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Articles

BOOK REVIEW

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WATER, POWER AND POLITICS IN THE INDUS BASIN: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

Hydropolitics must take into account the role of water in the making of society in order to understand the social, political, economic and cultural make up of a society because it is within this broader setting that the politics of water is played out. Being important for environment, life, economics and culture water is vital in dictating the necessary adaptations to the human societies that must be done to fashion a harmonious life in a specific territory. The paper seeks to explore the role of water in determining the power structures of the society throughout the history of the Indus people. The basic line of argument in this chapter is that if not entirely responsible for shaping the power relations of the society, water had a major role in establishing and consolidating the earlier institutions of authority and government. The chapter starts with discussing the role of water in the emergence of earliest forms of civilized life in the Indus Plains then moves on to discuss the Aryan invasion and the role and management of water during their period. It also discusses the role of Muslim rulers in India and their management of water; and how control of water consolidated their power. In the end, it discusses the important question of how the colonial rulers shaped the

socio-political structures of the society with the help of water and land.

KEY WORDS

Indus Basin, Hydropolitics, Power Politics, Agriculture

The significance of water for the early civilization is most pronounced in its intimate linkage with agriculture. It, however, does not minimize the significance of water for all other aspects of human life as writing about the significance of water Hassan opines that it is "…the mainspring of civilization and its entire works."[1] The earlier communities of man thrived on hunting and collecting food available naturally. Climate changed as the Last Ice Age receded, affecting the distribution of wild game. In certain localities, wild cereal grains proved beneficial for survival and communities settled around the natural available cereal grains. "In Southwest Asia, a return to ice age conditions from 13,000 to 11,500 years ago transformed the landscape and influenced the distribution of wild cereal stands and animal game. These changing climatic conditions encouraged some groups to become fully committed to growing wheat and barley as a staple food in Southwest Asia."[2] This resulted in the rise of agriculture as the main source of subsistence for human communities.

The Indus Basin hosted earliest communities of humankind and it was in the Indus Plains that the earliest human footprint in the subcontinent could be found. Agriculture started around 7000 BC in the Indian subcontinent. Irfan Habib opines that, "The presence of agriculture is attested by finds of seeds: the bulk are of naked six-row barley…"[3] in the earliest settlement of the

Indus civilization in Mehrgarh. The agriculture also resulted in social and economic stratification as the produce of the agriculture was used to buy ornaments and crafts in exchange. The development of city-life in the Indus is indebted to agriculture in the first place. The city life is characterized by a division of labor, which means that at any given time, a sizeable part of the population was engaged in works other than agriculture. In order to fulfill their needs of food, it was necessary that those engaged in agriculture were producing more than they required only for their own consumption. Thus, the city life was more involved in arts and crafts and the rural population took care of the food needs of the city.

Agriculture in mostly semi-arid and partly arid parts of the region needed water for its sustenance. The availability of water was quite erratic. The earliest communities have developed the art of damming the rivers and digging canals in order to supply water to their parched fields. Apart from that, it is a well-acknowledged fact in the academic world that these earlier Indus people were excellent water engineers. They had devised the tools and means to supply water to the cities. The cities, apart from agriculture, consumed a large quantity of water. This assertion can be testified on the ground that in the archeological remains of the ancient Indus site, the presence of sewerage system is a universal phenomenon. Painting a picture of the ancient cities of the Indus Civilization Nair writes, “Urban centers were often planned near the rivers or at the coast. The great and well-planned cities provided public and private baths, sewerage through underground drains built with precisely laid bricks, and an efficient water management system with numerous reservoirs and wells. In the impressive drainage system,

the drains of houses were connected to the larger public drains. Agriculture was practiced on wide scale with an extensive network of canals for irrigation. It appears that fire and flood control measures to protect farms and villages were also practiced."[4]

It is generally said that these works required more than merely community efforts to be carried out[5]. The size of rural communities was small and they were generally scattered in vast areas. Organizing such laborious efforts would have been next to impossible for them. The ruling class then stepped in to fill in the void and provide the necessary leadership to carry out such huge tasks. "The state, therefore, had an opportunity to establish its legitimacy and control through political and economic subjugation of the hydraulic regime, and this was tolerated on account of population's desire for stability and guarantee provided by the building and management of irrigation facilities". The authority in the Indus society lied with the central priest class, which was in the best position to perform such activities. It is further conjectured that this priest class also kept temple-slaves although the presence of any established slave class or chattel labor cannot be verified. The following argument of Chakraborty strengthens this assertion.

"It has been further argued that the planned construction and maintenance of the city streets and baths, sewerage and drains, brick-making and most importantly the dam system for irrigation, activities that required the application of large volumes of disciplined labor, pointed at the role of central authority commanding the labor of temple-slaves."[6]

In the absence of secure supply of water, the whole socio-political set-up would have been threatened.

