

THE BENGALI BHADRALOK: AN EXAMPLE OF COMPETITION
AND COLLABORATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

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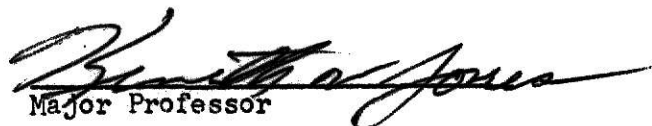
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INTRODUCTION

When the British first arrived on the shores of India, only a man of great vision could have foreseen the role that they were to later play as the rulers of the Indian sub-continent. Ambitious and aggressive this unlikely assortment of adventurers and merchants were wholly concerned with the development of trade activities and were thus generally well-behaved and unwarlike. Nevertheless, as the once awesome and mighty Mogul Empire began to dissolve, the English, represented by the British East India Company, were slowly drawn into the resulting political vacuum.

Untrained in the art of administration and without any real desire to govern, the agents of the Company served their early apprenticeship as rulers in three regions of India: Bombay, Madras and Bengal. From these locations the influence and power of the British Raj increased yearly and eventually touched every corner of South Asia.

As the empire of the English invaders crept inland from its coastal bases, vast territories were absorbed into the Raj and the acquisition of these lands greatly strained the administrative capabilities of the new government. Unable to rule by themselves the British found it necessary to rely on the members of the indigenous population to fill the lower-level positions of the Civil Service and to provide the European administration with what has been called its 'human underpinnings'.

The Government established a number of educational institutions to train a small portion of the populace in western language, values, tech-

niques and philosophy. Aware that education was the key to office, members of the high-status castes quickly came to dominate the relatively small number of university admissions. Jealously guarding their knowledge, these favored individuals gained entry into the realm of the Raj and from their vantage point within the administrative structure won access to opportunities that were unavailable to the rest of the population.

For some time the lower-echelon government positions were dominated by members of a few castes located in the original areas of British intrusion. As the borders of the Raj expanded across the sub-continent, the horizons of these coastal elites were broadened and the influence and prestige of these castes extended into the new territories.

In Bengal three castes monopolized the administrative positions left open to Indians and they also filled with equal success the professional fields of law, education and medicine. Moreover, according to a number of South Asian historians, among them such men as B. B. Misra, John Broomfield, and Kenneth Jones, substantially large numbers of individuals belonging to the Bengali elite castes left their homelands in the nineteenth century to take governmental jobs in newly conquered inland regions. This migration was particularly noticeable along the Gangetic Plain. Establishing themselves in inland towns, these individuals dominated the professional life in northern India for several decades.

Strongly influenced by Lucien Febvre, a noted French historian and co-founder of the journal Annales d'histoire economique et social, who stated that history must include the whole scope of society, it is the

purpose of this thesis to help broaden the historical knowledge of the Bengali Baidya, Brahmin, and Kayasth castes and to provide information about the migration of caste members into the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab during the nineteenth century. The study will also explore questions dealing with the British educational policies in India and suggest how education provided benefits for the coastal elites of Bengal that were not initially available for the local elite castes of the Gangetic Plain. With a heavy reliance on information taken from early census reports, Bengali communities are pin-pointed in the up-river towns and the growth of these communities are illustrated in a number of charts and maps. Factors that contributed to the migration are discussed and the successes and the failures of the Bengali bhadralok in the interior are analyzed.

Though many excellent historians are currently publishing valuable works on the societies of South Asia, it is a sad fact that there are too many gaps in our knowledge of that land. With the exception of several notable contemporary contributions, historical publications have generally tended to focus upon traditional lines of investigation and primarily dwelt upon the 'great men' and 'great events' of the Indian past. Such research is not without merit but too many historical questions have been neglected due to this selective and rather narrow approach to history.

Attempting to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge of South Asia, it is the purpose of this thesis to explore certain aspects of sociological, psychological, ethnographical, and cultural changes that have had a tremendous impact upon the bhadralok of Bengal in the nineteenth

century. It is to be hoped that this information will provide future researchers with a greater insight into the complexities of the Indian social structure and will serve as a touchstone for further investigations.

Because this field has received only minimal attention from previous historians research difficulties arose from the fact that no collected information existed to provide the inquiry with suitable historical guidance. Whereas a number of works vaguely mentioned the vigor of the Bengali bhadralok or perhaps suggested the successes that the Baidyas, Brahmins and Kayasths enjoyed in gaining employment within the structure of the Raj, this group has received no proper study. To overcome this situation, it was necessary to construct a framework from a conglomeration of data fragments. Relying heavily upon information contained in early census reports, local gazetteers, linguistic surveys and other official publications, the structure of this paper was woven from data collected in bits and pieces from a wide variety of separate sources.

Further complicating the study was the fact that early government publications often suffered from serious statistical errors. Moreover, the first few census reports compiled by the Government of India registered numerous changes in format over a forty year period. Though a highly useful category of statistical information might exist in one census, in many cases that category would be dropped from following reports or would reappear in a report published thirty years later.

In order to accommodate for these problems in data gathering, the framework of the study had to be loosely structured. Where possible, questionable data was checked and compared with more reliable information

in order to eliminate the inaccurate material but all too often sufficient data did not exist to allow for a satisfactory analysis. Nevertheless, in spite of the difficulties involved with the available source material, it is hoped that this thesis is not without value. Though subject to the probable inaccuracies of some of the statistical data, enough information was collected to allow for a substantially clear historical picture.

This paper represents the only study, at least to the extent of my personal knowledge, that is devoted in any length to the migration of the Bengali elite castes in Northern India. It is a first step in this field of investigation and as such it cannot claim to be a definitive work. Much is left to be answered and in order to develop a more complete understanding of the subject future researchers should seek further information from such sources as local town records, personal memoirs and diaries, and in family and organizational histories. Nevertheless, at least now a great deal of data is collected and is easily accessible for those who might wish to render a more penetrating analysis. Revisions are not only expected; they are welcome.

Before proceeding further, mention should be made that the terms 'elite' and 'bhadralok' are frequently used throughout the paper. In order to avoid confusion, the term 'elite' will be used to designate those castes that occupy the highest levels of the social ladder in India by virtue of their high-status occupations (i.e., professions such as priest, clerk, barrister, and teacher: occupations that are considered in South Asia to be both non-polluting and prestigious). The members of these high-status castes almost invariably possessed both a

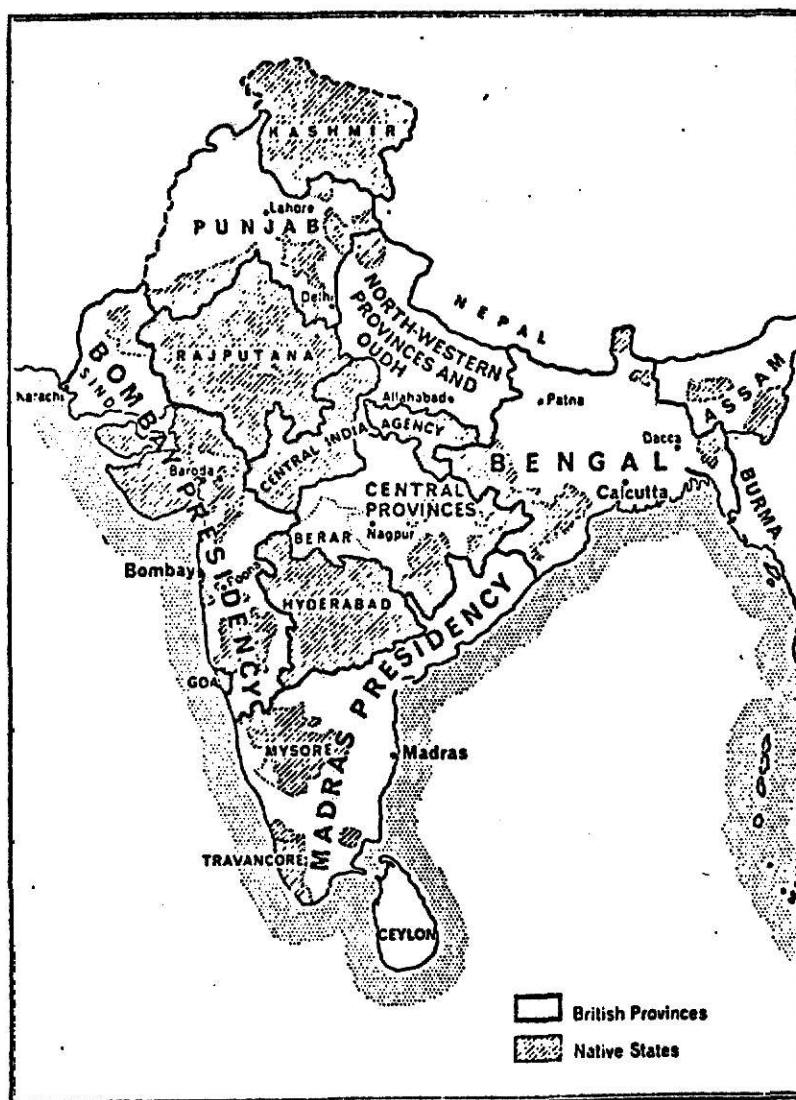
higher level of income and education in relation to that of the general population. Though not in fact a true synonym, for the sake of simplicity the word 'bhadralok' can be considered as the Bengali equivalent for the term elite.

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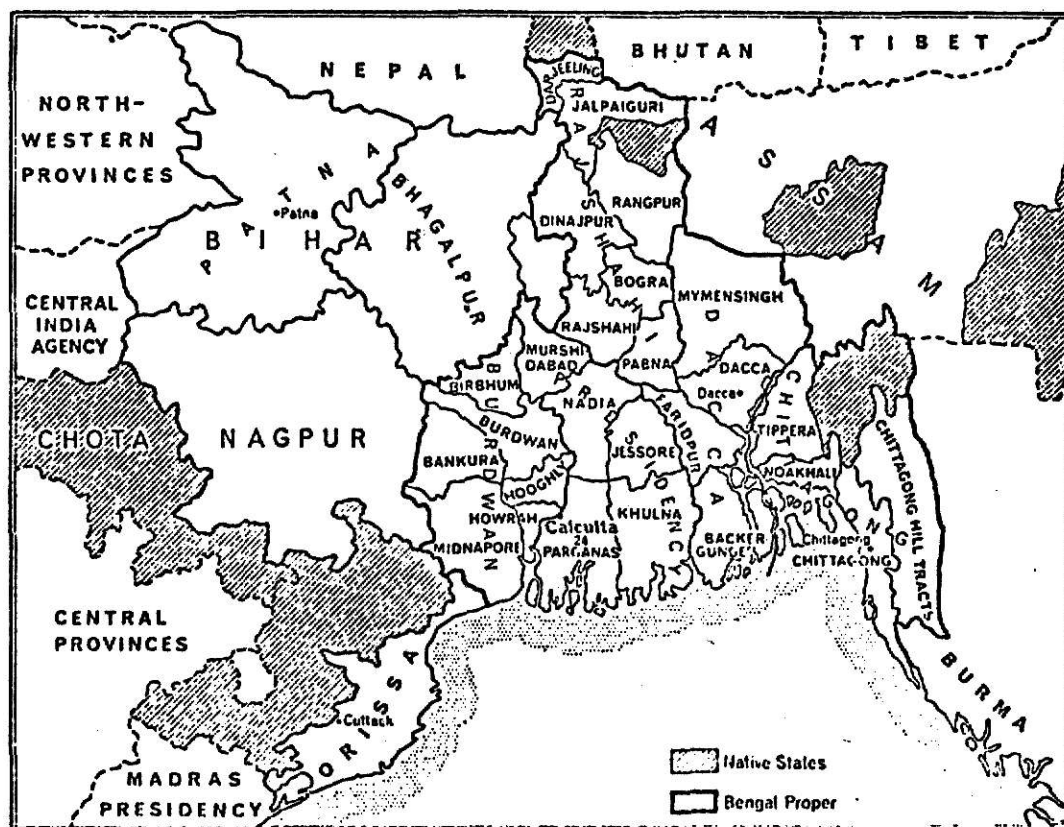
MAP I

India: British Provinces and Native States



MAP II

Bengal



CHAPTER I

BENGAL AND THE BRITISH

Bengal, located at the foot of the Himalayas and bordering Burma to the east, has for centuries been one of the richest regions of the sub-continent. Interlaced by waterways, this alluvial flood plain has been extremely fertile due to the immense amounts of silt and vegetative materials that the Brahmaputra and Ganges Rivers have deposited along their banks. The richness of the soil coupled with a constant water supply allowed the Bengalis to produce large quantities of rice; enough, in fact, for the local inhabitants to more than satisfy their own needs. The surplus rice was an excellent trade commodity that could be shipped, as the seasons allowed, up the Ganges and into the interior of India.

Besides rice, this area was also a center of major production of silk and saltpeter. These products, combined with the usual surplus of rice made Bengal a highly desirable and much sought-after region.¹ The lure of the wealth of Bengal was so great that it was conquered and annexed by empire after empire. The Mogul Empire under Akbar was the last of the pre-British governments to acquire this prized province. It came under Mogul control in 1574-76 and paid tribute to the successive Moslem emperors until well into the eighteenth century. During this time, Bengal began to develop a fairly extensive foreign trade as well as numerous manufacturing centers, particularly in Bakarganj and Chittagong districts in the east and Bakara and Burdwan districts in the west.

Mogul control also established an efficient judicial and administrative organization in the region and the Empire did not hesitate to draw upon the talents of local elites when it sought to fill governmental positions. Bengal, though ruled by Moslems (excluding the presence of several small Hindu principalities), depended heavily upon local Bengali Hindus to staff the government offices and to deal with routine administrative matters. Thus, for the members of certain Hindu castes, opportunities existed in the fields of commerce, law, and administration.²

When the British arrived in Bengal the Mogul Empire, though already exhibiting symptoms of internal decay, outwardly appeared both vigorous and awesome. The British came to the region as simple merchants; industrious but unwarlike and without the least interest in South Asian politics. According to Percival Spear, their interests initially centered on their own personal safety and their trading activities.³ Militarily weak, the British merchants had no desire to appear as a threat to the Empire and they had no choice but to work through the existing trade channels. With the exception of a small rebellion led by a Company man named Joshiah Child that was easily crushed by the Emperor Aurangzeb, the British generally behaved themselves and were tolerated by the Empire.

The East India Company established its first factory in Bengal in 1651 but it was poorly situated and somewhat distant from the regular trade routes. An attempt was therefore made to find a more suitable location and in 1690 Job Charnock, a Company agent, chose a site in what was then a malarial swamp on a tributary of the Ganges. A factory was constructed and around it a town began to grow. From this tiny cluster

of buildings the modern city of Calcutta began to take shape.

Life must have been miserable for those who settled in that region; it was hot, humid, disease-ridden, and plagued by mosquitoes. Captain Alexander Hamilton, an early traveler to India, was appalled by the wretched conditions existent in the new settlement and wrote that:

" . . . Mr. Job Charnock, being then the Company's agent in Bengal, he had liberty to settle an Emporium in any part of the River's side below Hughly, and for the sake of a large shady tree chose that place, tho' he could not have chosen a more unhealthful place on all the River; for three miles to the North Eastward is a saltwater lake that overflows in September and October and then prodigious numbers of fish resort thither, but in November and December, when the floods are dissipated these fishes are left dry and with their putrefaction affect the air with thick stinking vapours, which the North-East Winds bring with them to Fort William, that they cause a yearly Mortality."⁴

In spite of its drawbacks, Calcutta was well located for trade activities. There was easy access to the interior of Bengal and the tributary on which it was situated allowed for the establishment of a deep-water harbor. A fort was constructed in 1696 to afford Company representatives a safe haven due to a local rebellion and in 1699 was dubbed Fort William. A year later Calcutta was created a presidency for the British East India Company.

Initially unable to challenge the strength of the Empire, the British accepted Mogul authority and took pains to win the good graces of government officials. Company agents slowly expanded the scope of their trading activities and, working through the Court, were successful in winning an imperial farman that allowed the Company certain trade privileges in Bengal. The imperial farman of 1717, for example, exempted the British from all export and import duties on their foreign trade and

granted them free trade in Bengal subject to an annual payment of Rs. 3,000.

Despite the willingness of the British to work within the framework of the Mogul government, they held no particular devotion to the Empire and their actions and loyalties were strictly dictated by the existing situation. As long as the Emperor was strong they paid him homage, but personal interests were their over-riding concern and it meant nothing to them to change allegiances when it seemed advantageous.

By the middle of the 18th century, the crumbling Empire was in a shambles. Provinces once firmly under its control were being captured by the armies of the Afghans and the Marathas while other provinces simply went their own way under the directions of local rulers. By 1750, the Mogul Empire witnessed the loss of several major territories including Kabul, Gujarat, Sind, Surat, Cudh, and the Punjab. Bengal by 1719 enjoyed substantial local autonomy and by 1740 became virtually independent under the rule of the Nawab Alivardi Khan.

As the Empire lost its influence in Bengal, the British began to deal almost exclusively with Alivardi. He was an able ruler and was successful in repelling the raids of the aggressive Marathas as they tried to penetrate the borders of the province. Due to prolonged warfare, however, his treasury was seriously depleted and he became increasingly dependent on Hindu bankers and entrepreneurs for his administration.⁵

Alivardi tolerated the presence of the European merchants but he did not trust them and he carried on a running controversy with them over dues, privileges, and the interpretations of the imperial farmans.⁶

Though the British must have been a source of constant irritation to him, Alivardi allowed the Company men to carry on their trading activities and they in turn, however grudgingly, paid their 'king's share' to the Nawab. Neither side liked the other, but their differences were never so great that actions of a hostile nature were deemed necessary. After the death of Alivardi, however, the situation changed dramatically.

