Comintern Policy 1920-1939 (Princeton 1971), and P. Ghosh, Meerut Conspiracy Case and the Left Wing in India (California 1978). This alternative, some Marxist historians have now come round to admit, was a remote one. A new radical interpretation is emerging which makes a distinction between "organized" politics of all sorts, including the communist variety, which had an institutional character, and "unorganized," inchoate populism which flowed through its own channel in isolation from organized radical parties and unions. The distinction is clearly and incisively made in Partha Chatterjee, "Agrarian Relations and Politics in Bengal: Some Considerations on the Making of the Tenancy Act Amendment 1928," Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, Occasional Paper No. 30, September 1980; and in Dipesh Chakravarti, "Communal Riots and Labour: Bengal's Mill Hands in the 1890s," Past and Present, No. 91 (May 1981), which extends the distinction to urban politics. See also David

Arnold, "Looting, Grain Riots and Government Policy in South India," in Past and Present, No. 84 (August 1979). These new studies of inchoate and violent movements of populist protest, focusing on bandits, tribals, peasants, workers, and the "the wretched of the earth" in general, have come to be identified, for some obscure reason, as "subaltern studies," and are fired by a current academic interest in Naxalite violence. See Ranajit Guha (ed.), Subaltern Studies: Writings on South Asian History and Society (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1982). Partha Chatterjee and Dipesh Chakravarti freely concede the potential of inchoate agrarian and urban populism to turn to communal violence, a disturbing phenomenon which, nevertheless, carries in their eyes concealed progressive potential -- an attitude similar to the New Left interest in "social banditry" (incomprehensible to its haphazard victims, whose number is liable, potentially, to be augmented by the inclusion of the academic exponents of "social" violence). The controlled native intellectual and moral response to the potential for mindless violence, propelled by injustice to untargeted fury or targetful malignity, is analyzed in Joan Bondurant, The Conquest of Violence: the Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict (California 1969) and Eric Ericson, Gandhi's Truth: on the Origins of Militant Non-Violence (New York 1969). But Gandhi's response was an individualistic, conscientious response tragically doomed to failure in the profoundly oppressed and profoundly unjust society of twentieth-century India.

This takes us to the final theme: communal violence, Muslim politics and the Pakistan movement culminating in the partition of India in 1947, the historical embodiment of Gandhi's personal tragedy. A scholarly single volume survey of Muslim politics in modern India is Peter Hardy, The Muslims of British India (Cambridge 1972); a more tendentious but stimulating (albeit dated) survey is W.C. Smith, Modern Islam in India: a Social Analysis (2nd revised ed. 1963, first published London 1946). Smith's Marxist analysis of Muslim politics in class terms has not stood the test of detailed historical scrutiny. For recent research on the subject, see Francis Robinson, Separatism among Indian Muslims: the Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims 1860-1923 (Cambridge 1974), which shows that the U.P. Muslims, far from being a weak middle class seeking upliftment through separation in terms of W.C. Smith's analysis, were a privileged elite threatened by a Hindu

groundswell from below; S. Mushirul Hasan, Nationalism and Communal Politics in India 1916-1928 (New Delhi 1979), which rejects Robinson's Cambridge-style analysis in terms of elitist political interest in favor of a sensitive appreciation of the growth of the broader Muslim cultural and social consciousness that powered separatist politics; Uma Kaura, Muslims and Indian Nationalism: the Emergence of the Demand for India's Partition 1928-40 (New Delhi 1977), which carries the story further down in time to a crucial point; D. Page, Prelude to Partition: All-India Moslem Politics 1920-32 (New Delhi 1981), a more weighty and considerable study which shows convincingly that British constitutional arrangements furthered the process of political separatism; K. McPherson, The Muslim Macrocosm: Calcutta 1918 to 1935 (Wiesbaden 1974), a micro-level study of urban communalism which makes a revealing distinction between elite communalism over loaves and fishes, and popular communalism and identity formation through religious and cultural symbols; Z. Faruqi, The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan (London 1963), a dated but suggestive account of the role of the Muslim ulama in Indian politics; Matiur Rahman, From Constitution to Confrontation: a Study of Muslim League in British Indian Politics 1906-1912 (London 1970), an account of the birth of the Muslim League. The two Muslim majority provinces of Bengal and Punjab, dominated by local agrarian parties called the Krishak Praja Party and the Unionist Party, opposed the All-India Muslim League's demand for Pakistan, and it was only when Jinnah succeeded in capturing these two provinces in the final act of the drama that the curtain fell on undivided India. This last act may be studied through Ayesha Jalal and Anil Seal, "Alternative to Partition: Muslim Politics between the Wars," in Power, Profit and Politics; C.H. Philips and M.D. Wainwright (ed.), The Partition of India: Policies and Perspectives 1935-1947 (London 1970); and through more detailed studies of the capture of Bengal and the Punjab by the Muslim League -- Shila Sen, Muslim Politics in Bengal 1937-1947 (New Delhi 1976); Ian Talbot, "The 1946 Punjab Elections," in Modern Asian Studies, Vol. 14, Part 1 (February 1980), and Imran Ali, "The Muslim League and the Punjab National Unionist Party 1935-47," in South Asia, 1979.

So it was at the end that Jinnah's spirit,¹ reigning seemingly supreme over the bloody birth pangs of Pakistan, ranged bitterly over the Subcontinent, while one lone individual, shortly destined to come to the end of his Experiments with Truth,² continued his search for the real India away from the corridors of power; an unfinished quest faithfully depicted in Pyarelal, Mahatma Gandhi: the Last Phase, 2 vols. (Ahmedabad 1956-58).

-- Rajat Kanta Ray

¹Best captured in Hector Bolitho, Jinnah: Creator of Pakistan (London 1954).

²M.K. Gandhi, An Autobiography of the Story of My Experiments with Truth (Ahmedabad 1972, first published 1927).