Furthermore, the water infrastructure also included instruments of flood control. Many a times the rivers of the Indus system unleashed their furious energies and their waters, which were source of life mostly, erased the human settlements along their banks. The indispensability of water infrastructure can be estimated from this fact. This water infrastructure required constant management as well as certain rules and authority to allocate and over-see the distribution of water. Furthermore, for the provision and management of water infrastructure, the central authority exacted tax in kind on agricultural produce. This gave rise to the earlier bureaucratic structures more appropriately termed 'hydrocracy'[7]. It also necessitated the formulation of some laws to regulate water allocation and distribution. This is thought to be the earlier point in time of the consolidation of governmental authority[8]. Moreover, the record keeping and management of the resource base was responsibility of the hydrocracy. This hydrocracy, with the passage of time, became very influential because of their direct contact with the people. The kings and priest depended on them for the execution of their authority.

Land in the ancient Indus Civilization was communally owned and the central authority drew a major part of its revenue from the agricultural produce of these lands. The revenue collected in lieu of water and land provided the necessary economic foundation to the central authority. The important fact that distinguishes the ancient Indus society from the contemporary Indus society is that because of the communal ownership of the land, dominant landed elite did not emerge. Therefore, the partnership that exists today between the landed elite and the central

government was, in fact, built between the hydrocracy and the central authority.

The control of central authority over water works was complete and this provided the necessary legitimacy to the central authority. Chakraborty mentions that the central authority, in addition to some other works, presided over "most vital task among all the public works, namely the maintenance of the dam system for irrigation and flood control."[9]

Witzfogel's thesis is highly informative in this regard. He thinks that in the semi-arid and arid lands of Asia, the agricultural mode of production lead to the emergence of 'hydraulic societies'. And the Eastern despotism is the outcome of the despots' control over hydraulic infrastructure. He argues that to the earlier food gathering societies, this option of turning to agriculture was quite open and attractive but it was a difficult decision that was "fraught with highly problematic institutional consequences."[10] However, those who shifted to agriculture soon realized that the irrigated agriculture requires a secure supply of water. This posed a difficult situation as Wittfogel writes:

"A large quantity of water can be channeled and kept within bounds only by the use of mass labor; and this means labor must be coordinated, disciplined and led. Thus a number of farmers eager to conquer arid lowlands and plains are forced to invoke organizational devices which – on the basis of pre-machine technology – offer the one chance of success: they must work in cooperation with their fellows and subordinate themselves to a directing authority."[11]

It was in the arid zones that the need for water and coordinated effort was felt the most. This necessity compels them to integrate and be willing to work. The role of leadership is crucial and some of them step into

leadership role. "It is the circumspection, resourcefulness, and integrative skills of the supreme leader and his aides which play the decisive role in initiating, accomplishing and perpetuating the major works of hydraulic economy."[12]

Those who led the public works and were responsible for the effective management of the hydraulic infrastructures were best suited to be the political leader as well. Thus, Wittfogel argues that the political leadership emerged from the hydraulic management and, to strengthen his thesis, he cites a number of examples. "[I]n China", he argues, "the legendary trail blazer of governmental water control, the Great Yu, is said to have arisen from the rank of a supreme hydraulic functionary to that of king, becoming, according to proto-historic records, the founder of the first hereditary dynasty, Hsia."[13] He generalizes this pattern of development for all the ancient civilization of the East like China, India, Mesopotamia and Egypt.

To sum up, water has been a major source of political power. It was due to the control of hydraulic infrastructures that central authority consolidated its power over people. In arid and semi-arid regions of the Indus Valley, water, most of the times, was either scarce or in abundance. In both cases, it presented a major challenge to the society. In case of scarcity, it could result in drying up of crops and ultimately in famines. In case of its excess, it could destroy everything in the form of floods. Water in these areas was the single most significant limiting factor for the development of human societies. Those who could tame it could acquire considerable power. This water-induced power structure in the agrarian societies of the Indus was the result of the natural process of adaptation with the environment and it has endured ever since. The rural societies of

Pakistan still exhibit this pattern. The Indus society was also connected with the rivers in the domain of culture and mythology. Some of the practices in Sindh still survive. Among them include burying critically ill person in the sands of the river up to neck with the belief that he may be cured by the Indus[14]. One can conjecture that, some point in time in the past, the Indus might have been worshipped like the Nile in Egypt.

WATER IN THE VEDIC PERIOD

The presence of Aryans, who are supposed to be not of Indian origin, in India is a question much debated upon. Well into the late 20th century, it was generally held that, the Aryans invaded India between 1700 and 1500 BC. However, some scholars of the Indian history who think that it was not an invasion rather it was a migration have challenged this assertion. Those who hold that the Aryans invaded India think that on their route to India, they confronted the local inhabitants of India who were the founders of the ancient cities of the Indus Civilization like Harappa, Mohenjodaro and Mehrgarh. The invading Aryans were pastoralist warrior tribes. Whereas on the other hand, the local inhabitants, generally referred to as Dravidians, were relatively less experienced in the art of war and were more accustomed to a peaceful life as their material needs were amply fulfilled within their own territory. Their weapons were of low quality and it is believed that they were peaceful people. This is why the invading warriors easily subdued them.