The Nawab died in 1756 and since he had no sons, Siraj-ud-daula, one of his nephews, assumed the throne. Siraj was a young man and he found himself unable to control the rival factions within his government. Whether through his own nature or through poor advice, it was not long before he alienated a sizeable number of his uncles and allies: the bankers and businessmen of Bengal. He then turned his attention to the British who were arming Fort William against his wishes. Hoping to rid his kingdom of the troublesome Company agents, Siraj sent his army against the factory at Calcutta. The attack proved successful and the British were temporarily forced from their base.

The victory was fleeting, however, and his two principal generals, disaffected by the thoughtlessness and ferocious temper of their leader, joined in alliance with the British and a number of Hindu merchants in an attempt to drive Siraj from power. There followed the battle of Plassey which has been described as "surely the most miserable skirmish ever to be called a decisive battle."⁷ Though the army of the Nawab dwarfed the tiny contingent of eight hundred Europeans and 2,000 sepoys that faced him, the intrigues of Mir Jafar, who was both his commander-in-chief and the leader of the conspiracy, assured his total defeat. Siraj fled from the battle field, but he was soon captured and turned

over to agents of Mir Jafar. On June 28, 1757, the British installed Mir Jafar on the masnad of Murshidabad and four days later Siraj-ud-daula was executed.

The new nawab proved himself incapable of dealing with the problems that afflicted the government of Bengal and with the royal treasury almost bare, he too was removed from office to be replaced by Mir Kasim. Though the British expected him to head a puppet regime subject to their own wishes, Mir Kasim became continually engaged in disputes with the Company over the payment of internal taxes. The British insisted that the farmans earlier granted to the Company excluded them from paying any taxes at all. Their interpretation of the farmans allowed them the enviable position of being able to undercut the local traders in the region. When the nawab saw that there was no way to force the British to pay, he attempted to neutralize their advantage by removing all tax restrictions on trade. This was a blow to his own treasury, but he apparently felt that such a step was necessary in order to save his subjects from economic strangulation. The British resented this challenge to their favored status and let it be known that such a change would not be tolerated. Nevertheless, Mir Kasim resolved to carry out his plans for tax reform and he received the military support of the Wazir of Oudh, Shuja-ud-daula and of the Mogul Emperor Shah Alam. Their combined armies met the British forces at Buxar in October of 1764 and the three rulers suffered a disastrous defeat. The Company, now representing the major power in Bengal, removed Mir Kasim from his office and reinstated the incompetent Mir Jafar as Nawab.

This battle proved to be a particularly significant victory for

the British. Not only did they gain great prestige by defeating the combined forces of the Emperor and the rulers of Bengal and Oudh, they also for all practical purposes brought Oudh into their sphere of influence.⁸ Moreover, Shah Alam was forced to give the East India Company the diwani, or civil government, of Bihar, Orissa, and Bengal. Now the Company controlled almost the whole of north-eastern India and gained from the Emperor what they considered to be a legal basis for British rule in Bengal.

Within a period of roughly a century and a half, the East India Company was transformed from an insignificant trading organization with a few miserable outposts in the Delta region to the undisputed position as ruling agent of Bengal. The Company men came only to tap the wealth of India but eventually founded a new empire in South Asia.

For several years after Buxar the British did little to develop an administrative structure in India. The Company men were primarily concerned with the furtherance of their own personal business ventures and the Company itself was brought to the verge of bankruptcy. In an effort to clean up the mess in British India, certain Company representatives, men like Lord Clive, Warren Hastings, and Lord Cornwallis, were given authority to bring order and discipline to the British portion of the sub-continent. These men were assigned the task of removing corrupt officials from office and re-establishing the Company as a money-making proposition.

Lord Cornwallis, appointed Governor-General of British India in 1784, immediately set out to reorganize completely the entire Company administrative system. Whereas prior to his arrival the Company was

little more than a commercial organization administering a state as a side-line, he divided the service into commercial and political sections. From that point on, a Company servant could be either a merchant or an administrator, but not both. This change in policy marked the beginning of the Civil Service in India.⁹

But that was not the end of the problems for the East India Company. The creation of an administrative branch left many questions to be answered: what source of labor could be tapped to staff the newly created positions; who would take the lower-paying jobs that had to be filled; and who had the expertise necessary to deal closely with the native Bengali population? Who could provide the British Raj with what has been called its 'human underpinnings', the necessarily large numbers of clerks, teachers, pleaders, and doctors? India was too poor to justify using the relatively expensive services of Europeans in the lower administrative positions and most of the Europeans had neither the experience nor the inclination to fill such posts.¹⁰

Initially the British relied heavily upon the old Mogul administrative structure that still existed in the region. As the demands for government efficiency increased, more and more Indians were recruited to fill positions within the Civil Service. There were entire families of Bengalis who for generations traditionally held positions in the administrative system and these people were generally more than willing to carry on their work under the British Raj. Moreover, the Company for some time had been successfully dealing with various Bengali groups (primarily Hindu bankers and merchants) and their abilities were well proven.¹¹ Accepting Bengalis into the government was therefore not

only convenient, it was the only logical course.

Though the British were willing to employ Bengalis in governmental service, they did not consider the Indians to be partners in administrative matters; as a matter of fact, quite the reverse seemed to be true. Cornwallis, for example, stated that it was his belief that "every native of India . . . is corrupt."¹² Although he felt that the same was true of his fellow countrymen, it was his belief that, unlike the Indians, the Europeans could be treated and cured. Because of this attitude, Cornwallis dismissed all Indian officials occupying positions earning over £500 a year and filled these posts with Englishmen. But there were still a number of lower-echelon jobs that had to be occupied and these remained open to the local population. Though these lesser posts provided only minimal income, to the majority of Indians governmental service, coupled with a regular cash income, carried with it a claim to status. Such positions were therefore highly coveted and all across British-occupied India individuals competed aggressively for entry into the administrative system. Because of the fierce competition, the British were generally able to fill their bureaucracy with capable personnel and eventually, in each of the three Presidencies, the members of certain castes began to dominate the lower levels of the governmental structure.

CHAPTER II

THE BRITISH AND THE BHADRALOK

In Bengal the individuals that almost inevitably occupied the lesser posts of the government were drawn from particular elite groups or castes traditionally associated with administration. These castes included the Brahmins, Kayasths and Baidyas.¹ Bengal had a distinct caste structure somewhat unique from the rest of India in that a wide gulf existed between the elites and the lower castes. There were no Rajputs or Kshattriyas in the region, and the Baidyas, Brahmins and Kayasths shared an uncontested pre-eminence.²

Brahmins as a caste were historically associated with the priesthood of the Aryan invaders of India and were the sole possessors of Hindu religious instruction. Centuries before the arrival of the British, however, members of this caste moved into the secular world and followed occupations dictated by their religious prejudices.³ Since Brahmins were of the highest caste, they had to forego any form of employment considered to be polluting. Though reluctant to gain a livelihood by tilling the soil or through other forms of physical labor because of religious injunctions and social pressure, other fields of employment were open to the Brahmins particularly in the realms of education and government service. These professions were considered to be desirable because they brought wealth and status to the office holders and were not associated with polluting labor.

The Baidyas, a caste peculiar to Bengal, provided the Brahmins with their major social and economic competition.⁴ This small caste, which represented less than one percent of the Hindu population in Bengal and Bengal Proper (see Table I), was concentrated primarily in the eastern provinces and was considered just below the Brahmins on the social ladder: in education and relative income, they actually led their caste rivals. Claiming twice-born status, the members of this ambitious caste wore the sacred thread, but their pretensions were strongly resisted by the Brahmins who refused to accord them such an honored position.

The Kayasths represented the only other caste in Bengal that could challenge Brahmin superiority. The Kayasths were a traditional writer caste that achieved great success and influence in Bengal. They were continually at odds with the Baidyas as to which caste should be considered socially higher and they, like the Baidyas, claimed twice-born status. A literate and aggressive caste, the Kayasths worked as administrators in the successive Hindu, Moslem, and British regimes.⁵ In his work, Notes on the Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal, J. Wise noted that under the Moslems the Kayasths "held most of the financial and revenue appointments throughout India," and that this caste "almost secured the whole of the subordinate Government offices" within the structure of the Raj.⁶ The Brahmins of Bengal looked upon the Kayasths as mere Sudras (peasants), but most of the Bengali Hindus accorded them the respect reserved for the higher castes.

Table I
 Brahmins, Baidyas and Kayasths in Bengal, 1881⁷
 (Number and percentage of total Hindu population)

	Bengal		Bengal Proper	
Brahmins	2,754,100	6.05	1,076,854	6.21
Baidyas	84,990	0.18	77,120	0.44
Kayasths	1,450,843	3.18	1,056,093	6.12
Total	4,228,933	9.41	2,210,067	12.77

Members of these elite Bengali castes were, almost without exception, the ones to fill the lower administrative positions of the British governing structure and they like-wise dominated in such professions as law, medicine, and education. As noted by John Broomfield, the Brahmins, Kayasths and Baidyas "were able to move into the new system because they already possessed certain skills: experience in administration and law; entrepreneurial techniques and an accustomed readiness to work in an alien lingua franca (the talents of the durbash: the go-between); literacy and experience in using that literacy in the service of organization."⁸ This ability on the part of the three Bengali elite castes not only allowed them to gain a near monopoly on the positions offered by the British Raj but also presented them with a great number of associated advantages that were not available to others within the Indian population.

One of the advantages that the Bengali bhadralok had over neighbor-

ing elite groups lay in the fact that Bengal was one of the first areas to experience the British intrusion. Simply by being in the right place at the right time and by virtue of their previous training under the Mogul Empire, the Baidyas, Brahmins and Kayasths of Bengal were able to step into the world of the Raj.

After these elites moved into the governing system, they gained knowledge that secured for them the dominance of their respective castes within the government. Whereas the British laws and the British values presented a complex puzzle to the majority of the Indian population, the bhadralok, from the vantage point that they alone enjoyed, found themselves capable of manipulating the new institutions for their own benefit. Through their association with the British, these Bengali elites became the first in northern India (in any great numbers at least) to learn English and to receive a 'western' education. The significance of this education cannot be overstated: it opened the doors of government service to the elites and it afforded them the opportunity of becoming a land-owning class.

Prior to the arrival of the East India Company, India did not possess a system of land ownership like that found in Europe. The land for all practical purposes belonged to the crown and was simply managed or controlled by government officials whose task it was to collect taxes from the peasants and to maintain order. In Bengal and neighboring Bihar the collection of revenue was usually entrusted to ancient families of rajas or zamindars. These rajas were subordinate to a district executive officer and paid to him the 'king's share' of a fixed annual income. The zamindars often had tenure of vast tracts

of land and operated as something of a semi-official agency. Besides the collection of revenue, they were expected to aid the district officials in preserving law and order. Some rajas even maintained small armies that were at the call of the emperor whenever needed. In return for such services, the zamindars were granted certain rights and privileges. They were allowed to make decisions on matters pertaining to local affairs and, as the Empire began to crumble, the tenures that they enjoyed were allowed to become hereditary. Also of great importance to the zamindar was a pension awarded to him by the government in the event that his zamindari be brought under the direct management of the Realm for either his inability or his refusal to accept the conditions of the government.⁹

Just below the zamindars in official rank were the talukdars. They held tenure over smaller tracts of land; in many cases their holdings were so small that a number of these persons paid only Rs. 1,000 annually in land revenue.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the talukdars were still superior in status to the next lower rank of revenue collectors, the mukarraridars. Often referred to as 'village zamindars' by the British, the mukarraridars held under-tenures on a permanent lease. They were a mass of small proprietors who often cultivated some of the land on their own while the remainder was let out to others. At the lowest level of revenue collection came the contractor or 'revenue farmer'.

When the Company took over the governmental role in Bengal, the British were baffled by the whole system of collection. They were schooled in the European model of the private ownership of land.

Desiring to bring order to what appeared to be chaos, the British sought to determine who were the real owners of the land in order to facilitate the collection of property taxes. In 1793, Cornwallis resolved the issue in the Permanent Settlement Act by declaring that the zamindars were the true proprietors of the soil. The zamindar was expected to collect taxes and, in return for this service, was given all property rights. The Settlement was intended to insure that revenue from the land would reach the treasury punctually and to relieve the countryside of the burden of the revenue farmer. It was hoped that, by creating a landed gentry, the landowners would remain loyal to the Raj and would take pains to increase the value of their holdings. Land taxes were fixed by the Company and any improvements to the property seemed to assure an additional source of income for the zamindars.

Unfortunately the Land Settlement Act proved a disastrous burden for the majority of the zamindars. The original revenue demands made by the British were unrealistically high and this quickly led to the sale of many of the large estates for arrears. Many zamindars, seeking escape from the high tax rates, often sold portions of their property to sub-proprietors. Other estates were divided in accordance with Hindu inheritance laws which dictated the equal division of property between sons. By the third quarter of the nineteenth century only a small percentage of the permanently settled land remained in the hands of the original zamindar families.¹¹

It has been estimated that by 1855, two thirds of the land of Bengal was in the possession of persons holding intermediate tenures of a few hundred acres.¹² The Bengal Administration Report of 1872-3

noted that:

"In 38 districts of Bengal Proper and Behar, out of a total number of 154,000 estates at present borne on the public books, 533, or .34 per cent., only are great properties with an area of 20,000 acres and upwards; 15,747, or 10.21 per cent., range from 500 to 20,000 acres in area; while the number of estates which fall short of 500 acres is no less than 137,920, or 89.44 per cent., of the whole."¹³

When rents finally rose to a level high enough for property to return a generous income, it was not the zamindars who benefitted. Within a relatively short time after the passage of the Settlement Act they lost their position of pre-eminence to the smaller land owners and it was this new class of landed proprietors that reaped the profits.

To a large degree, the estate owners receiving the greatest benefit from the failure of the Settlement were members of the Bengali Baidya, Brahmin and Kayasth castes. From their vantage point within the British governmental structure, they obtained both the wealth and the knowledge of English law necessary for them to buy land and exploit it profitably. In eastern Bengal, one out of every six rent-collectors or estate managers from the Brahmin caste and an even larger number were Kayasths. In east and north Bengal, one Brahmin out of five received rents from land and one of every twelve was either a manager of a zamindari estate or was a landlord's agent: 13.7 per cent of the Kayasths in those regions were rentiers. Of the Baidya population in eastern Bengal, approximately one third obtained rent from land and one out of ten found employment as either agents or managers of estates.¹⁴ The British intrusion proved profitable for these castes and the Bengali bhadralok worked diligently to preserve their favorable situation under the Raj.

The British, like the regimes that preceded them, found it necessary to rely on the Bengali learned castes to supply the governmental structure with bureaucratic labor. The local bhadralok were the natural source for recruitment because, under empire after empire, they determinedly obtained whatever education the particular regime demanded or required. Education provided the individual (and indirectly his caste brothers) with a way to office while it was a means to either gain or preserve status.¹⁵ The Bengali elites therefore eagerly sought to learn both the English ways and the English language.

Eventually the British Raj became convinced that an attempt should be made to educate the Indian population. This decision was based upon the belief that such an education would result in both a more stable government and produce a pool of literate Indians to fill the administrative machinery. Though it was the initial desire of the Raj to offer education to the entire population, practical considerations made it clear that such a plan could not succeed. The British finally resolved to concentrate on educating the upper and middle classes of the urban regions.¹⁶

In theory this seemed to supply an agreeable solution to the problem since the elite castes of Bengal, historically enjoying an almost absolute monopoly on education, appeared well suited to quickly learn the English language and to adapt to British customs. These classes, in turn, were expected to act as teachers and to pass on their new-found knowledge to their lower-caste brethren. If this system of 'downward filtration' proved successful, the British would find themselves ruling over a literate population created at minimal government

expense. On March 7, 1835, the Governor-General in Council therefore declared for this policy and ruled that all governmental monies appropriated for education be earmarked for the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India.¹⁷

The Bengali bhadralok were quick to avail themselves of the educational opportunities and from the very beginning, the Baidya, Brahmin and Kayasth castes dominated the institutions of higher learning in Bengal (see Table II). Only one student in ten to reach the high school,

Table II

Castes of Hindu Students in all Bengal, 1883-4¹⁸

	Colleges	High Schools	Middle English	Middle Vernacular	Primary Upper	Primary Lower
Brahmins,						
Kayasths,						
etc.	84.7	73.4	67.3	56.8	42.2	34.5
Nabasaks	9.3	14.2	16.9	20.0	24.6	28.8
Trading & in-						
termediate	6.0	11.6	14.5	20.8	28.3	29.3
castes						
Others	---	0.8	1.3	2.4	4.9	7.4

level came from a trade caste and less than one high school student in a hundred was a member of an agricultural caste. Moreover, though the great majority of the Bengali bhadralok were considered literate by the

British Raj in the year 1891, the other castes of Bengal fell far short of such numbers (see Table III).

Table III
Learning and Literacy by Caste among Male Hindus
in Bengal Proper, 1891¹⁹

	Northern Bengal		Eastern Bengal		Western Bengal	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
	Learning and literate	Percentage of (1) of caste pop.				
Brahmin	25,628	68.1	133,631	80.3	203,432	65.2
Kayasth	19,909	61.4	162,095	50.7	90,862	67.8
Baidya		N.A.	16,999	74.3		N.A.
Selected Nabasaks						
Tell	6,324	39.1	16,668	37.2	40,908	21.6
Napit	4,025	14.4	19,992	13.5	16,365	20.9
Sadgop		N.A.		N.A.	60,800	24.5
Selected trading castes						
Bania	3,908	25.8	15,856	43.1	45,307	53.2
Sunri	9,864	39.7	57,670	47.1	11,570	23.0
Selected agricultural and other castes						
Kaibartta	12,631	12.6	14,521	8.0	222,525	29.3
Chandal	2,353	3.5	17,956	2.5		N.A.

Further evidence of the educational dominance of the bhadralok is illustrated by the fact that their respective communities contained a percentage of individuals literate in English proportionally far greater than those of other Bengali castes (see Table IV). Most of the members of the trade and agricultural castes found little reason to master the English language because such knowledge, both difficult and expensive to obtain, offered them few advantages in their usual occupa-

Table IV

Knowledge of English by Caste among Literate Male Hindus
in Bengal Proper, 1891²⁰

	Northern Bengal		Eastern Bengal		Western Bengal	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
	English-knowing	Proportion to literate				
Brahmin	2,513	12.8	5,548	5.7	17,173	11.8
Kayasth	1,219	8.2	7,181	6.3	17,547	18.6
Baidya	N.A.		2,200	20.5	N.A.	
Selected Nabasaks						
Teli	115	2.4	143	1.1	1,635	5.8
Napit	35	1.2	93	0.6	821	7.2
Sadgop	N.A.		N.A.		2,627	6.4
Selected trading castes						
Bania	98	3.2	238	1.9	2,215	6.6
Sunri	128	1.7	591	1.3	349	4.1

Table IV (cont'd.)

Knowledge of English by Caste among Literate Male Hindus
in Bengal Proper, 1891

	Northern Bengal		Eastern Bengal		Western Bengal	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
	English- knowing	Proportion to literate				
<hr/>						
Selected agri- cultural and other castes						
Kaibartta	145	1.5	157	1.4	3,842	2.2
Chandal	11	0.6	62	0.4	N.A.	

tional pursuits. But for the Bengali elites, employment within the governmental structure was a part of their heritage and positions were open only to the literate. Western education was the key to office and the ability to transact business in the language of the Raj was a definite asset for the person seeking an administrative post.

Though Bengal was far ahead of most of India in the field of education, within the Presidency educational facilities varied a great deal from district to district. Calcutta, designated the capital of British India in the later half of the eighteenth century, quickly became the focal point of educational life in northern India. Students flocked to the city from all over Bengal often by-passing high schools and colleges in their home localities. By 1883, 3,756 students were enrolled in Bengali colleges and of this number, 2,445 were found in Calcutta. More-

over, more than half of the English-speaking Bengalis lived in the metropolitan area and surrounding districts of Howrah, Hooghly and the Twenty-four Parganas.²¹

It has been said that the intrusion of the British into Madras, Bombay and Bengal presented the Indian population of those regions with special opportunities and that the groups to take advantage of the opportunities became the social elites in the nineteenth century.²² This statement is not wholly correct, for in Bengal at least, the Indians profiting most by the British intrusion, the Baidyas, Brahmins and the Kayasths, possessed high social stature under the preceding empire. Displaying the same pragmatic flexibility that supported their relatively high local status under earlier regimes, these castes zealously undertook to learn western ways and to master the English language. In an effort to maintain their favorable position, these elites gained entry into the land-owning classes and monopolized the lower ranks of the governmental administrative system. In the professions of law, education and government service, these Bengali castes remained pre-eminent and unchallenged. Wishing to create a literate peasantry through a policy of downward filtration, the British unwittingly helped to secure the predominance of the bhadralok in the social structure of Bengal.

CHAPTER III

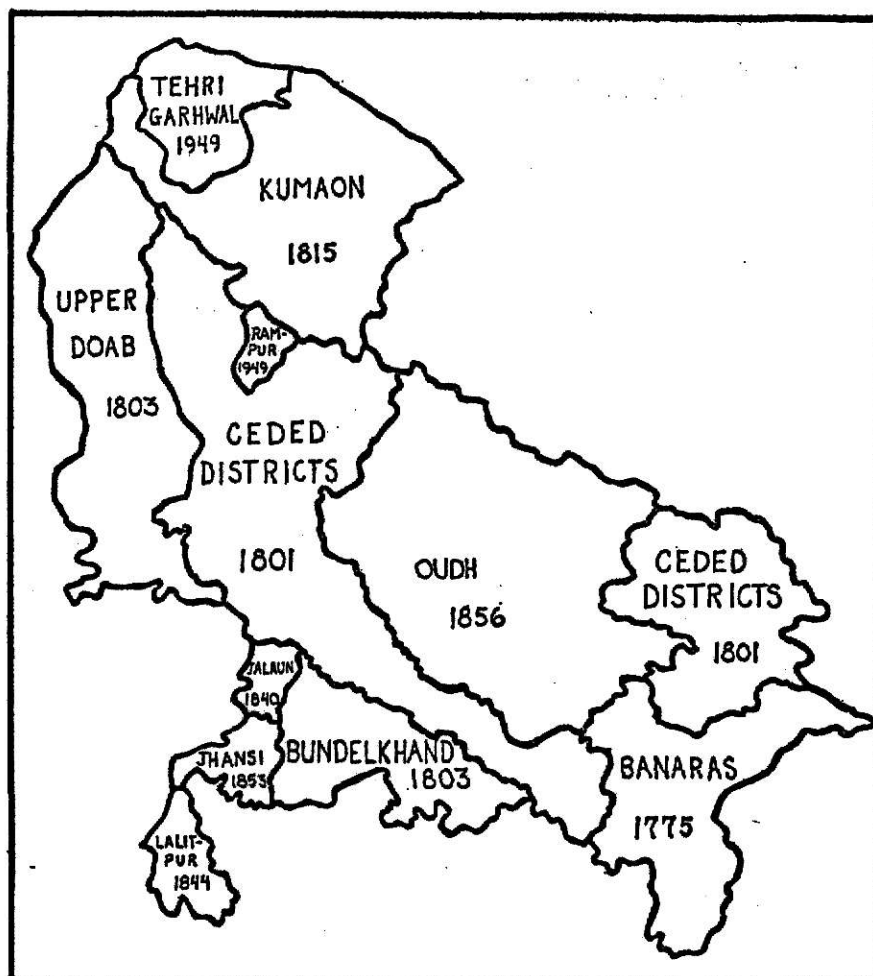
BENGALI ELITES: FILLING THE VOID

As the Raj spread its influence across the whole of India, the Bengali bhadralok were presented with even greater opportunities. When the British claimed the territories of the North-West Provinces in the first half of the nineteenth century, they brought their own form of government to those regions and, as had been the case with Bengal in the previous century, there were simply not enough Company men available to run the governmental machinery. The British therefore resolved to follow their earlier policy of leaving the lower-level administrative positions open to the Indian population. Opportunities were thus created for those experienced as solicitors, barristers, judicial and administrative officers, clerks and other ministerial officials, and educators.

The local elites could not immediately take advantage of the opportunities presented by the arrival of the British because they possessed neither the knowledge of western methods nor the ability to transact business through the medium of the English language. As a matter of fact, few persons in the region were literate even in their own language. A survey made in the North-West Provinces in 1845, for example, concluded that, out of a population of approximately 23,200,000 persons which included roughly 1,900,000 males of school-going age, only 68,200 possessed any educational instruction at all.¹ Any desires that

Map III

North-West Provinces and Dates of Annexation



the British might have had to bring the local elites into the governmental system were therefore frustrated and the way was left open for the Bengali bhadralok to fill the existing vacuum.

The Bengalis were quite prepared to take advantage of the situation and they were not at all opposed to leaving their homeland in order to secure employment. When the British earlier established hegemony over the neighboring provinces of Orissa and Assam, the elites of Bengal followed in the baggage train. According to John Broomfield, as the Raj extended its influence beyond its original points of intrusion, "the British had widened the horizons of ambition for the coastal elites, making it feasible for them to attempt an extension of their elite dominance beyond the confines of their regions."² The bhadralok had the training to fill the newly-created positions as well as the desire and the need to capitalize on the opportunities presented by the movement of the Raj up the Gangetic Plain.

Although the Brahmins, Baidyas and Kayasths of Bengal enjoyed high status within their society, their economic situation, particularly that of the landowners, experienced a rapid deterioration throughout the nineteenth century. By the second half of the 1800s, revenue received from land rents was not growing quickly enough for them to maintain themselves at the level that their social status required.³ Moreover, many of the bhadralok families that acquired great wealth from previous land investments found themselves saddled with the problem of supporting large numbers of less fortunate relations. This, coupled with the crippling Hindu custom of the equal division of estates upon the death of the land owner, made it necessary for a

sizeable percentage of the members of these castes to look elsewhere for their livelihood. In 1876, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal noted the fact that the smaller land owners were being forced to return to their traditional professional occupations by the thousands in order to supplement their diminishing incomes. By 1891, the vast majority of the Bengali elites no longer depended upon agricultural activities for their maintenance. It was found in that year that only 7 per cent. of those employed as government officers and clerks had any connection with the land. The statistics concerning the elites who followed other occupations were much the same with only 10 per cent of the lawyers, 10 per cent of those engaged as teachers and but one per cent of the literary men involved in agriculture.⁴

Unfortunately for the bhadralok, opportunities for employment in Bengal could not keep pace with the ballooning movement into the labor force and many found it necessary to look elsewhere for jobs. When the British moved into Assam and Orissa, the Bengalis were not far behind and when the territories of the North-West Provinces fell under the influence of the Raj, the Bengali elites were ready to take advantage of the British need for Indian help.⁵

As previously noted, the influence of the British in the North-West Provinces had been firmly established in the region since their victory over the Nawab of Oudh at Buxar in 1764. It was not until 1775, however, that the Raj began to acquire formal sovereignty over land belonging to the Nawab with the forced concession of the province of Benares. This acquisition marked the first step of British conquest and annexation in the region which lasted a period of 76 years. After

gaining control of Benares, the Company was initially content to use Oudh as a buffer state against the Marathas, Sikhs, Jats, and Afghans, but with the appointment of Wellesley to the office of Governor-General, British policy changed and more land was sought.

Under the direction of Wellesley in the first years of the nineteenth century, the British embarked on a drive to acquire as much territory as possible. The Nawab was forced to cede the region of Gorakhpur in the east and the lower Doab and Rohilkhand in the south and northwest. This left Oudh surrounded by the British on three sides with the Himalayas to the north. After their victory in the Anglo-Maratha War of 1803, the British won control of the upper Doab and, in the same year, a treaty from the Peshwa ceded most of Bundelkhand to the Raj.

After the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1815, Kumaon, with the exception of Garhwal, fell under British sway. Lalitpur was acquired in 1884 through a treaty with Sindhia and Jalaun and Jhansi were gained in the years 1840 and 1853 through the doctrine of "lapse." In 1856, with the annexation of the province of Oudh, the British finally controlled the entire region.

Though initially administered directly by Bengal, these territories were too large in both population and in physical size to be efficiently governed from such a distance. Efforts were therefore made to increase British control of the region and, in 1858, Allahabad became the seat of local government. The North-West Provinces were divided into nine administrative divisions which were in turn sub-divided into districts. Some divisions contained as many as eight districts (ranging

in size from less than 1,000 to more than 4,000 square miles), while others had as few as three. Population varied considerably between these divisions with Kumaun Division at the bottom of the scale (with less than one million inhabitants in the 1872 census) and with Fyzabad Division at the top (claiming almost six million residents in the same census). This collection of geographic and historical regions represented a grand incursion of the British into the interior of India, and this is where the Bengalis followed to take advantage of the opportunities created by the new government.

In some respects, the Bengalis were not new-comers to the North-West Provinces. Undoubtedly commercial concerns must have encouraged small groups of the trading castes of Bengal to venture into the interior even prior to the arrival of the British. As early as 1765, the Company government took steps to further encourage this migration when the Directors, in a policy designed to assure that no individual Europeans create problems with the various Indian governments, ordered that only native Bengali agents be allowed to remain in the interior to carry out Company trade.⁶ The policy proved to be ineffective in stemming the movement of European agents into the trade regions, but it did aid the Bengali traders by excluding competition from other Indian agents.

By 1872 the Bengalis residing in the North-West Provinces numbered almost 10,000 (with the exclusion of Oudh which was carried on a different census which did not record migration information). We can assume that they were engaged in trade activities or were perhaps employed as household servants under European masters. Such conclusions

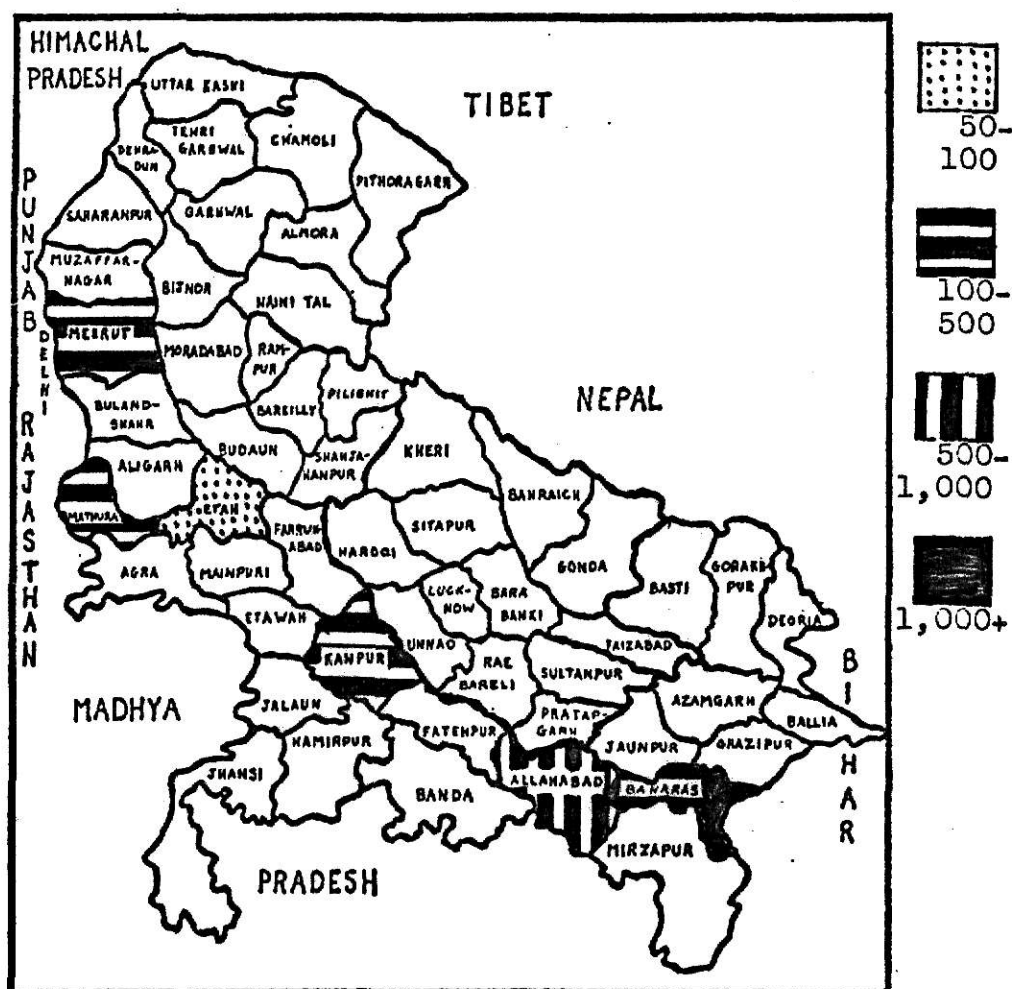
are suggested by the disproportionately small numbers of Bengali Brahmins reported in that region. Again excluding Oudh, of 3,890 males listing their birthplace as Bengal (see Map IV), only 58 were recorded as Bengali Brahmins in the 1872 Census Report. Moreover, no Bengali Kayasths or Baidyas were listed as residing in the North-West Provinces at that time. The bhadralok of Bengal, prior to 1872 at least, seem to have found little reason to leave their homelands for an uncertain future in the newly conquered lands (census data concerning the Bengali migration into the N. W. P. can be found in Appendix 'A').

Also of interest is the fact that the Bengalis who did move into the region were almost exclusively Hindus with less than a hundred individuals claiming their religion as Islam. Moreover, though it has been generally assumed that many Christian converts were among the vanguard following the conquests of the Raj, such an assumption appears to be unjustified. Whereas it was believed that European missionaries brought their converts with them to aid in spreading the Gospel, to help in the construction of the missions, to teach in the mission schools and to be servants, the 1872 census of the North-West Provinces returned only 33 Bengalis as members of the Christian religion (see Appendix 'A').

As the Bengalis made their way into the interior of India, they began to gravitate toward particular sub-regions and to form their own small and distinctly Bengali communities (see Table IV and Table V; for more complete information, see Appendix 'A'). In 1872 the greatest concentrations of migrants were found in but six of the thirty-six districts. Of a total Bengali population of 8,590 individuals, 8,443

Map IV

Showing Distribution of Male Bengalis in N.-W.P. in 1872⁷



of them were listed as residing in Meerut, Muttra, Cawnpore, Benares, Etah and Allahabad Districts. Of that number, approximately 4,500 lived in the district of Benares (see Table V).

Table V
Concentrations of Bengalis in Cities of the N.-W.P.⁸

City	Hindus	Moslems	Total of Hindus and Moslems in District
Meerut	21	76	707
Shaharanpur	15	5	34
Muttra	51	0	853
Cawnpore	247	0	256
Allahabad	973	4	984
Benares	5,340	2	5,506
Gorakhpur	29	12	47

The migrants from Bengal settled primarily in urban areas that were noted as being of major importance to the religious, governmental, and economic life of the North-West Provinces. Benares, for example, has been described as the "Sacred City of the Hindus" and was a place of pilgrimage to which thousands of faithful traveled each year. By the close of the nineteenth century, the city possessed no less than 1,450 Hindu temples and 272 Moslem mosques.⁹ The city of Muttra was another religious center and with the nearby city of Brindaban, shared the reputation of being the birthplace of Krishna.

Table VI
The Concentration of Bengalis in selected
Pergannahs (district sub-divisions) in 1872¹⁰

Pergannah	Bengalis	District	Total of Bengalis in District
Muttra	848	Muttra	853
Chail	977	Allahabad	984
Dehat Amanut	5,340	Benares	5,506
Katroee	356	Meerut	707
Jajmow (including cantonment)	234	Cawnpore	256

Cawnpore was the major industrial center of the region created by British entrepreneurs and noted for its manufacture of textiles. It contained several large cotton mills for spinning and weaving and ranked next in mercantile importance to Calcutta, Bombay, Kurachi, Madras and Rangoon.¹¹ Further assuring its position as the industrial capital of the N.-W. P. was the completion of the Cawnpore Railway Station; the rail system allowed goods to be efficiently and quickly shipped to Calcutta and later on to Delhi and Bombay.