The invaders particularly focused on the destruction of the infrastructure that was the power base of the Indus people namely the irrigation system and dams. There is a reference in Vedas that Aryan god Indra freed the rivers and their waters and thus proved

instrumental in bringing about the victory of the Aryans over the local people[15]. It can be assumed that during the movement of Aryans towards India, they would have faced resistance from the local people and the resultant war might have seen the whole water infrastructure destroyed by the invading Aryans.

The onward movement of the invading Aryans, or one may call migrating Aryans, is generally divided into two phases.[16] The early Vedic culture represents the period in which Aryans stayed in or around the Indus Basin and the later period is characterized by their final settlement in the Ganga-Jamuna valley. These Aryans were originally pastoralists and did not practice agriculture. In the fertile lands of the Indus, they started agriculture along with pastoralism. The earlier Vedic period is characterized by agriculture and pastoralism being practiced side by side. In the later Vedic period, the balance seemed to have been shifted entirely in favor of agriculture.

Whosoever lived in ancient India, his interaction with water would have been greatly significant. The Vedic literature of the ancient Aryans is full of references to the rivers of the land they had come to occupy. There are references to almost all of the rivers and their characters are mentioned along with their course. In fact, the areas were recognized by their proximity or furtherance from a river.[17] Indra was thought to be the greatest god of rivers and waters. The poets of Rigveda have deified these rivers and their waters have been mentioned to possess the spiritual powers. Even today, the annual festival on the river Ganga is celebrated as Kumbh Mela and people from all around India swarm to the place to have their sins purgated in the holy waters of these rivers. The ashes of dead are also set afloat these waters as a funereal rite.

The economy of these people largely depended on agriculture. The start of agriculture was an event of great socio-political consequence. It is generally said that the caste system in the Vedic society is coeval with the start of agriculture. Agriculture accompanied with it certain rituals and rites. The elders of the tribe elaborately performed these rituals initially but later on, an organized priest class took over the function. This led to a phenomenal increase in the powers of the priest class; so much so that they were in a position to challenge the secular authorities. The kings were obliged to offer to the priests land, animals and other gifts. This is how the clear distinction between the Khashtrya nad Brahmna of the later Vedic society got their initial appearance[18].

Aryans also seem to have introduced the technology of pulley, which was not known to the aboriginals of the area. This technology helped in drawing water from deep wells with the help of oxen and a number of pails arranged on a strap. The following paragraph by Irfan Habib corroborates the fact: "In the Indus civilization despite the wide use of wells, the tell-tale marks of pulley-lift are absent…But the Rigved speaks of the stone-pulley wheel (*ashma chakra*), and of its use in drawing up water in strapped wooden pails (*achava*) out of the well (*avata*)… Given the previous long history of ox draught-animal (for the plough and the cart), one need not hesitate in assuming that oxen were put to use to draw the rope over pulley-wheel in order to lift water out of the well and have it led into broad channels (*surmi sushitra*). This, by enabling land to be irrigated from wells, liberated cultivation from its previous confinement to flood plains and strips on river (and canal) margins, and so allowed it to expand into other land wherever the underground water level was

reasonably close to the surface. In the Punjab and Haryana plains the pulley could have brought about a minor agricultural revolution."[19]This reduced the independence of the people on rain for water in connection with their agricultural lands. It also corroborates the fact that agriculture was the mainstay of the economy of Vedic society. Vedic Aryans seem to have adopted the technology of canal building and thus they dug a number of canals to irrigate the lands under cultivation.

The earlier pastoralist tribes attached great importance to livestock. In the process of their earlier settlement, they fought over land and resources with the local inhabitants called *dasas* as well as among themselves. One of the great battles of the ancient history of Aryans in India is known as 'Dasrajana', which was fought between king Bharata and a federation of ten tribes united against him. It is suggested that this battle was fought over the control of a river.

Land in ancient India was communally owned or, as it is generally referred to, to the king. Those, who used the land paid agricultural tax on the land. There were specific rates of the tax to be collected, which were documented in the religious texts. The rates of tax on land were also specified by the way land was irrigated. For instance it is quoted in Arthashastra, 'who irrigates by the manual labor pays 1/5th of the produce, for carrying water on shoulders 1/4th and by water lifts 1/3rd of the produce. The 'superintendent' of agriculture will grow 'wet' summer and winter crops depending upon the availability of water'.[20]

To sum up the Vedic society, initially pastoralist turned to agriculture and with agriculture mode of production the Vedic society adopted the whole super-structure attached with that. The mainstay of the power

of the earlier kings was land and in connection with that water. The significance of water in the ancient Vedic society can be ascertained from the fact that it was water around which the whole social, political, economic, cultural and religious revolved directly or indirectly.