Allahabad, like Benares and Muttra, was considered to be one of the most sacred of the Hindu cities and it also annually received large numbers of pilgrims. The importance of the city was further enhanced when, in 1858, it was made the seat of government for the North-West Provinces. In 1868, the high court was moved to Allahabad from Agra.

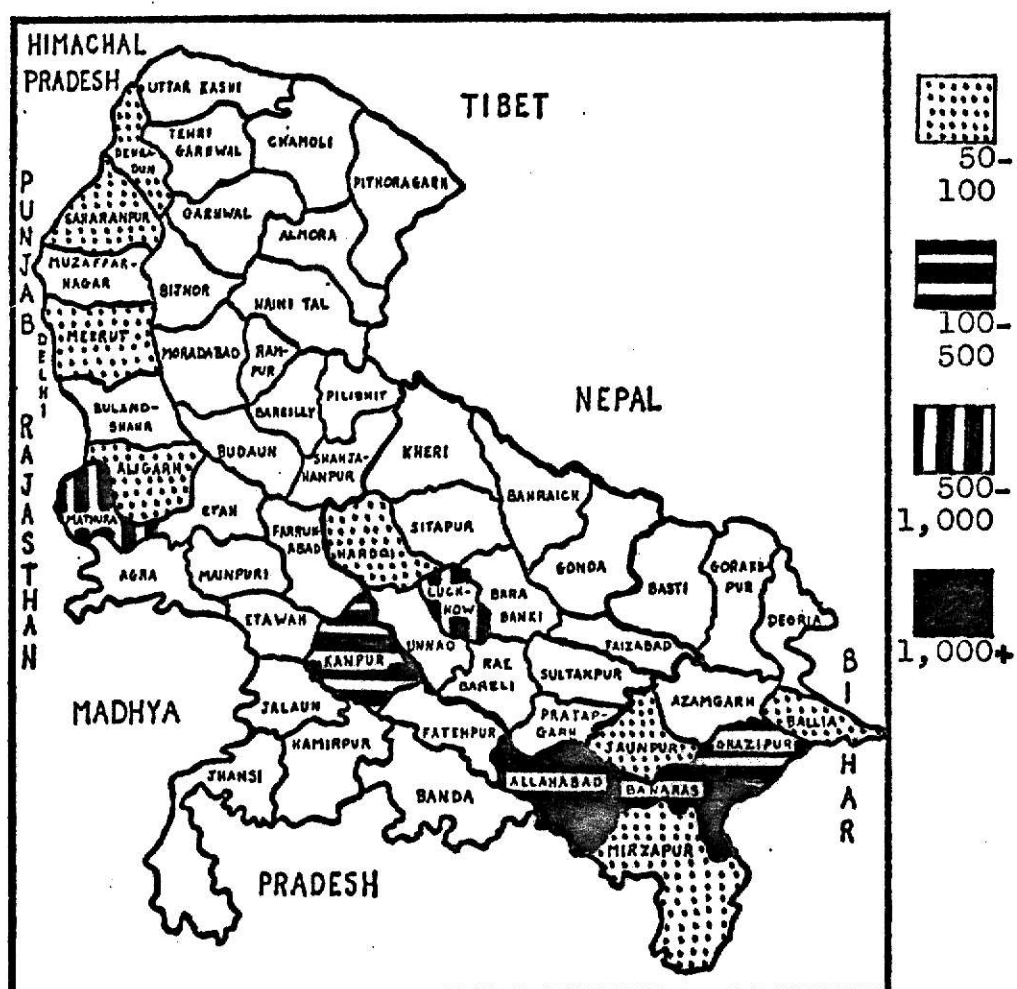
The fact that a large percentage of the Bengalis residing in the

N.-W.P. in 1872 were located in centers noted as religious sites might suggest that these people were simply transient pilgrims. Such does not seem to be the case, however. In the census of 1881, under a category listing the distribution of population by language, the numbers of Bengalis showed a marked increase over the figures of the previous census. Although the majority of the migrants from Bengal were still concentrated in such cities as Muttra, Allahabad and Benares, almost every district reported at least a few Bengali residents (see Map V on page 34). Also included in that census was the province of Oudh which showed a Bengali population of approximately 1,300 persons most of whom were located in the principal city of the province, Lucknow. This increase of Bengali residents in the North-West Provinces and their distribution into regions that were not noted as religious centers implies that the Bengalis were probably attracted to the interior by reasons not related to religious concerns.

It should be noted that in spite of the apparent dramatic increase in the number of Bengalis moving to the North-West Provinces over the duration of a ten year period (8,590 Bengalis in 1873 versus 15,134 Bengali speakers in 1881), the figures may be deceptive. The data taken from the two census reports include two separate statistical categories; whereas the Bengalis listed in the earlier report were necessarily migrants, those returned under the heading of 'Bengali speakers' might possibly have resided within the region for several generations. Undoubtedly this was the case with several individuals but because the locations of those speaking the Bengali language corresponds so closely with those who claimed Bengal as their birth-

Map V

Showing the Distribution of Male Bengali
Speakers in N.-W.P. in 1881¹²



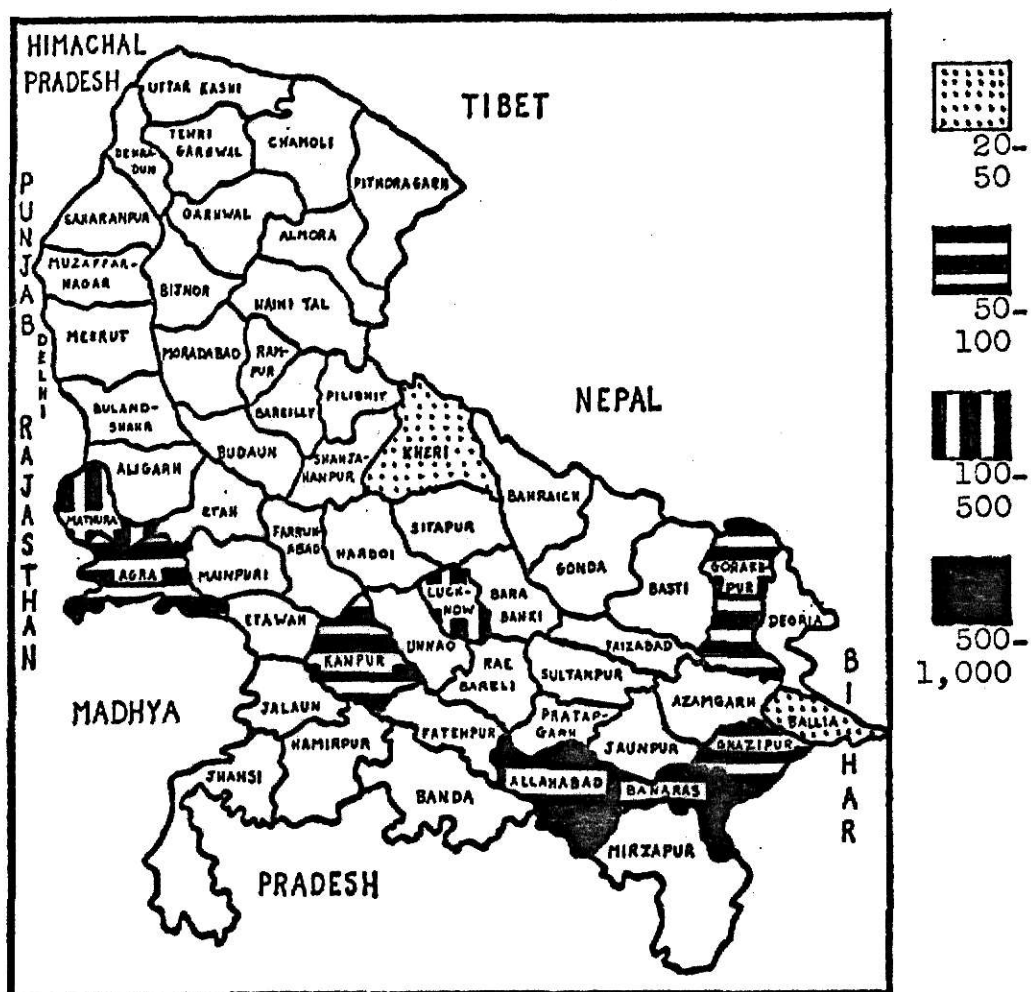
place, it may be assumed, with some degree of assurance, that the majority of the persons listed under the different headings were one in the same. This does not prove that the Bengali population actually increased in numbers over the time period, but information included in later census reports suggests that such was the case.

As previously noted, the bhadralok from Bengal were conspicuously absent in the region according to the 1872 Census. By 1891, however, a category entitled "Statement Showing Subsidiary Castes of the Brahmin, Rajpoots, and Banias for the Districts in the North-West Provinces" indicated that they too were on the move. Whereas only 58 male Bengali Brahmins lived in the Provinces in 1872, within twenty years their ranks swelled in size to 2,141. Moreover, the Bengali Kayasths, apparently too small a group to be covered in the earlier census, were represented in 1891 by over a thousand males belonging to that caste (see Map VI and Map VII).

The members of the Bengali elite castes, like their lower-status countrymen before them, settled in the principal cities of the region where the chances of finding suitable employment were the greatest. For some unexplained reason, however, certain of the cities seemed to appeal to the members of one caste, while they did not attract the members of the other. To be more precise, although nearly a thousand male Bengalis chose to live in Benares, the Kayasths showed a total of but 33 males in the entire district and only 82 male Kayasths resided in the whole division. On the other hand, though the Bengali Kayasth population was but half as large as the numbers of Bengali Brahmins across the entire region, they more than doubled the Brahmin population

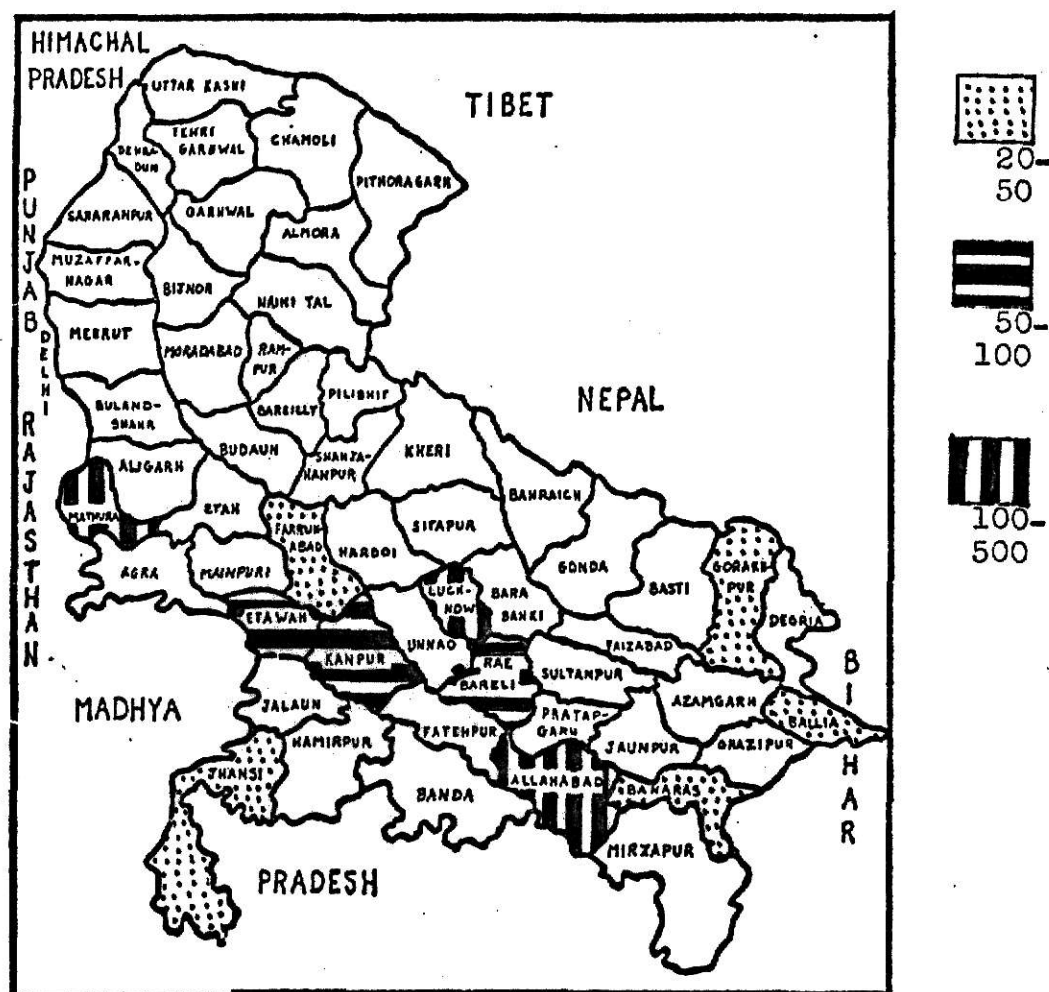
Map VI

Showing the Distribution of Bengali
Brahmin Males in N.-W.P. in 1891¹³



Map VII

Showing the Distribution of Bengali Kayasth

Males in N.-W.P. in 1891¹⁴

in Muttra District (see Table VII).

Table VII

The Concentrations of Male Bengali Kayasths and Brahmins
in the N.-W.P. in 1891 (in selected districts)¹⁵

District	Brahmin	Kayasth
Muttra	180	394
Allahabad	597	263
Benares	964	33
Lucknow	163	122
Rae Bareli	8	67
Cawnpore	95	71
Etawah	14	50
Agra	56	3

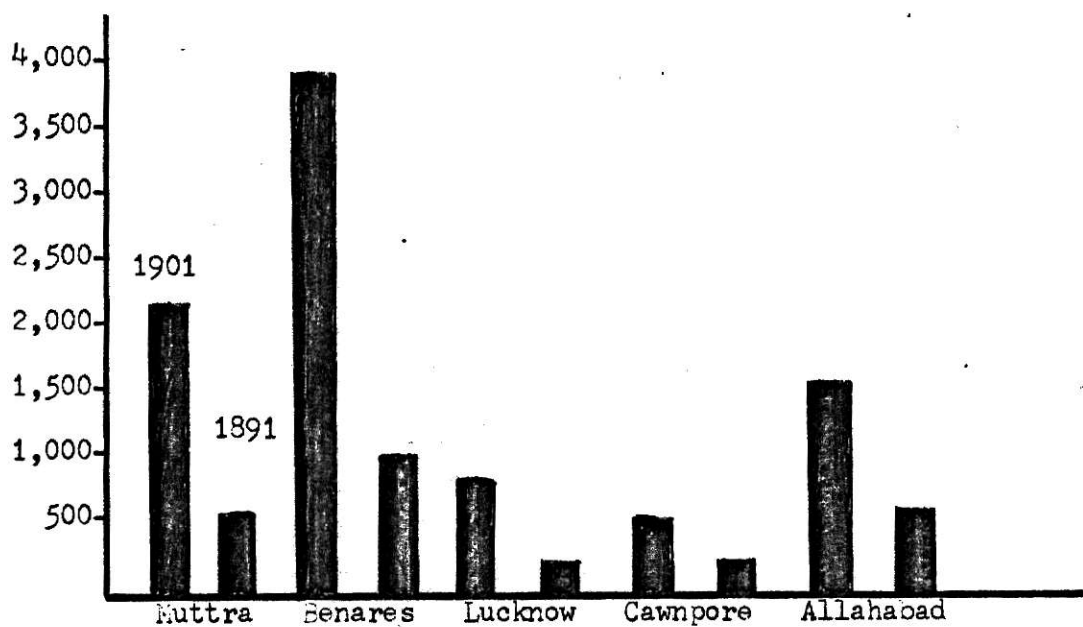
The major concentrations of the Bengali bhadralok were located in the districts of Muttra, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Benares, and Lucknow. Though almost unrepresented in the North-West Provinces only twenty years earlier, by 1891, the Bengali bhadralok community accounted for disproportionately large percentage of the Bengali population particularly in the more economically and politically important districts of the region. The 1891 Census did not include data concerning migration figures but the following census contained two categories that indicated that the elite castes of Bengal probably represented more than half of the Bengalis in certain districts. This is particularly noteworthy in

light of the fact that Brahmins, Baidyas and Kayasths as a combined total accounted for roughly ten per cent of the total population of both Bengal and Bengal Proper (see Map II).

The categories of interest in the census of 1901 listed the place of birth claimed by the inhabitants of the region and also noted the languages spoken in the North-West Provinces. If we compare the figures of those persons whose birthplace was Bengal with the data enumerating the numbers of Bengali and Bihari speakers, it becomes quite evident that many Biharis were returned as Bengalis (see Appendix A). This makes it difficult to determine the true increase of Bengali migrants but fortunately almost all of the Biharis were concentrated in Benares and Gorakhpur Divisions. Whereas there were several million Bihari speakers in the North-West Provinces in 1901, most of whom must have been residing in the region for generations, only 1,344 males who spoke Bihari lived outside of these two divisions (see Map VIII). With this in mind, it is fairly certain that those individuals claiming Bengali birth were in fact from the province of Bengal (see Map IX and Map X). Moreover, by comparing the 1901 Census to the 1881 Census, it can be seen that there was a net increase of over four thousand males who spoke Bengali. When taken as a whole, the information contained in the census reports strongly suggests that while the entire Bengali population in the North-West Provinces experienced a modest rate of growth, the Bengali bhadralok showed a dramatic increase.