WATER DURING THE MUSLIM RULE

The Muslim rulers of the subcontinent, being cognizant of the dynamics of Indian society, based their power on land. The central authority provided the security and irrigation facilities and farmers tilled the land. Agriculture was a major source of revenue for the government; and governments ensured that maximum lands be cultivated in order to extract maximum revenue. Commenting on agriculture during the Mughal period, Irfan Habib writes, "An important aspect of Indian agriculture is artificial irrigation to supplement the natural bounty of the monsoons. The principal means employed for this purpose has been the constructions of wells, tanks and canals"[21]. Wells were major sources of irrigation for Upper Gangetic plains, parts of Dakhin, and the regions of Lahore, Dipalpur and Sirhind. Abundance of tanks in Central India and Dakhin prove that they were major sources of irrigation in these areas. Tanks were made by damming water on natural depression in order to harvest rainwater. The central authority not only encouraged such projects but also at times financed and commissioned them[22]. A great number of canals were also built during this period and the excavation of silted natural channels was executed in order to ensure proper supply of water to the greatest area. Large canals were mainly built in Northern India. The social structure of the rural society, which was the

mainstay of agrarian economy of the Mughal period, betrays a high level of dependence on agriculture. The social stratification was mainly influenced by the division of labor in agrarian economy. At the apex stood the Zamindars, in the middle the peasants and at the bottom were the workers. Zamindars were not entitled to proprietary rights over land but they were entitled to a fixed share of the produce of land cultivated by peasants. At the lowest wrung of the society were weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths and potters. Thus, with the help of land and water, the whole social structure was fashioned in a way to perpetuate exploitation and control over the population.

Agriculture in this period was mainly done in the raised interfluves or *doabs*; the areas between the rivers. The main sources of water for agriculture were inundation canals and wells apart from *barani* or rain-fed agriculture. Land and agriculture being major sources of revenue were always vital for anyone or any group at the helm of affairs in India and provision of water was so intimately linked with the productive use of land and agriculture here. Thus the construction of larger hydraulic works like canal-building[23] were always considered an opportunity to justify the revenue collection, exercise of power and the creation of a mechanism of control in the local arena. Apart from the politico-economic imperatives of canal building, the water works built during the Muslim rule over India were intimately linked with the cultural symbols of power of the Muslim rulers like big fountains and gardens with adequate supply of water[24]. Water was central to the cultural identity of the Muslims and appears significantly in the cultural and aesthetic expressions of the Mughal taste in particular.

The Muslim contribution to the water infrastructure of the subcontinent can be categorized in three main categories. First, canal building which was dictated by the political and economic imperatives of the state building. Second, introduction of the Persian-wheel technology that made it possible to harness animal powers to the objective of water extraction for agriculture at local level. Third, significant incorporation of water in the cultural and aesthetic expression and the creation of building symbols of power.

Muslim rulers built a huge infrastructure of canals in order to make it possible for the local people to bring more land under cultivation. Ghaysuddin Tughlaq (1220-1250 AD) built large inundation canals in the subcontinent[25]. Feroz Shah Tughlaq, another ruler of the Tughlaq dynasty, is said to have built four large inundation canals and provide water to selected areas[26]. It was during the rule of Tughlaq dynasty that water tax was instituted legally, which was called Haq-e-sharab in the local diction. Later on, during the Mughal rule in India, Mughal Emperors built a number of canals to provide water to different areas. "The district of Multan, lying between Sutlej and Chenab, where rain hardly ever falls, is rendered beautifully fertile due to a series of inundation canals constructed by Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (1680-90)… More than fifty inundation canals existed in the lower Indus region in the mid-eighteenth century".

Canal building provided the central authority with an opportunity to extend their control over the people down to local level. Since land was considered the property of the king, it was generally distributed among the people who were trusted allies of the rulers and they represented the state at local level. Thus, canal building helped provide land to the elites close to the rulers and

build an enduring partnership between them. The elite in their turn served the purposes of the state at local level. By providing water to the parched lands, it was made possible that they be brought into productive use and thus opens an avenue for state extraction. Political power in the olden authoritative regimes has been mainly dependent on the rulers' ability to distribute land among the people and thus win over allies who would do double service to the rulers. First, they provided the required legitimacy to the rule by incorporating local elite and masses into the political system and second, they represented state at local level. It was these elite that arbitrated in disputes among the local people, was responsible for the collection of state taxes and provided men and resources for the war efforts of the rulers.

Gilmartin opines, "…canal building was not simply a matter of technical innovation but was almost always connected with the political imperatives of rule."[27] Whereas on one hand canals were the instrument of technology and human endeavor to harness the potential of the Nature to the productive use for mankind, on the other, they also became an instrument of control for the central authority that extended right into the heart of the community at the local level. Its physical presence and significance for the community required rule making and dispute settlements. The whole body of law and the administrative agents to implement these laws represented state at the community level.

The legal and administrative structure linked the people to the central authority and the central authority co-opted with the local elite to consolidate control over the local population. Provision of land and water justified government's extractive claims. Laws were required to secure universal application of these claims

and for the implementation of laws and record keeping; a whole administrative structure was required. Water and land taxes were imposed which were received in kind and not in cash. "The assessment statements were prepared twice yearly for every village. A large army of clerks of the newly created Land Record Department was housed in a large record room at Fatehpur Sikri (Akbar's capital)'. He improved the land record system introduced by the Muslim ruler Tughliq 200 years ago. Two persons in a village were appointed to record the agri-land and assess the revenue, these 'Qanoongo and Patwari still exist'".[28] Both the officials were generally the members of the same community and along with the Zamindar constituted the local administrative elite. Their power and prestige even in the present day reveals their importance in the society.

The second contribution of the Muslim rule in connection with provision of water was the introduction of Persian-wheel technology in the subcontinent. In the river interfluves, water table was generally high and wells were a major source of clean water for the local communities. With the introduction of new technology, well water could also be used for irrigation. Animal powers were harnessed to draw water from wells and irrigate lands. This technology, however, was limited in scope and so were the local needs. Villages in those times were self-sufficient communities often requiring very little from the outer world. This technology freed the community from their dependence on rainwaters, which was an entirely unreliable source of water. It also reduced the frequency of famines in these areas. It is generally believed that the colonial rulers intentionally built canals to render traditional sources of irrigation useless and made local communities dependent on the source of water, which was in the hands of colonial

rulers[29]. In this way, water was used to institute colonial rule over India and particularly the part of India that constitutes Pakistan today.

The third significant plank of Muslim strategy in connection with water is the use of water in building a water centric cultural identity[30]. One can witness extensive role and use of water in the cultural symbol of power that were built particularly by Mughal Emperors. Among them, include the Shalamar Gardens, Hiran Minar, the Red Fort etc. This extensive use of water by the Mughal in their cultural and aesthetic expression is attributed to their religion. Islam emphasizes cleanliness and pure water is considered the source that clears one from impurities. Apart from glorifying the rulers by creating cultural symbols of the rule, this aspect of water is not much significant and has very little, if any, social, political and economic implications.

This local elite and central authority nexus was a little bit disrupted during Sikh rule in Punjab. Sikh rulers of Punjab abolished the propriety rights of the elite of Mughal period and land was distributed in small chunks to peasant proprietors thus ensuring a relative equity in the ownership of land. Thus, new power structures were created in which the elite were bypassed. "The Sikh administration protected the rights of small land owners who were regular in the payment of revenues. But no mercy was shown to larger landholders if they defaulted."[31] These elite only knew well on which side their bread was buttered during the Anglo-Sikh wars of 1840s. The colonial rulers, in their turn, used these schisms to their advantage.

COLONIAL HYDROLOGY

Colonial intervention in the Indus Basin started a new era of water politics in the subcontinent and particularly in the areas that constitute Pakistan today. Sindh and Punjab were relatively late to succumb to the formidable colonial might. However, the consolidation of colonial rule in these parts was mainly brought about through distribution of land and water. After the annexation of Sindh and Punjab the uncultivated areas were declared as Crown's Wasteland[32]. These areas were very fertile and the only hurdle in exploiting the full productive potential of these virgin lands was provision of water. The colonial rulers, exploiting the creations of modern science, built canals in these areas and thus parched deserts turned into green fields.

However, canal building was not merely a technical fiat, rather, as Gilmartin opines, "was almost always connected with the political imperatives of rule"[33]. What were those political imperatives for the colonial rulers? And the answer is that there were many. In fact, the delineation of new power structures was largely connected with land and water. The contours of social, political and economic structures of the society were mainly drawn on the primacy of land and water. The main considerations for the necessity of canal building included the patronage of loyal local elite, provision of land to disbanded Sikh soldiery, settlement of the pastoral tribes, reducing population pressure on the congested districts of Punjab, populating the strategically important frontier region, extractive demands of the state, provision of land to the war veterans, breeding of quality horses for army and connecting the local communities in a power relationship with the central authority.

The colonial rulers were quick to assess the political significance of co-opting with the local elite to

consolidate the imperial rule. They viewed these elite as intermediaries between the rulers and the masses. These elite provided the necessary leadership to the masses at the community level on one hand; while on the other, they remained loyal to their colonial patrons. This patron-client partnership between the colonial rulers and local elite was dictated by the tested loyalty of the elite and the political necessities of the imperial rule. During the Anglo-Sikh wars, the British rulers closely collaborated with some of the elite who sided with them against the Sikh. These elite also acted as informants or conspirators closely connected with the colonial rulers. Their crucial side change during conflicts often proved decisive. Punjab's intervention on the side of the British saved the Empire from a sure collapse[34]. These elite were not that comfortable with the Sikh rule as they distributed land to the small peasant proprietors and did not rely much on the elite for legitimizing their authority. The colonial rulers, in turn, distributed the spoils of the victory to these trusted allies. Canal building was necessary to render the vast fertile lands productive and thus make the reward attractive for their collaborators in consolidation of control. It was not only that the colonial rulers provided land and water to these elite; they also safeguarded their interests through legislative and policy instruments. When land started passing out into the hands of creditors, the colonial rulers passed The Alienation of Land Act in 1900, which restricted the possession of land within these elite. These elite were given a free hand in the local affairs of the community. On their part, these elite did many services to their masters. They were responsible for maintaining order at community level. They also acted as recruiting agents for the imperial army. Later on, when electoral politics was introduced, these elite generally

toed the line of their masters in the legislatures. This partnership, with the passage of time flourished in which both parties had their interests fulfilled.