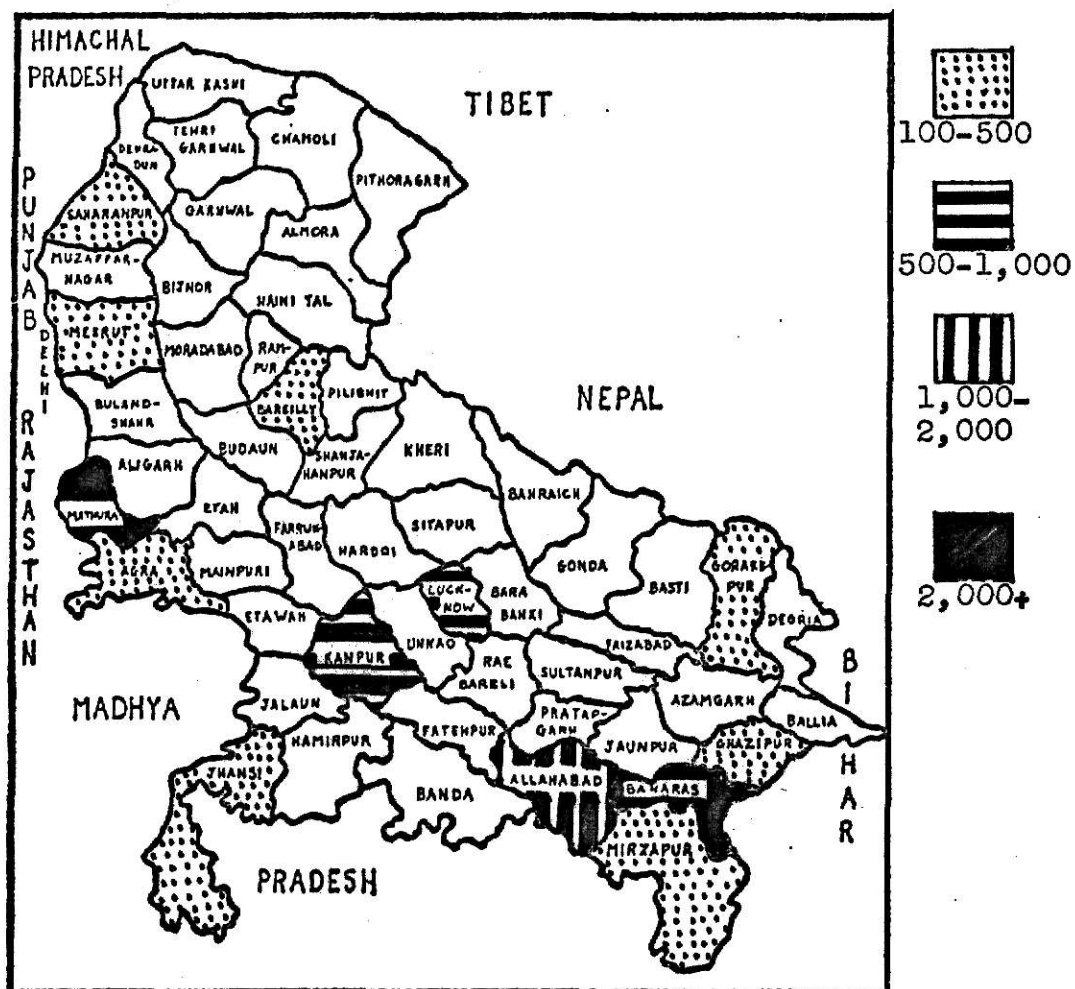
It can be assumed, with a fair degree of certainty, that the Bengali elites moved to the interior in order to improve their economic situation. As previously noted, by the close of the nineteenth century,

Table VIII
Showing Ratio of Bengali Speakers 1901 to
Bengali bhadralok 1891 in N.-W.P.¹⁶



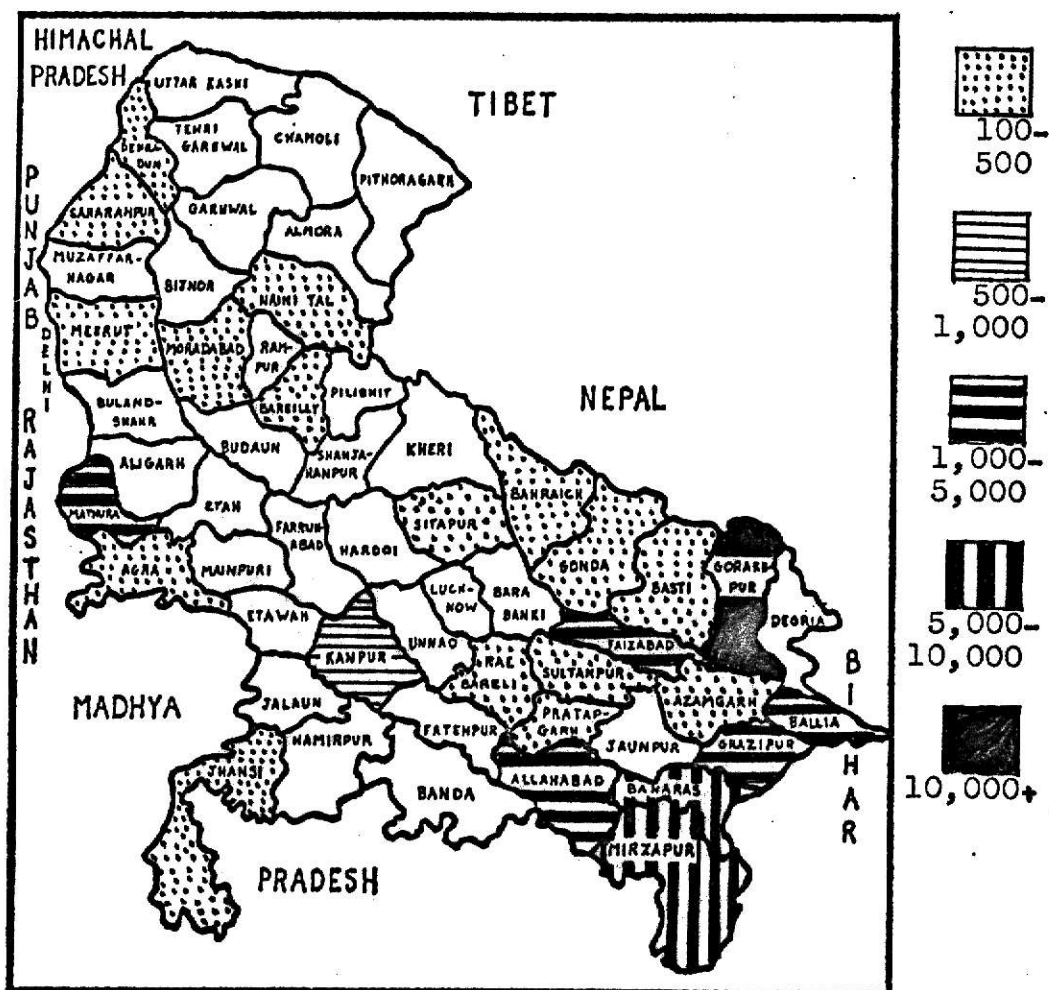
Map IX

Showing the Location of Male Bengali Speakers 1901¹⁸



Map X

Showing the Location of those claiming Birth
in Bengal 1901¹⁹



many bhadralok of Bengal found themselves in financial difficulty. Many could no longer obtain sufficient income as landlords and were forced to return to their traditional occupations as clerks, lawyers, teachers, and administrators. Because of the scarcity of jobs and the severe competition for governmental positions within Bengal, a significantly large segment of the Bengali elites found it necessary to go elsewhere to find suitable employment.

As the bhadralok traveled up the Gangetic Plain, they established inland colonies and, for a time, dominated the newly-created professional life in the up-country towns.²⁰ Although a rather high percentage of these migrants were illiterate (see Table IX), as a group they were still

Table IX

Literacy of Brahmin Bengalis in N.-W.P. in 1891²¹

Bengali Brahmins	Learning	Literate in English	Literate other language	Illiterate	Total
Males	254	345	615	1,158	2,372
Females	26	6	211	2,636	2,879

much better educated than the inhabitants of the North-West Provinces and the Punjab. Bengal, even by the close of the century, was far ahead of all other regions in providing educational facilities for its local population, and education was a must for those seeking office. The elites of Bengal thus were highly successful in gaining employment in professional occupations in both the Punjab and the North-West

Provinces.

Table X

Number of Educated (passing university entrance and
higher examinations) by Province, 1864-85²²

	Entrance	First Arts	B.A.	M.A.
Bengal	16,639	5,252	2,153	491
Punjab	1,944	341	107	11
N.-W.P. and Oudh	3,200	749	272	57

CHAPTER IV

BENGALIS AND THE PUNJAB

After its victory over the Sikh army in 1849, the Raj spread its influence across the Punjab and was once again forced to draw from the pool of educated Indians the manpower necessary to establish a regional government. As had been the case in the North-West Provinces, few members of the local elite castes possessed the knowledge of western techniques essential for those desiring employment within the administrative structure. The British were therefore initially forced to fill the government offices with personnel recruited in other provinces. Once again, by virtue of their long association with the Raj and because of their superior education, the bhadralok of Bengal had a tremendous advantage over the indigenous elites when it came to securing jobs as civil servants.

John Lawrence, appointed Governor of the Punjab, was disturbed by the successes of the Bengalis and pointed out that the "Punjabees and other vigorous races are no more willing to be managed by Bengalees than are Englishmen."¹ Wishing to increase Punjabi participation in the structure of the local government, Lawrence immediately took steps to develop a system of western education and created a Department of Public Instruction. This department in turn established a number of elementary schools which were financed and managed by the government. But despite these early efforts to introduce western education to the

Punjab, it was some time before the local educated elites could rival the literate Bengali bhadralok in either numbers or in the quality of their educations. The Bengali elites, therefore, lured by the possibility of gaining employment within the British government or perhaps drawn by the hope of furthering their professional careers, began to arrive in the Punjab in small numbers.

The Bengali communities in the Punjab were never large and their numbers remained almost constant from the years 1881 through 1911.² As in the North-West Provinces, these migrants from Bengal contained a disproportionately large percentage of members belonging to the Kayasth and Brahmin castes. According to Denzil Ibbetson in his Punjab Castes, "The Bangalis are the Bangali Baboos of our offices. They are for the most part either Brahmin or Kayasths, Bangali being of course a purely geographical term. They are to be found in offices and counting houses."³

Following the same pattern of the North-West Provinces, the Bengalis gravitated to the major towns of the region, but the sizes of their communities were subject to substantial increases and decreases apparently in relation to the availability of job opportunities (see Table XI).

The first Bengalis to follow the British into the Punjab seem to have been those individuals directly involved with the Raj. Transferred to the newly conquered lands, many British officials brought with them their personal servants and their Indian subordinates. Moreover, some evidence suggests that, in this particular province, at least, the Christian missionaries brought Indian converts with them

Table XI
Showing Bengali Population in Selected Towns
of the Punjab⁴

	1901	1891	1881
Delhi	459	118	46
Lahore	536	658	0*
Rawalpindi	568	354	748
Simla	200	259	220
Ambala	198	192	120

* probably incorrect data

to staff positions in missionary institutions.⁵

The opportunities made available by the intrusion of the Raj into the Northwest coupled with the success of their countrymen stimulated the movement of the educated bhadralok from Bengal to the Punjab. Taking advantage of the fact that the Punjabis initially had no English-speaking and westernized elite of their own, Kayasths from the North-West Provinces and Baldyas, Brahmins and Kayasths from Bengal soon created a new social group that dominated the lower-level governmental positions in the region.⁶ Because of their superior educational achievements, the Bengali bhadralok were able to maintain their dominance in the uncovenanted service for some time and were the recipients of both status and influence well out of proportion to their relatively small numbers. Due to their ability to secure employment within the administrative structure, the Bengali elites as a group

were an important and influential segment of any community even when their ranks were limited to a few dozen individuals.

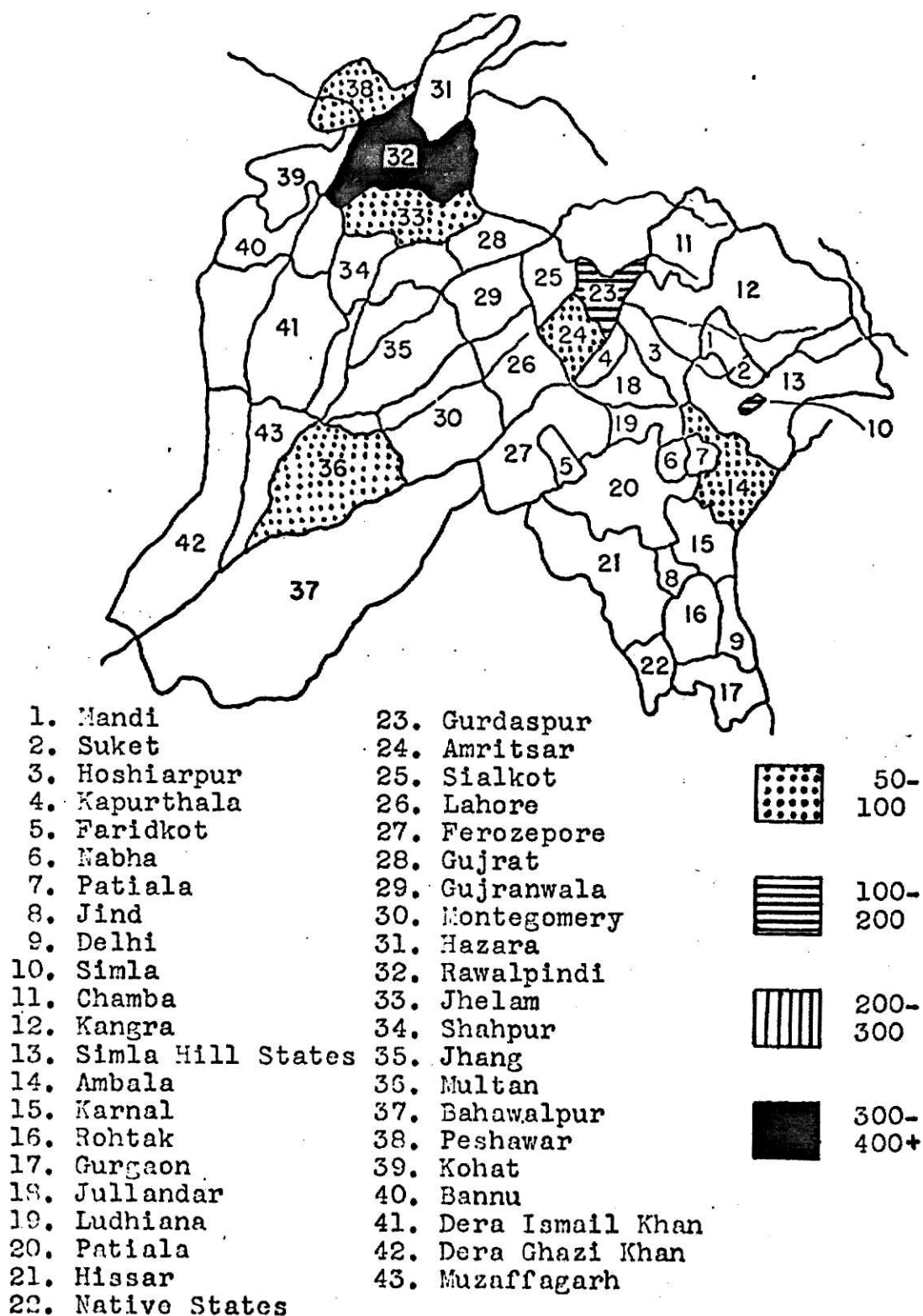
The greatest concentrations of Bengalis were to be found in the districts of Ambala, Simla, Lahore, Gurdaspur and Rawalpindi (for precise census information on the Bengali population, see Appendix 'B'). Though it is difficult to do more than speculate as to why these particular areas received the greatest impact of Bengali migrants, it is worth noting that each of these districts possessed something of a 'boom-town' quality and contained either a major military cantonment, a governmental headquarters, or was involved in large-scale railway construction.

Rawalpindi, for example, returning 462 male Bengali speakers in the 1881 Census and listing 214 males in the following census, was a focal point for major railway construction during that ten-year period and was also the center for the Rawalpindi cantonment. This cantonment was the largest and one of the most important military bases in the Punjab and, according to the Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District 1883-84, the presence of this base accounted for an unusually high rate of immigration from neighboring regions.⁷

Few if any of the Indian troops stationed in the district were Bengali: in 1893 the three Indian corps with headquarters in Rawalpindi were drawn from provinces other than Bengal and were almost exclusively Moslem or Sikh.⁸ Nevertheless, a number of British soldiers resided in the area and it would not be unrealistic to suppose that many of the Bengali migrants were servants, clerks and secretaries for the European military officers, while others found profit in establishing

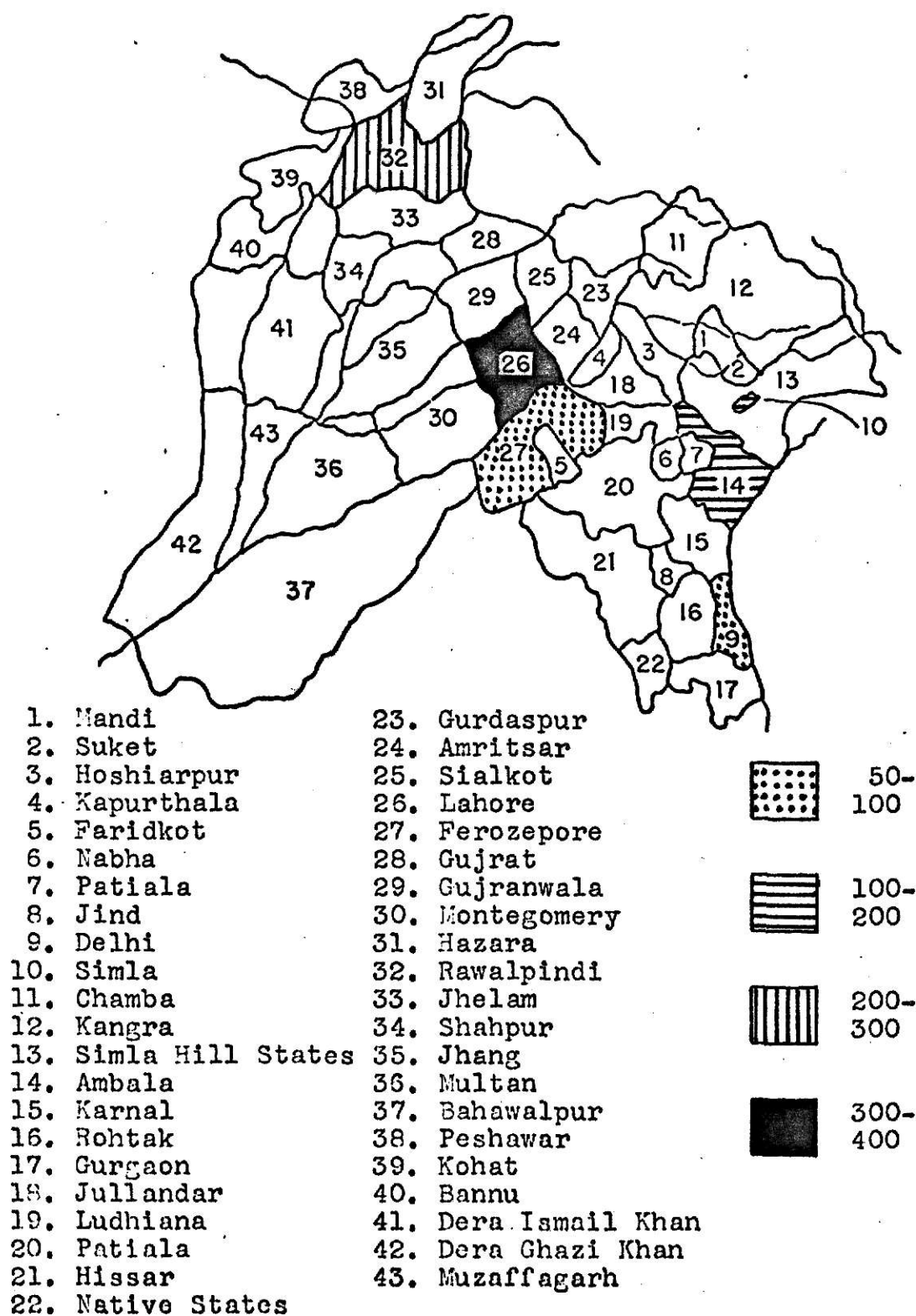
Map XI

District Map of the Punjab
Showing Distribution of Male Bengali Speakers in 1881⁹



Map XII

District Map of the Punjab
Showing Distribution of Male Bengali Speakers in 1891¹⁰



business ties to the cantonment. According to the Rawalpindi Gazetteer of 1893-94:

"Commercially, Rawalpindi acts as the feeder of the cantonments and for that purpose all kinds of articles are collected there. Wheat and other grains are largely collected and exported to other parts of the Province. Some of the commercial houses have very extensive dealings; and there are several banking houses of high standing."¹¹

In spite of the tremendous economic importance of the cantonment and the consequential effect it had upon attracting immigrants to the region, the railway construction that was taking place during this same period of time was probably of equal importance. Making note of the dramatic population increase in the district, the local Gazetteer of 1883-84 mentioned,

"The fact is that, apart from the actual work in progress at the time of the census, the construction of the Railway, and the temporary fixing of its terminus, workshops and headquarters at Rawalpindi attracted an enormous foreign population, the number of souls in the town of Pindi having risen from 28,586 to 52,975 since 1868."¹²

Unfortunately the Gazetteer did not contain any information to suggest the birthplaces of this large body of working men, but it is difficult to imagine that such a vast governmental undertaking did not attract a sizeable number of the Bengalis. Supporting this premise is the fact that the local Bengali population experienced a sharp decline between the years 1881 through 1891. This decrease in the number of Bengali residents closely corresponds with the completion of major railway construction in the region.

During this same period of time Ambala, unlike Rawalpindi, showed

an increase in the size of its Bengali community with the number of Bengali males jumping from 64 to 124. Though the district contained a military cantonment, neither in size nor in importance did it rival the cantonment in Rawalpindi. As a governmental station, however, Ambala was particularly important having been named the headquarters of a division in 1849. Its importance was further enhanced by the fact that it was the nearest station on the rail line to the summer seat of government at Simla.¹³ This proximity to Simla accounted for an unusually large number of British residents in the district which in turn created a need for Indians able to conduct business in the English language. As the center of government in its division, opportunities also existed in the administrative system for Indians literate in the language of the Raj. If we assume that Ibbetson was correct in his statement that the majority of Bengalis in the Punjab were either Brahmins or Kayasths, it is highly probable that many or perhaps most of the Bengali bhadralok found employment in Ambala in their traditional occupations as teachers, lawyers, and government clerks.

The situation existing in Simla District offered the Bengalis many similar employment opportunities. Unlike the majority of the other districts of the Punjab, Simla was not won by the British through conquest. Several years prior to the Sikh Wars, the British, seeking to escape the withering heat of the Indian summer, bought this tiny region in the hills from two local rulers. First used as a resort area by English gentlemen and their families, Simla later was established as the Summer Capital of British India. Though a transitory community, there can be no doubt that many of the Bengalis

residing in the district at the time of the 1881 and 1891 census reports were clerks who annually followed their superiors on the governmental pilgrimage. Others of the bhadralok probably stayed in Simla the year round catering to the numerous British officers who moved to the hills upon their retirement.

According to the 1891 Census, the largest concentration of Bengalis lived in Lahore District. In spite of the fact that Lahore listed 384 Bengali males as residents of the district in that year, it is almost surprising that the number was not a great deal higher. Near the close of the century the Bari Doab Canal was opened which resulted in a flood of immigrants wishing to gain ownership of the land that was ready for cultivation.¹⁴ Moreover, Lahore was both a district headquarters and the capital of the province and this too attracted migrants from all regions.

Though completely lacking in both mills and large factories at that time, individuals seeking employment often found such opportunities with the Railway.¹⁵ According to the Lahore District Gazetteer of 1883-84:

"The Railway station is the junction of the Punjab Northern State Railway, having its terminus at Peshawar, of the Mooltan and Indus Valley sections with their terminus at Karachi, and of the Delhi Section of the Sindh, Punjab and Delhi line, having connection with most of the railways and all of the principal places in India."¹⁶

Obviously a large-scale operation, a wide variety of jobs existed within the railway system for those who possessed the proper qualifications.

Though it is highly unlikely that more than a handful of the

Bengali population pursued a livelihood that was either directly or indirectly connected with the opening of the newly-irrigated lands, it is not difficult to assume that many of the migrant bhadralok found employment as lower-echelon administrative clerks with the government and with the railroads. Trained in the best schools in India, traditionally tied to administration and long aware of British values and methods, the elite castes of Bengal possessed advantages that few Punjabis, at least initially, could rival.

Gurdaspur was the only other district in the Punjab to return a significantly large Bengali community, but it appears as though the Bengalis in that region were almost exclusively involved with occupations of a transient nature. Whereas in the 1881 Census it was reported that 251 Bengali speakers lived within the district, by 1891, the number dropped to only 34 individuals. There is also some reason to suspect that the 1881 statistics were in error because data presented in a separate category but in the same census listed only 40 persons claiming Bengal as their birthplace (see Appendix B). Statistical information on immigration figures in the Punjab often contained numerous inaccuracies because many of the early enumerators were confused as to the locations of towns outside of the region. Individuals from Orissa, Bihar or even Assam were sometimes returned as emigrants from Bengal or from the North-West Provinces, so it is altogether possible that census figures for this district were completely distorted.¹⁷

Assuming, however, that the data concerning Bengali speakers was correct, it is highly likely that those individuals were employed in

the construction of the Amritsar and Pathankot Railway. The 1883 Gazetteer of the district mentioned that the line was expected to reach its completion by the following year.¹⁸ The end of railway construction in that area no doubt resulted in a relocation of the labor force and could account for the sharp decrease in the local Bengali population. Regardless of the reason for the decline, however, there is little evidence for us to assume that the Bengalis had more than a passing interest in this district.

In both the Punjab and the North-West Provinces the ratio of Bengalis to the local populace was exceedingly small, but the census figures do not indicate the sizeable social influence and prestige possessed by the Bengali bhadralok communities across the Gangetic Plain. In an article dealing with the Bengali elites in the Punjab, Kenneth Jones noted that the Punjabis could not offer the Bengalis economic competition until well toward the close of the century.¹⁹ Much the same situation existed in the North-West Provinces where the Bengalis, representing the most highly educated and westernized group in the region, secured commercial and governmental employment out of all relation to their small numbers. But the supremacy of the Bengali bhadralok, unrivaled for decades along the path of the Ganges, came under increasing attack from the members of the local elites who availed themselves of the educational opportunities offered by the British Raj.

CHAPTER V

IN CONCLUSION

Relying on information from several sources, most importantly the Census Reports extending from 1872 to 1901, it is clear that significantly large number of Bengalis left their homeland and established communities all across the face of the Gangetic Plain. These sources also reveal to us that an unusually high percentage of the migrants were members of the Bengali bhadralok. It is interesting to note, however, that the movement of the bhadralok did not occur until about the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

This presents the historian with something of a problem, since it has been generally assumed that the members of the Bengali elite castes, taking advantage of their superior education and their long association with the English, followed in the van of the British conquests and were quick to find employment in the newly-won territories. It should be remembered that most of the region that later came to be called the North-West Provinces was under the control of the Raj for more than half a century before the Bengalis began to arrive in strength.

Even more puzzling is the fact that the Bengali migration came at about the same time that the local elites were producing a western-educated class of their own. Why the Bengalis did not migrate earlier and why they began to move only when the various regional elites could

provide them with competition for employment are difficult questions to explain.

In order to deal with these questions we must first attempt to understand why an individual might feel it necessary to leave the security of his homeland to seek his fortune. In this matter, it appears as though a person resolves upon a course of emigration generally for one of the following three reasons: (a) because conditions are so unfavorable within his homeland that he feels compelled to leave; (b) because conditions look so favorable in another region that he is drawn away; and (c) because of a combination of the two preceding reasons. In the case of the Bengali migration, there is evidence which suggests that they were both pushed and pulled in the direction of the British conquests, but the factors which finally led to a movement of individuals away from Bengal were not particularly strong until relatively late in the nineteenth century.

In the first half of the 1800s, when the Raj was in the process of extending its borders all across the Gangetic Plain, life for the Bengali bhadralok was generally quite pleasant. Due to the Permanent Settlement Act passed by Lord Cornwallis in 1793, members of the Bengali Brahmin, Baidya and Kayasth castes were able to move into the world of the landed aristocracy. Trained in the customs and the practices of the British rulers, many bhadralok families saw opportunities for social and economic gain in the Settlement and quickly bought estates forfeited by the zamindars for tax arrears.

For those of the Bengali elite castes who did not take advantage of the new property laws, there were a great many opportunities for

'high-status' employment within the administrative structure of the Raj. The establishment of the British rule created a need for a large number of pleaders, doctors, teachers, and business clerks; the persons most able to fill this need were members of the Bengali bhadralok. Thus for some time the elite castes of Bengal were subjected to few pressures strong enough to warrant participation in the uncertain future of migration. The British did not rule Bengal as tyrants, and the native population was generally free to carry on life as usual under the new government. Moreover, Bengal was the focal point of British rule in India and it was there that the bhadralok found the best chance of gaining employment.

By the last third of the century, however, conditions for the bhadralok showed a marked deterioration. Because of Hindu inheritance practices, estates once large enough to provide a substantial income were so greatly sub-divided that they could no longer provide adequate revenue for the landlords. Faced with an economic crisis, many of the bhadralok families were forced to leave the land to seek employment in traditional occupations. The Brahmins, Kayasths and Baidyas who returned to the cities often found employment opportunities in short supply. Over several generations the numbers of Bengalis possessing advanced degrees substantially increased and the competition for professional and governmental jobs grew exceptionally fierce. As more and more of the bhadralok moved into the job market, economic pressures increased and migration, though filled with hazards, appeared to many to be the only acceptable course. In desperation a steadily growing stream of Bengalis set out from their homelands and made their way up

the Gangetic Plain in search of employment. For these people migration was not an option; it was an economic necessity.

When the British first took possession of the North-West Provinces the burden of governing the region put a tremendous strain on the administrative structure of the Raj. Short on funds and manpower, for quite some time the British governed the newly annexed territories directly out of Bengal, and it was not until well into the nineteenth century that they were able to establish enough administrative headquarters to allow for efficient local control. Eventually the governmental system developed to a point sufficient for the region to be ruled as a separate administrative unit and the Raj began to search for literate and English-speaking Indians to fill the lower-echelon positions. Almost without exception, the persons possessing the qualifications for employment were members of the Bengali bhadralok.

Initially unrivaled by the local elites, the Bengali Brahmins and Kayasths found themselves particularly successful at gaining office and, as word of their good fortunes filtered back to Bengal, kinsmen and caste brothers swelled the ranks of the exodus. Following the conquest of the Punjab in 1849 and with the annexation of Oudh in 1856, much the same migration pattern developed in those regions.

The bhadralok and other Bengalis who wished to better their social or economic situation by moving into the neighboring territories found their migration plans greatly aided by the transportation network introduced by the Raj. In 1839 the British commenced the construction of the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Delhi which was eventually linked to the major cities of India. For those individuals

who wished to travel in greater comfort, passage could be booked on the steam ships that traversed the Ganges. At a somewhat later date but at the height of migration, travel became even more conveniently rapid upon the completion of a rail system stretching from coast to coast. The railways not only reduced travel time and increased mobility but also provided the emigrants with ties to the various Bengali communities and with their homeland.

The advent of rail traffic also allowed for the development of industry and the increase of commerce within the interior of India. Its importance on the economic life of the North-West Provinces and the Punjab cannot be easily overstated. Recognizing the impact that the introduction of rail traffic had upon the Indian economy, Percival Spear noted that the rail system:

"... was decisive for Indian economic development in a number of ways. Firstly they not only provided a track along which goods could be transported, but carriages to transport them. Henceforth fuel could be brought to the centres of power and production, and the products of those centres could be distributed cheaply and widely. . . . The way was thus paved for the development of large-scale industries. It was no accident that the development of jute and cotton, the coal and iron, and the plantation industries progressed slowly before 1850 and occurred in quick succession thereafter. . . . Also . . . the construction of railways commenced a new phase of capital import into India and popularized the joint-stock method organizing trade and finance."¹

As industry grew, so grew the need for Indian workers. Though the majority of industrial jobs were unfit and demeaning for Indians of high caste, other positions of greater social acceptability were open to the members of the bhadralok. Here again the Bengali elite

castes, enjoying a decided educational superiority over the local elites, were presented with employment opportunities. Moreover, benefitting from the development of industry, commercial concerns flourished across the Gangetic Plain and within these businesses positions opened to the English-speaking and literate classes. The Bengali bhadralok were quick to see possibilities in the mushrooming growth of Indian trade and industry and, after serving the equivalent of an apprenticeship as banyans or brokers in European firms, many of these individuals later established firms of their own.²

From the information provided by Ibbetson of Bengalis in the Punjab and because of the tremendous increase in size of the Bengali bhadralok communities that took place in the North-West Provinces (from 58 male Bengali Brahmins in 1872 to 2,141 Brahmins and 1,010 Kayasths in 1891, see Appendix A), it would not be out of line to conclude that these persons were particularly adept at securing employment in their new homelands. It would furthermore be safe to assume that the Bengalis, enjoying advantages initially unavailable to the upper castes of the Indian interior, for some time dominated the professional and administrative offices in the up-country towns to the detriment of the local elites.

For a period of roughly twenty to thirty years the Bengalis were able to prevail in the job market over the rival castes, but each year the struggle to maintain their superiority became increasingly difficult. Whereas the Bengali bhadralok upon first arriving in the new territories of the Raj clearly represented the most educated and westernized group in the region, members of the local elite castes in

greatly increasing numbers began to enter the British educational system. Within a period of twenty years (between 1872 and 1891) the number of colleges in the North-West Provinces, Oudh and the Punjab grew from ten to eighteen and the size of pupil enrollment jumped from 267 to 1,773.³ At the close of the century the local elites were successfully competing with the Bengalis for employment at all levels.

No longer the unrivaled educated elite in the area; by the 1890s, the bhadralok from Bengal found themselves falling on hard times and, according to Broomfield, were unable to take advantage of the employment opportunities in the North-West Provinces that they once dominated so completely. Moreover, the new indigenous educated groups came to view the migrants as 'outsiders' and demanded of the local government that the Bengalis be excluded from administrative employment.⁴

Much the same situation existed for the Bengali elite castes residing in the Punjab. In the census of 1891 it was noted that the total of Bengali clerks in the province showed a met decline in numbers. Kenneth Jones, in his article on Bengali elites, suggested that these figures indicated that the replacement of non-Punjabi clerks by Punjabis was well under way and was the cause for the drop in the Bengali population in that region.⁵ This position is probably somewhat overstated, however, because it assumes that the Bengalis were losing many of their jobs to their Punjabi competitors, and does not take into account a variety of other factors that very possibly contributed to the outward movement of many of the Bengali bhadralok.

It should be remembered, for instance, that railway construction, a vast enterprise that attracted migrants from all over India, was

essentially completed in the Punjab by the end of the century. Bengalis gaining a livelihood by catering to the needs of this transient labor force saw their source of income wither away and found it necessary to look elsewhere for employment. These individuals were not replaced by Punjabis; their jobs simply ceased to exist in that area.

We must also keep in mind that many of the Bengalis who migrated to the Punjab did so because of their inability to find work in their homeland. No doubt a sizeable percentage of these individuals were illiterate and possessed little in the way of salable skills (see Table IX). As such, in contrast to their educated kinsmen, their ability to compete with the local population was severely limited. For those unable to work, there was scant reason to remain in the interior. To these unfortunate individuals, returning to the protection and the charity of their families in Bengal was one of the few alternatives available. But even for the educated bhadralok there was no assurance of employment; the openings in government and industry were quickly filled and competition for those jobs was extremely intense. It is highly likely that many of these persons, after taking stock of the situation, resolved to return to their homes.