Another important reason for canal building was to provide land to the disbanded Sikh soldiery. "The first major canal project undertaken after the annexation of Punjab was the Upper Bari Doab Canal project in the Sikh heartland of Gurdaspur, Amritsar and Lahore districts. Though conceived as the expansion of an older Muhgal canal, the work was pressed forward because, in the words of a later engineer, "the immediate construction of the canal was regarded as almost a matter of political necessity to provide employment for the disbanded Sikh soldiers, who, having their homes in the centre this tract, would otherwise have little encouragement to turn to agriculture."[35] Thus, canal building provided that useful leverage using which the colonial rulers could shift the allegiance of the Sikh soldiers in their favor. Had there been no such possibility, it would have been difficult or perhaps entirely impossible for the colonial rulers to pacify the Sikh soldiers. It was due to canal construction and land distribution connected with it that the colonizers were able to ward off a major challenge to the colonial rule in India.

State's desire to extract maximum revenue from the available resources of the Empire was another major reason of this huge project of colonial hydrology. Since ages, the major source of revenue for the state in India has been land and agriculture produce therein. Almost always the king or the state had a fixed claim on the produce of land. The necessity of mercantilist approach dictated the maximum extraction for the mother economy. The Empire never stood so much for anything else than economic gains. The annexation of Punjab and

Sindh made it possible for the state to distribute land among the ruled and thus bind them into some economic obligation to the state. By building canals, the necessary water supply was ensured for agriculture. This process was helpful in many ways. It established the economic foundation of the state and it made it possible for the state to encourage cultivation of cash crops and thus link the Indian economy with the world. The revenue regime instituted by the British settled less but fixed revenue claims. The revenue contributed by land and water in the last years of British Empire in India contributed forty percent to the overall revenue collection in the Punjab. Thus, distribution of water and land resulted in opening of extractive avenues for the state.

Another important reason for canal building was to settle semi-nomadic pastoral tribes and civilize them. In this way, the British also tried to link the imperial project with their 'civilizing mission'. Richard Temple wrote; "rude races first learn civilization by becoming possessed of property… Take a wild wanderer of the bar, give him some land to squat upon and call his own, and he forthwith becomes a wiser and better man."[36] The settlement of pastoralist tribes in the upper Sindh and Punjab was one of the major considerations in canal building. "In Sindh, for example, the British viewed irrigation policy as critical in controlling the upper Sindh frontier, where … canal building was seen as a 'civilizing lever' to induce the roving predatory Baluch tribes … to take to peaceful agricultural pursuits."[37] Similarly, in the southern Punjab districts the political control and loyalty of the communities were closely linked with Empire's irrigation projects. These pastoralist tribes otherwise had little incentive to resist their predatory nature and settle down as responsible citizens. "Settlement of the

pastoralists, in fact, emerged as a major element in the establishment of British power in Punjab, particularly after the 1857 Mutiny, when John Lawrence sought to define a stable peasantry as the social bedrock for the colonial state. As one local officer wrote of parts of the Multan bar in 1849, 'the people … are predatory herdsmen, little engaged in agriculture and without extensive means of irrigation… To give them the means of cultivating would be the most efficient aid to the Magistrate'"[38]. Thus, canal building was viewed as vital in establishing political stability in the region. These projects made rich agricultural land available to the local pastoralists and thus linked them in the legal and political order of the Empire.

The areas in which canal colonies were established were sparsely populated. However, these areas were strategically important being close to Northern and Western frontiers of the Empire. The logic of power and strategy dictated that these area be populated so that in case of any future invasion from these frontiers, the invaders do not just walk over to Delhi. The presence of population in the areas would be helpful in organizing resistance to the invaders. Furthermore, these people could be recruited in the imperial army and in that case, the population of these areas would have a real stake in the survival of the state. The Empire always remained sensitive to the communist threat from these western frontiers. The headquarters of the army were established in these areas and around sixty percent of the Royal British Army, since World War I, was always composed of soldiery from Punjab. Thus, the provision of land and water in these areas helped populate the region, which was strategically vital for the survival of the Empire. It also provided the recruitment base to the Royal Army.

Some areas that were brought under the colonial rule were densely populated and the congestion of population threatened the public order in these areas. Population density in these areas was bound to result in increased competition for the resources necessary for survival, which in turn could lead to conflicts at local level. The colonial rulers were not in a position to allow any conflict, howsoever localized in nature, to pose a threat to the public order. It also created an opportunity for the colonial masters to legitimize their rule by opening new economic avenues for the population of these congested areas. Canal building project provided this very opportunity to the colonial masters. It reduced the population pressure on the *barani* areas and the excessive population was resettled in the newly built canal colonies.

It was again due to the process of canal construction and provision of water for uncultivated lands, that the Empire was able to base its military might in the Punjab. A number of land grants made in the canal colonies were for high quality horse breeding for cavalry. Superior species of horse were vital to the might of cavalry of the British Army. A number of grants were made to the military itself for the purpose of horse breeding and others. It was also due to the process of canal construction that the Empire was able to reward its war veterans. This tradition of granting land to the retiring military personnels sustains even today. It was considered of vital importance that retiring soldiers must be given lands to settle down after their long services in the army. Apart from this, land was also granted to certain government officials who rendered invaluable services to the Empire. Among them included police officers and other bureaucrats. Land was also granted to the informants and other civilians who were

instrumental in consolidating imperial rule in the region. Ian Talbot notes that the British based their military might in the Punjab and the province had a special status in the British Empire in India[39].