There is no argument that many positions once occupied by Bengalis were later filled by members of the local elite castes. It is doubtful, however, that the Bengalis were actually removed from office in order to make way for their Punjabi rivals. Such a policy was advocated by elements of the educated Punjabi castes, and the British themselves harbored reservations about employing Bengalis within the local administrative structure feeling that it would be a "dangerous

experiment to place a successful student from the Colleges of Calcutta in command over any of the martial tribes of Upper India."⁶ But in spite of such pressures, many Bengalis obtained governmental positions and it is questionable that the Raj would remove experienced Bengali clerks from office to be replaced by educated but relatively untrained Punjabis. It is more likely that replacement came about as a result of natural attrition; when a Bengali official retired from the Service, his job would be filled by an immediate subordinate. In turn, a number of individuals moved up one notch on the employment ladder and a vacancy would be created at the lowest level. It was here in the scramble for advancement that the pressures from the Punjabi elite castes were probably the most effective. In the competition between equals, the existence of increasing outside pressure coupled with the British distaste for the Bengali bhadralok, resulted in an informal governmental policy of deferential treatment toward Punjabi aspirants. With these forces at work, the eventual domination of the local administrative positions by the indigenous population was inevitable.

By the close of the century it is clear that the Bengali communities in both the Punjab and the North-West Provinces were suffering from a contraction of opportunities. As a result of increasing competition from local elites and because of the emergence of regional consciousness, the Bengali bhadralok found their supremacy first challenged and then negated in their new homelands. While the change in fortune dictated a return to Bengal for some, the majority of the migrants chose to remain in the interior but never again did the Bengali bhadralok enjoy the influence, the status and the power that

was once almost exclusively their domain.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I:

¹ Percival Spear, A History of India (Baltimore: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1965), Vol. 2, p. 31.

² J. H. Broomfield, "The Regional Elites: A Theory of Modern Indian History," Indian Economic and Social History Review, III (Sept., 1966), p. 280.

³ Spear, History of India, p. 82.

⁴ Percival Spear, The Nabobs (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 3.

⁵ Spear, History of India, p. 81.

⁶ Spear, Ibid.

⁷ Philip Woodruff, The Men Who Ruled India: I, The Founders (New York: Schocken Books, 1953), p. 100.

⁸ Percival Spear, Oxford History of India (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 31.

⁹ Spear, History of India, p. 95.

¹⁰ Anil Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 8.

¹¹ Seal, Emergence, p. 11.

¹² Spear, History of India, p. 95.

CHAPTER II:

¹ J. H. Broomfield, "The Regional Elites: A Theory of Modern Indian History," in Indian Economic and Social History Review, III, No. 3, (Sept., 1966), p. 280.

² Anil Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and

Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 39.

³Seal, Emergence, p. 39.

⁴Seal, Ibid., p. 40.

⁵Seal, Ibid., p. 41.

⁶J. Wise, "Notes on the Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal" (privately printed, 1883), p. 313 as found in Seal, Emergence, p. 41.

⁷Report of the Census of Bengal 1881, 3 Vols., by J. A. Bourdillon (Calcutta, 1883), Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, p. 240; Vol. III, p. 756.

⁸Broomfield, "Regional Elites," p. 280.

⁹B. B. Misra, The Indian Middle Classes; Their Growth in Modern Times (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 121.

¹⁰Misra, Ibid., p. 120.

¹¹Seal, Emergence, p. 52.

¹²Misra, Indian Middle Classes, p. 134.

¹³Misra, Ibid., p. 131.

¹⁴Seal, Emergence, p. 40.

¹⁵Seal, Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁶Misra, Indian Middle Classes, p. 151.

¹⁷Misra, Ibid., p. 152.

¹⁸Calculated from RDPI (Bengal) 1883-4, Subsidiary Table I, xii as found in Seal, Emergence, p. 61.

¹⁹C. J. O'Donnell, The Lower Provinces of Bengal and their Feudatories. The Report. Census of India, 1891, Vol. III (Calcutta, 1893), p. 229.

²⁰ 1891 Census, Bengal, III, p. 229.

²¹ Seal, Emergence, p. 59.

²² Broomfield, "Regional Elites," p. 279.

CHAPTER III:

¹ Edward Thompson and G. T. Garret, Rise and Fulfillment of British Rule in India (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1962), p. 313.

² Broomfield, "The Regional Elites," p. 279.

³ Seal, The Emergence, p. 55.

⁴ Minute by R. Temple, 14 January 1876, p. 15, "Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1874-75" (Calcutta, 1876), as quoted in Seal, Emergence, p. 57.

⁵ Broomfield, "Regional Elites," p. 286.

⁶ Misra, The Indian Middle Classes, p. 85.

⁷ Census of the N.-W. Provinces 1872, Vol. 2, by W. C. Ploughden (Allahabad, 1873), Appendix A, pp. 2-451.

⁸ 1872 Census Report, Vol. 2, Appendix A.

⁹ Keene's Handbook for Visitors; Allahabad, Cawnpore and Lucknow (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1896), p. 75.

¹⁰ 1872 Census Report, Vol. 2, Appendix A.

¹¹ Keene's Handbook, p. 280.

¹² Census of the N.-W.P. and Oudh, Form IX, by Edmund White (Allahabad, 1882), p. 3.

¹³ Census of India 1891, Vol. XVI, The North-Western Provinces and Oudh, by D. C. Baillie (Allahabad, 1894), Part III, Table XVI, p. 30

- ¹⁴ Census of India, 1891, Vol. XVI, Part III, Table XVI, p. 67.
- ¹⁵ Census of India, 1891, Vol. XVI, Part III, Table XVI, p. 30, 67.
- ¹⁶ Census Reports of 1901 and 1891.
- ¹⁷ Census of India, Vol. XVI, N.-W. Provinces and Cudh, by R. Burns (Allahabad, 1902), Table X, p. 133.
- ¹⁸ 1901 Census Report, N.-W.P., Table X, p. 135.
- ¹⁹ 1901 Census Report, N.-W.P., Table XI, pp. 170-73.
- ²⁰ Broomfield, "Regional Elites," p. 286-7.
- ²¹ 1891 Census Report N.-W.P., p. 6.
- ²² Tabulated from Report of the Public Services Commission 1886-87, as found in Seal, Emergence, p. 18.

CHAPTER IV:

- ¹ B. B. Misra, The Indian Middle Classes, p. 136.
- ² Kenneth W. Jones, "The Bengali Elite in Post-Annexation Punjab: An Example of Inter-Regional Influence in 19th Century India," in David Kopf (Ed.), Bengal Regional Identity (Michigan University Press, Jan., 1969), p. 143.
- ³ Denzil Ibbetson, Punjab Castes (Lahore: Government Printing, 1916), p. 263.
- ⁴ Government of India, Report on the Census of the Punjab, Vol. II, by Denzil Ibbetson (Calcutta, 1883), Table XI, p. 14; Government of India, Census of India 1891, The Punjab, Its Feudatories, and the North-West Frontier Provinces, Part I, The Report of the Census, Vol. XVII, by E. D. Maclagan (Calcutta, 1892), Table X, p. 119; Jones, "The Bengali Elite," p. 389.
- ⁵ Jones, "Bengali Elite," p. 377.

⁶Jones, "Bengali Elite," p. 377.

⁷Punjab Government, Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District 1883-4, by Fred A. Robertson (Lahore, 1887), p. 45.

⁸Punjab Government, Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District 1893-4, by Fred A. Robertson (Lahore, 1895), p. 249.

⁹Census of India 1881, Report on the Census of the Punjab, Vol. 2, Table IX, by Denzil Charles Jelf Ibbetson (Calcutta, 1883), p. 4.

¹⁰Census of India, 1891, The Punjab and its Feudatories, The Report of the Census, Vol. XX, by E. D. Maclagan (Calcutta, 1892), p. 119.

¹¹Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District 1893-4, p. 257.

¹²Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District 1883-4, p. 45.

¹³Punjab Government, Gazetteer of the Ambala District 1883-4 (Calcutta, 1887), p. 66.

¹⁴Punjab Government, Gazetteer of the Lahore District 1883-4 (Calcutta, 1885), p. 41.

¹⁵Gazetteer of the Lahore District 1883-4, Table XLV-A, p. xxvi.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 181-2.

¹⁷Jones, "Bengali Elite," p. 390.

¹⁸Punjab Government, Gazetteer of the Gurdaspur District 1883-4 (Lahore, 1884), p. 78.

¹⁹Jones, "Bengali Elite," p. 286-7.

CHAPTER V:

¹Spear, Oxford History of Modern India, pp. 199-200.

²Misra, The Indian Middle Classes, p. 103.

³Seal, Emergence, p. 19.

⁴Broomfield, "The Regional Elites," p. 287.

⁵Jones, "The Bengali Elite," p. 389.

⁶Misra, The Indian Middle Classes, p. 373.

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Appendix A: Table 1

Bengali Brahmins Residing in the N.-W.P. in 1872*

	Male	Female		Male	Female
<u>Meerut Division</u>			<u>Allahabad Division</u>		
Dehra Dun	--	--	Allahabad	--	--
Saharanpur	3	1	Jhansi	--	--
Muzaffarnagar	--	--	Jalaun	--	--
Meerut	--	--	Lalitpur	--	--
Bulandshahr	--	--			
Aligarh	--	--			
Total	3	1	Total	18	10
<u>Agra Division</u>			<u>Benares Division</u>		
Muttra	--	--	Benares	--	--
Agra	8	2	Mirzapur	20	23
Farukhabad	--	--	Jaunpur	--	--
Mainpuri	--	--	Ghazipur	--	--
Etawah	--	--	Ballia	--	--
Etah	--	--			
Total	8	2	Total	20	23
<u>Rohilkhand Division</u>			<u>Gorakhpur Division</u>		
Bareilly	9	7	Gorakhpur	--	--
Bijnor	--	--	Basti	--	--
Budaun	--	--	Azamgarh	--	--
Moradabad	--	--			
Shahjahanpur	--	--			
Pilibht	--	--			
Total	9	7	Total	--	--
<u>Allahabad Division</u>			<u>Kumaun Division</u>		
Cawnpore	--	--	Kumaun	--	--
Fatehpur	--	--	Garhwal	--	--
Banda	18	10	Tarai	--	--
Hamirpur	--	--	Total	--	--
			Total N.-W.P.	58	43

* Census of the North-West Provinces 1872, Vol. I, No. V.B.
(Supplement) by W. C. Ploughden (Allahabad, 1873), pp. 147-172.

Appendix A: Table 2

Individuals Residing in the N.-W.P. in 1872 Claiming Birth in Bengal*

	Male	Female		Male	Female
<u>Meerut Division</u>			<u>Allahabad Division</u>		
Dehra Dun	--	--	Allahabad	536	448
Saharanpur	2	--	Jhansi	--	--
Muzaffarnagar	--	--	Jalaun	--	--
Meerut	401	306	Lalitpur	--	--
Bulandshahr	1	--			
Aligarh	--	--			
Total	403	306	Total	699	541
<u>Agra Division</u>			<u>Benares Division</u>		
Muttra	268	585	Benares	2,352	3,153
Agra	5	1	Mirzapur	3	3
Farukhabad	--	--	Jaunpur	14	6
Mainpuri	1	--	Ghazipur	5	1
Etawah	--	--	Ballia	--	--
Etah	53	62			
Total	327	648	Total	2,374	3,163
<u>Rohilkhand Division</u>			<u>Gorakhpur Division</u>		
Bareilly	3	1	Gorakhpur	32	15
Bijnor	--	--	Basti	--	--
Budaun	30	17	Azamgarh	--	--
Moradabad	1	--			
Shahjahanpur	21	13			
Pilibht	--	--			
Total	55	31	Total	32	15
<u>Allahabad Division</u>			<u>Kumaun Division</u>		
Cawnpore	163	93	Kumaun	--	--
Fatehpur	--	--	Garhwal	--	--
Banda	--	--	Tarai	--	--
Hamirpur	--	--	Total	--	--
			Total N.-W.P.	3,890	4,704

* Census of the N.-W. Provinces 1872, Vol. 2, Appendix A by W. C. Ploughden (Allahabad, 1873), pp. 2-451.

Appendix A: Table 3
Districts, Numbers and Religions of Bengalis Residing in the
N.-W.P. in 1872^{*}

	Hindu		Moslem		Christian	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<u>Meerut Division</u>						
Saharanpur	1	-	-	-	1	-
Bulandshahr	1	-	-	-	-	-
Meerut	331	273	67	30	3	3
Total	333	273	67	30	4	3
<u>Agra Division</u>						
Muttra	268	585	-	-	-	-
Agra	-	-	-	-	5	1
Mainpuri	1	-	-	-	-	-
Etah	53	62	-	-	-	-
Total	322	647	-	-	5	1
<u>Rohilkhand Division</u>						
Bareilly	3	1	-	-	-	-
Budaun	20	17	-	-	10	-
Moradabad	1	-	-	-	-	-
Shahjahanpur	16	13	5	-	-	-
Total	40	31	5	-	10	-
<u>Allahabad Division</u>						
Cawnpore	163	93	-	-	-	-
Allahabad	534	446	2	2	-	-
Total	697	539	2	2	-	-
<u>Benares Division</u>						
Benares	2,348	3,151	1	1	3	1
Mirzapur	3	3	-	-	-	-
Jaunpur	14	6	-	-	-	-
Ghazipur	-	-	-	-	5	1
Total	2,365	3,160	1	1	8	2
<u>Gorakhpur Division</u>						
Gorakhpur	20	15	12	-	-	-
Total	20	15	12	-	-	-
<u>Total N.-W.P.</u>	3,176	4,665	87	33	27	6

^{*} Census of the N.-W. Provinces 1872, Vol. 2, by W. C. Ploughden (Allahabad, 1873), Appendix A, pp. 2-451.

Appendix A: Table 4
Bengali Speakers Residing in the N.-W.P. in 1881*

	Male	Female		Male	Female
<u>Meerut Division</u>			<u>Benares Division</u>		
Dehra Dun	62	36	Jaunpur	90	44
Saharanpur	78	68	Ghazipur	119	87
Muzaffarnagar	9	2	Ballia	53	50
Meerut	74	61	Total	3,570	5,218
Bulandshahr	18	8	<u>Gorakhpur Division</u>		
Aligarh	75	48	Gorakhpur	21	17
Total	316	223	Basti	5	7
<u>Agra Division</u>			Azamgarh	17	16
Muttra	908	1,424	Total	43	40
Agra	48	33	<u>Kumaun Division</u>		
Farukhabad	8	5	Kumaun	13	7
Mainpuri	8	2	Garhwal	6	1
Etawah	11	5	Tarai	--	--
Etah	10	6	Total	19	8
Total	993	1,475	<u>Total N.-W.P.</u>		
<u>Rohilkhand Division</u>				6,616	8,518
Bareilly	32	24	<u>Lucknow Division</u>		
Bijnor	9	4	Lucknow	521	406
Budaun	14	24	Unao	17	8
Moradabad	46	29	Rae Bareli	13	4
Shahjahanpur	40	38	Sitapur	31	25
Pilibht	3	--	Hardoi	56	38
Total	144	119	Kheri	--	--
<u>Allahabad Division</u>			Total	645	487
Cawnpore	205	175	<u>Fyzabad Division</u>		
Fatehpur	41	33	Fyzabad	17	22
Banda	48	26	Gonda	28	23
Hamirpur	12	5	Bahraich	10	10
Allahabad	1,252	1,172	Sultanapur	6	10
Jhansi	11	7	Patnagarh	4	5
Jalaun	12	17	Bari Bari	21	21
Lalitpur	--	--	Total	86	91
Total	1,581	1,435	Total Cudh	731	578
<u>Benares Division</u>			<u>Total N.-W.P. and Cudh</u>		
Benares	3,163	4,953		7,347	9,096
Mirzapur	95	84			

* Census of the N.-W.P. and Cudh and of the Native States of Rampur and Native Garhwal 1881 by Edmund White (Allahabad, 1882), Form IX, p. 3.

Appendix A: Table 5
Bengali Brahmins Residing in the N.-W.P. in 1891*

	Male	Female		Male	Female
<u>Meerut Division</u>			<u>Benares Division</u>		
Dehra Dun	--	--	Ghazipur	62	57
Saharanpur	8	5	Ballia	40	44
Muzaffarnagar	2	1	Total	1,067	1,501
Meerut	--	--	<u>Gorakhpur Division</u>		
Bulandshahr	15	15	Gorakhpur	60	48
Aligarh	3	5	Basti	--	--
Total	28	26	Azamgarh	--	--
<u>Agra Division</u>			Total	60	48
Muttra	180	325	<u>Kumaun Division</u>		
Agra	56	50	Kumaun	--	--
Farukhabad	3	8	Garhwal	--	--
Mainpuri	--	--	Tarai	--	--
Etawah	14	13	Total	--	--
Etah	2	1	Total N.-W.P.	2,141	2,675
Total	255	397	<u>Lucknow Division</u>		
<u>Rohilkhand Division</u>			Lucknow	163	126
Bareilly	--	--	Unao	--	--
Bijnor	--	--	Rae Bareli	8	8
Budaun	--	--	Sitapur	4	8
Moradabad	10	16	Hardoi	--	--
Shahjahanpur	--	--	Kheri	22	28
Pilibhit	--	--	Total	197	170
Total	10	16	<u>Fyzabad Division</u>		
<u>Allahabad Division</u>			Fyzabad	14	12
Cawnpore	95	94	Gonda	4	5
Fatehpur	--	--	Bahraich	5	6
Banda	--	--	Sultanpur	11	11
Hamirpur	--	--	Partabgarh	--	--
Allahabad	597	570	Bari Banki	--	--
Jhansi	17	13	Total	34	34
Lalitpur	12	10	Total Oudh	231	204
Total	721	687	Total N.-W.P. and		
<u>Benares Division</u>			Oudh	2,372	2,879
Benares	964	1,501			
Mirzapur	1	2			
Jaunpur	--	--			

* Census of India 1891: The North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Vol. XVI by D. C. Baillie (Allahabad, 1894), p. 4.