Canal colonies also provided an opportunity to the Empire to transform the economy of the society. New varieties of cash crops were successfully cultivated in the region and the liberal economic ideology started reshaping the patterns of economy in the region. Within no time, these areas became the breadbasket of India and not only this, the surplus production of agriculture made it possible export food related agricultural produce. In this way, the local economy was linked with the global economy and particularly with the British imperial economy. The new economic opportunities resulted also in the economic stratification of the society. Canal construction and provision of land also acted as an agent of modernization in the region. However, in this regard it is pertinent that the liberal political and economic ideology had to co-opt with the traditional structures of society. In canal colonies, the communities were also redefined and settled in the new areas. This redefinition was informed by British imperial discourse at the heart of which lies the logic of power. Through documentation, census and categorization the traditional patterns of power were realigned with the imperial necessities of the rule. Colonial sociology was, in fact, instrumental in creating the discourse of power that viewed the indigenous people through imperial lens.

IMPLICATION OF COLONIAL HYDROLOGY

The colonial hydrology was a major technical innovation, which helped the British Empire in India to consolidate its power. The new power structures that were created

in the society were, simultaneously traditional and modern[40]. There were a number of consequences of this whole social and demographic engineering in the subcontinent. The first and the foremost is the consolidation of traditional social structures that justified inequality and discrimination. The landed elite emerged as a powerful interest group in the society. Its ubiquitous presence in military, bureaucracy and political institutions make it the single most powerful class in the society. This feudal model is continuing in the garb of democracy in Pakistan in the present. Some of the scholars are of the view that it is because of this institutionalized inequality that democracy has not been able to take real roots in the state and society of Pakistan[41]. It was particularly in connection with legal and administrative structures of land and water management that corruption crept into the system. The legal structure that was imposed by the British was not only new but largely alien to the local population. This complexity allowed the lower wrung of bureaucracy to manipulate the ignorance of masses to their advantage[42]. The whole legal and administrative structure, as it was carved out by the colonial rulers, still exists and still it is as equally foreign to the local population as it was during the colonial rule. The degree of corruption has increased with the passage of time.

The significant position that Punjab enjoyed in the British Indian Empire remains no less significant in the postcolonial socio-political realities of Pakistan. Still, Punjab constitutes more than sixty percent of Pakistan's army as it did in the times of Empire. It is similarly privileged in its share in political and bureaucratic institutions. This makes the Federation in Pakistan an entirely polarized one where one province is more strongly represented than the strength of all the rest

combined. The smaller provinces see Punjab as a hegemon within the federation.

Apart from the above mentioned, the British canal-building project was also connected with bringing local communities within the ambit of the state. Some academics are of the view that the canal projects were intentionally meant to colonize the waters of the Indus Basin. The inundation canals that existed before the colonial rule were taken over and permanent weirs built across them to control water across time and space. Control over water brought the local communities under the control of British rule. It is also said that the colonial canal building also intended to reduce the degree of dependence of the local communities on the traditional means of drawing or harvesting water[43]. Canals had a very bad impact on the traditional wells the number of which decreased with the passage of time and ultimately this technology was abandoned in many parts of the Empire. It was in the postcolonial period that, with the help of electric motors, underground water was used as a major source of irrigation.

Construction of perennial canals proved a mixed blessing at best. With it were connected the twin evils of water logging and salinity. Water logging and salinity became the major problems of water sector in the later years of imperial rule in the subcontinent. This problem, however, persists even today and annually a considerable part of cultivable land is rendered useless because of this. Human intervention in the natural flow of water was bound to disturb the natural balance in the environment. Those first attempts at control of natural waters could not gauge the challenge of this natural imbalance. Human demand on water also proved detrimental to the existence of many species of aquatic animals. It also disturbed the flora and fauna of the

Indus Basin. It was only later, when the concerns for preservation of natural environment entered into the mainstream political discourse, that the policy makers acknowledged the rights of other life forms in general.

Epilogue

It was during the colonial rule that political, economic and social relations of power were instituted and at the base of it rested land and water. Control over these vital resources allowed the central government to control the lives and affairs of the local communities. In this new structure of power, water played a very vital role. It was during this period that the structure of power vis-à-vis government and masses, government and local elite, local elite and masses and bureaucracy and people in general were defined and codified. The postcolonial state in Pakistan inherited these structures. However, these were so firmly rooted in the social and political structures of the society that it has been impossible for the state to bring about any change in these. The landed elite is well entrenched in the political, economic and administrative institutions of power and they resist any effort to change the status quo in the society. The masses are exploited, purposely left in poverty and ignorance and the mundanity of their daily life leaves very little space for concerted political action. In this political scenario power determines right. Thus, the elite, by making use of their power, appropriates much of the available water and the common people have to bear with this unjust and unequal distribution of water.