Appendix A: Table 6
Bengali Kayasths Residing in the N.-W.P. in 1891*

	Male	Female		Male	Female
<u>Meerut Division</u>			<u>Benares Division</u>		
Dehra Dun	--	--	Ghazipur	11	12
Saharanpur	--	--	Ballia	35	34
Muzaffarnagar	1	1	Total	82	103
Meerut	2	10	<u>Gorakhpur Division</u>		
Bulandshahr	--	--	Gorakhpur	32	10
Aligarh	1	--	Basti	5	10
Total	4	11	Azamgarh	1	1
<u>Agra Division</u>			Total	82	103
Muttra	394	812	<u>Kumaun Division</u>		
Agra	3	1	Kumaun	--	--
Farukhabad	20	16	Garhwal	--	--
Mainpuri	2	--	Tarai	--	--
Etawah	50	43	Total	--	--
Etah	1	4	Total N.-W.P.	1,010	1,307
Total	470	876	<u>Lucknow Division</u>		
<u>Rohilkhand Division</u>			Lucknow	122	86
Bareilly	5	4	Unao	3	4
Bijnor	--	--	Rae Bareli	67	19
Budaun	12	6	Sitapur	12	10
Moradabad	13	13	Hardoi	1	--
Shahjahanpur	--	--	Kheri	7	7
Pilibhit	--	--	Total	212	426
Total	30	23	<u>Fyzabad Division</u>		
<u>Allahabad Division</u>			Fyzabad	--	--
Cawnpore	71	50	Gonda	1	--
Fatehpur	7	5	Bahraich	2	--
Banda	14	33	Sultanpur	--	--
Hamirpur	--	--	Partabgarh	--	--
Allahabad	263	167	Bari Banki	--	--
Jhansi	25	17	Total	3	--
Lalitpur	5	1	Total Cudh	215	126
Total	386	273	Total N.-W.P. and		
<u>Benares Division</u>			Cudh	1,225	1,433
Benares	33	56			
Mirzapur	3	1			
Jaunpur	--	--			

* Census of India 1891: The North-Western Provinces and Cudh, Vol. XVI by D. C. Baillie (Allahabad, 1894), p. 67.

Appendix A: Table 7

Individuals Residing in the N.-W.P. in 1901 Claiming Birth in Bengal

	Male	Female		Male	Female
<u>Meerut Division</u>			<u>Benares Division</u>		
Dehra Dun	130	194	Ballia	3,270	19,438
Saharanpur	197	69	Total	20,175	57,423
Muzaffarnagar	26	23	<u>Gorakhpur Division</u>		
Meerut	103	161	Gorakhpur	13,611	15,537
Bulandshahr	79	57	Basti	453	338
Aligarh	66	71	Azamgarh	466	677
Total	601	575	Total	14,530	16,552
<u>Agra Division</u>			<u>Kumaun Division</u>		
Muttra	1,180	2,222	Naini Tal	115	88
Agra	489	258	Almora	47	24
Farukhabad	36	125	Garhwal	39	21
Mainpuri	38	46	Total	201	133
Etawah	21	83	Total N.-W.P.	40,773	79,549
Etah	46	25			
Total	1,810	2,759			
<u>Rohilkhand Division</u>			<u>Lucknow Division</u>		
Bareilly	309	85	Lucknow	1,386	1,012
Bijnor	35	5	Unao	88	79
Budaun	46	39	Rae Bareli	219	145
Moradabad	116	58	Sitapur	141	103
Shahjahanpur	61	52	Hardoi	53	33
Pilibht	20	14	Kheri	41	25
Total	587	253	Total	1,931	1,397
<u>Allahabad Division</u>			<u>Fyzabad Division</u>		
Cawnpore	1,026	394	Fyzabad	1,423	704
Fatehpur	53	50	Gonda	481	665
Banda	71	71	Bahraich	280	160
Hamirpur	49	32	Sultanpur	258	189
Allahabad	1,224	932	Partabgarh	182	394
Jhansi	406	346	Bari Banki	227	151
Jalaun	40	24	Total	2,851	2,263
Total	2,869	1,869	Total Oudh	4,782	3,660
<u>Benares Division</u>			<u>Total N.-W.P. and Oudh</u>		
Benares	7,078	13,079		45,555	83,209
Mirzapur	6,684	9,274			
Jaunpur	411	798			
Ghazipur	2,732	14,834			

* Census of India 1901: N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, Vol. XVI by R. Burns (Allahabad, 1902), Table XI, p. 161.

Appendix A: Table 8
Bengali Speakers Residing in the N.-W.P. in 1901*

	Male	Female		Male	Female
<u>Meerut Division</u>			<u>Benares Division</u>		
Dehra Dun	69	29	Ghazipur	126	96
Saharanpur	119	56	Ballia	43	15
Muzaffarnagar	14	17	Total	4,157	6,220
Meerut	215	161	<u>Gorakhpur Division</u>		
Bulandshahr	30	38	Gorakhpur	333	214
Aligarh	73	70	Basti	21	13
Total	519	371	Azamgarh	39	22
<u>Agra Division</u>			Total	393	249
Muttra	2,169	2,284	<u>Kumaun Division</u>		
Agra	224	173	Naini Tal	41	28
Farukhabad	18	9	Garhwal	6	4
Mainpuri	21	26	Almora	11	7
Etawah	45	38	Total	58	39
Etah	10	7	Total N.-W.P.	10,414	11,681
Total	2,487	2,537	<u>Lucknow Division</u>		
<u>Rohilkhand Division</u>			Lucknow	771	706
Bareilly	125	65	Unao	--	--
Bijnor	21	19	Rae Bareli	16	10
Budaun	9	14	Sitapur	47	19
Moradabad	51	30	Hardoi	22	14
Shahjahanpur	17	20	Kheri	--	1
Pilibht	7	7	Total	856	750
Total	230	155	<u>Fyzabad Division</u>		
<u>Allahabad Division</u>			Fyzabad	77	60
Cawnpore	534	393	Gonda	55	36
Fatehpur	15	6	Bahraich	19	26
Banda	32	25	Sultanpur	7	3
Hamirpur	13	17	Partabgarh	28	38
Allahabad	1,689	1,547	Bari Banki	34	36
Jhansi	263	112	Total	220	199
Jalaun	24	10	Total Oudh	1,076	949
Lalitpur	--	--	Total N.-W.P. and		
Total	2,570	2,110	Oudh	11,490	12,630
<u>Benares Division</u>					
Benares	3,819	5,993			
Mirzapur	139	91			
Jaunpur	30	25			

* Census of India 1901: N.-W Provinces and Oudh, Vol. XVI by R. Burns (Allahabad, 1902), Table X, p. 135.

Appendix A: Table 9
 Bihari Speakers Residing in the N.-W.P. in 1901*

	Male	Female		Male	Female
<u>Meerut Division</u>			<u>Benares Division</u>		
Dehra Dun	217	126	Ghazipur	507,117	506,982
Saharanpur	37	23	Ballia	450,605	474,158
Muzaffarnagar	557	491	Total	2.6 mil	1.8 mil
Meerut	309	188	<u>Gorakhpur Div.</u>		
Bulandshahr	5	--	Gorakhpur	1,454,800	1,473,107
Aligarh	2	1	Basti	930,743	907,420
Total	1,127	829	Azamgarh	714,160	726,558
<u>Agra Division</u>			Total	3,099,703	3,207,095
Muttra	--	6	<u>Kumaun Division</u>		
Agra	164	141	Naini Tal	--	--
Farukhabad	--	--	Almora	--	--
Mainpuri	2	--	Garhwal	10	--
Etawah	--	--	Total	10	--
Etah	--	--	Total N.-W.P. 5,688,264 5,009,214		
Total	166	147	<u>Lucknow Division</u>		
<u>Rohilkhand Division</u>			Lucknow	--	--
Bareilly	11	9	Unao	--	--
Bijnor	2	1	Rae Bareli	--	--
Budaun	--	--	Sitapur	--	--
Moradabad	4	1	Hardoi	--	--
Shahjahanpur	--	--	Kheri	--	--
Pilibht	2	--	Total	--	--
Total	19	11	<u>Fyzabad Division</u>		
<u>Allahabad Division</u>			Fyzabad	160,095	159,921
Cawnpore	9	1	Gonda	--	--
Fatehpur	--	--	Bahraich	--	--
Banda	2	--	Sultanpur	--	--
Hamirpur	--	--	Partabgarh	--	--
Allahabad	--	--	Bari Banki	--	--
Jhansi	11	1	Total	160,095	159,921
Jalaun	--	--	Total Oudh 160,095 159,921		
Total	22	2	Total N.-W.P. and Oudh 5,848,359 5,169,135		
<u>Benares Division</u>					
Benares	401,748	394,654			
Mirzapur	367,304	569,492			
Jaunpur	611,407	598,256			

* Census of India 1901: N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, Vol., XVI by R. Burns (Allahabad, 1902), Table X, p. 133.

Appendix B: Table 1
 Bengali Speakers Residing in the Punjab in 1881 and in 1891*

	Total	1881 Male	Female	Total	1891 Male	Female
Hissar	1	1	--	30	19	11
Rohtak	3	2	1	--	--	--
Gurgaon	2	2	--	7	3	4
Delhi	46	26	20	118	62	56
Karnal	65	34	31	2	1	1
Ambala	120	64	56	192	124	68
Simla	220	147	73	259	189	70
Kangra	10	9	1	14	9	5
Hoshiarpur	4	4	--	1	1	--
Jalandar	33	17	16	41	24	17
Ludhiana	10	4	6	44	26	18
Firozpur	16	6	10	93	55	38
Multan	93	62	31	23	13	10
Jhang	1	1	--	1	1	--
Montgomery	--	--	--	--	--	--
Lahore	--	--	--	658	384	274
Amritsar	102	65	37	79	38	41
Gurdaspur	251	169	82	34	26	8
Sialkot	--	--	--	48	27	21
Gujrat	31	21	10	8	3	5
Gujranwala	--	--	--	17	9	8
Shahpur	1	--	1	--	--	--
Jhelam	88	65	23	16	9	7
Rawalpindi	748	462	286	354	214	140
Hazara	47	26	21	37	28	9
Peshawar	116	96	20	61	36	25
Kohat	7	7	--	2	--	2
Bannu	15	7	8	1	1	--
Dera Ismail Khan	17	11	6	5	4	1
Dera Ghazi Khan	--	--	--	7	5	2
Muzaffargarh	--	--	--	14	7	7

* Census of India 1881, Report of the Census of the Punjab, Vol. 2, Table IX, by Denzil Charles Jelf Ibbetson (Calcutta, 1883), p. 4; Census of India 1891, The Report of the Census, Vol. XX, Table X, by E. D. Maclagan (Calcutta, 1892), p. 119.

Appendix B: Table 2
 Individuals Residing in the Punjab in 1881 and in 1891
 Claiming Birth in Bengal*

	Total	1881 Male	Female	Total	1891 Male	Female
Hissar	54	31	23	112	69	43
Rohtak	105	33	72	84	40	44
Gurgaon	112	56	56	116	47	69
Delhi	553	311	242	500	299	201
Karnal	128	64	64	66	45	21
Ambala	1,502	754	748	763	485	278
Simla	698	469	229	698	412	286
Kangra	73	50	23	92	58	34
Hoshiarpur	48	37	11	60	35	25
Jalandhar	690	465	225	214	99	115
Ludhiana	59	29	30	102	49	53
Firozpur	437	270	167	303	163	140
Multan	370	250	120	176	105	71
Jhang	7	7	--	3	2	1
Montgomery	15	7	8	42	31	11
Lahore	1,094	691	403	1,176	730	446
Amritsar	15	10	5	151	76	75
Gurdaspur	40	30	10	73	42	31
Sialkot	2	2	--	205	120	85
Gujrat	73	58	15	28	16	12
Gujranwala	22	12	10	105	57	48
Shahpur	10	8	2	119	111	8
Jhelam	199	137	62	66	38	28
Rawalpindi	814	587	227	1,122	743	399
Hazara	471	365	106	87	75	12
Peshawar	31	20	11	450	313	134
Kohat	20	15	5	51	44	7
Bannu	38	21	17	22	14	8
Dera Ismail Khan	50	33	17	32	17	15
Dera Ghazi Khan	15	10	5	19	12	7
Muzaffargarh	22	19	3	22	17	5

* Census of India 1881; Report on the Census of the Punjab, Vol 2, Table XI, by Denzil Charles Jelf Ibbetson (Calcutta, 1883), p. 14; Census of India, 1891; The Punjab and its Feudatories, The Report of the Census, Vol. XVIII, by E. D. MacLagan (Calcutta, 1892), pp. 148-157.

Appendix B: Table 3

Individuals Residing in the Princely States of the Punjab in
1881 and in 1891 Claiming Birth in Bengal*

	Total	1881 Male	Female	Total	1891 Male	Female
Patiala	182	138	44	333	143	190
Bahawalpur	13	6	7	24	20	4
Jind	-	-	-	10	7	3
Nabha	15	10	5	38	25	13
Kapurthala	19	14	5	30	19	11
Mandi	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nahan	38	25	13	13	11	2
Bilaspur	-	-	-	3	2	1
Bashahr	3	3	-	-	-	-
Nalagarh	21	15	6	4	2	2
Keonthal	30	22	6	16	10	6
Maler-Kotha	-	-	-	7	5	2
Faridkot	8	4	4	10	8	2
Chamba	18	10	8	1	1	-
Suket	5	5	-	4	3	1
Kalsia	11	6	5	87	56	31
Pataudi	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lohaaru	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dujana	6	6	-	2	1	1
Baghal	1	1	-	2	2	-
Baghat	10	9	1	9	6	3
Jubbal	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kumharsain	4	3	1	1	1	-
Bhajji	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mailog	-	-	-	1	1	-
Balsan	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dhami	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kutmar	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kunhiar	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mangal	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bija	4	3	1	2	-	2
Darkoti	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tarhoch	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sangri	-	-	-	-	-	-

* Census of India; Report of the Census of the Punjab, 1881, Vol 2, Table X, by Denzil Charles Jelf Ibbetson (Calcutta, 1883), p. 60; Census of India, 1891; The Punjab and Its Feudatories, The Report of the Census, Vol. XVII, by E. D. MacLagan (Calcutta, 1892), pp. 73-77.

Appendix B: Table 4

Bengali Speakers Residing in the Princely States of the Punjab
in the Years 1881 and 1891*

	Total	1881 Male	Female	Total	1891 Male	Female
Patiala	36	28	8	33	20	13
Bahawalpur	-	-	-	4	3	1
Jind	1	1	-	-	-	-
Nabha	-	-	-	4	1	3
Kapurthala	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mandi	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nahan	50	24	26	39	22	17
Bilaspur	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bashahr	2	2	-	6	-	-
Nalagarh	-	-	-	-	-	-
Keonthal	19	19	-	2	2	-
Maler-Kotha	-	-	-	-	-	-
Faridkot	-	-	-	4	2	2
Chamba	9	7	2	-	-	-
Suket	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kalsia	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pataudi	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lohaaruu	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dujana	2	2	-	-	-	-
Baghal	-	-	-	-	-	-
Baghat	1	1	-	11	7	4
Jubbal	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kumharsain	2	2	-	-	-	-
Bhajji	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mailog	-	-	-	-	-	-
Balson	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dhami	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kutmar	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kunhiar	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mangal	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bija	-	-	-	-	-	-
Darkoti	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tarhoch	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sangri	-	-	-	-	-	-

* Census of India 1881; Report on the Census of the Punjab, Vol. 2, Table X, by Denzil Charles Jelf Ibbetson (Calcutta, 1883), p. 3; Census of India, 1891; The Punjab and Its Feudatories, The Report of the Census, Vol. 3, Table IX, by E. D. MacLagan (Calcutta, 1892), p. 60.

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THE BENGALI BHADRALOK: AN EXAMPLE OF COMPETITION
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When the British first arrived on the shores of South Asia, only a man of great vision could have foreseen the role that they were to later play as the rulers of the Indian sub-continent. Ambitious and aggressive this unlikely assortment of adventurers and merchants were wholly concerned with the development of trade activities and were thus generally well behaved and unwarlike. Nevertheless, as the once awesome and mighty Mogul Empire began to dissolve, the English, represented by the British East India Company, were slowly drawn into the resulting political vacuum.

As the empire of the English invaders crept inland from its coastal bases, vast territories were absorbed into the Raj and the acquisition of these lands greatly strained the administrative capabilities of the new government. Unable to rule by themselves the British found it necessary to rely on the members of the indigenous population to fill the lower-level positions of the Civil Service and to provide the European administration with its 'human underpinnings.'

The Government established a number of educational institutions to train a small portion of the populace in western language, values, techniques and philosophy. These favored individuals gained entry into the realm of the Raj and from their vantage point within the administrative structure won access to opportunities that were unavailable to the rest of the population.

In Bengal three castes monopolized the administrative positions left open to Indians and they also filled with equal success the professional fields of law, education and medicine. Moreover, substantially large numbers of individuals belonging to the Bengali elite

castes left their homelands in the nineteenth century to take government jobs in the newly conquered inland regions. This migration was particularly noticeable along the Gangetic Plain. Establishing themselves in inland towns, these individuals dominated the professional life in northern India for several decades by virtue of their superior educational achievements.

Though the Bengali migrants initially met with few difficulties in establishing themselves in the interior, their increasing numbers and their monopolistic hold on governmental administrative positions later came to be resented by the members of the local elites. By the close of the century a class of western-educated individuals had developed within those regions who saw their opportunities for employment dimmed by the presence of the Bengali 'outsiders.' The British were therefore called upon to remove the Bengalis from office and to fill the vacant positions with the members of local elite castes.

These demands, coupled with a growing British disdain for the bhadralok of Bengal, eventually led to a bias against the employment of the Bengali elite castes. The Kayasths, Baidyas and Brahmins from Bengal could no longer claim the unrivaled right to occupy government positions. Blessed by their early acquisition of western education, the bhadralok lost their supremacy within the administrative structure as the spread of western knowledge caught up with the growth of the Raj.