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[22] Irfan Hibib referring to Adab-e-Alamgiri writes "In the later years of Shahjehan we find the Mughal dministration roposing to advance nearly Rs.40,- to 50,000 to cultivators in Khandesh and the Painghat portion of Berar, for the purpose of erecting bunds or dams"

[23] Canals in this period were largely the inundation canals or built along the smaller creaks or streams of the rivers without any controlling weirs like headworks on it. They generally were fed with water when the rivers swell in the relatively high precipitation rate in the months of summer monsoons.

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[36] Ibid., 1134.
[37] Ibid.
[38]Ibid., 1135.
[39]Ian Talbor, *Punjab and the Raj, 1849-1947* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1988).
[40] The economic pattern, political and administrative structures were based on rationality of modernism whereas the social structure that was aligned with the modern system of government was traditional. The framing of the genealogies of the locals and patterning the social structure of the society on kinship basis was essentially traditional. In this way, the logic of power of the Empire made the tradition and modernity strange bedfellows in the context of Indian society.
[41] Albania thinks that the landed elite is well entrenched in all the power structures of the society. This inequality in connection with power and resources has hampered the growth of democratic culture in Pakistan. For details see Alice Albania, *Empires of the Indus: The Story of a River* (London: Norton & Company, 2010)
[42] The lower level bureaucracy consisted of local elite. Since, the legal system was foreign to the local rural population, who had little chance of understanding it being illiterate, the lower level bureaucracy manipulated the system to their advantage. Corruption became rampant in the bureaucracy even in the days of colonial rule and colonial masters, though being concerned about this evil, found little success in eliminating it.
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THE EVOLUTION OF LANDSCAPE PAINTING IN WEST: THE INFLUENCE OF CHANGING WORLDVIEW ON THE SUBJECT MATTER

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ABSTRACT

The evolution of landscape painting in the West gives us a unique insight into the historical development of focus and expertise in the repertoire of art. We observe that with changing worldviews, political, economic and cultural constraints and individual perception, the art of landscape painting evolved from a symbolic representation to a realistic rendering and then, particularly, in recent decades, found a more conceptual undertone. We also observe that with a change in emphasis, artists evolved new techniques that could fulfil their need to express with greater fidelity. This paper explores the change of emphasis in the historical development of landscape painting in the light of changing worldviews and political circumstances.

KEY WORDS

Landscape, paintings, symbolic representation, renaissance

It is very surprising that the first landscape painting was created in Catal Huyuk around 6150 B.C (figure 1). Catal Huyuk was one of the earliest cities on the globe along with Jericho in the Fareast Anatolia. A landscape was

painted by an unknown artist in a shrine. This landscape depicts the features of the city, rectangular shapes, a house with no street view in the foreground and a twin-peaked mountain in the background. A volcanic eruption in the scene describes the natural incident which correlates with religious beliefs. It cannot be considered a pure landscape but to some extent it could be considered the first painting which shows a real place. The findings from the twin cities Catal Huyuk and Jericho show the rich culture of an advanced society that practiced art and craft, panting, pottery, weaving and sculpture.

Figure 1. Landscape with volcanic eruption, detail of a copy of a wall painting from Level VII, Catal Huyuk, Turkey, CA.6150 B.C.

Under monarchy, we observe a change in emphasis. The artists focused more on representing court scenes. All of them had the figures, the atmospheric elements like tree, boats, a building and sometime floral representations but no proper land with fields, trees, and mountains. Assyrians were very famous for creating marvelous relief works often representing the stories of a ruler's life.[1] One of the famous works by an unknown artist displayed in the palace of Ashurnasirpal II (875-860

BC), Kalhu depicts a hunting scene where a palace is shown on the right side with human figures standing inside the walls of the palace and three human figures swimming towards the palace. The objects relating to the landscape are in the background, and these are the trees diagonally placed from the bottom left and converging to the right upper corner of the relief. This can be seen as an early art work having the elements of landscape.

Figure 2. Assyrian archers pursuing enemies, relief from the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II, Kahlu (modern Nimrud), Iraq, CA. 875-8600 B.C. Gypsum, British Museum, London.

Egyptian artists also rendered events, which could be the source for a landscape like a wall painting from a tomb at Hierakonpolis between 3500-3200 BC. It has figures of human beings, animals and boats randomly arranged.

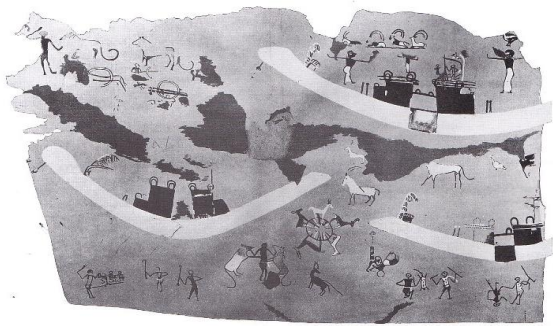

Figure 3. People, boats, and animals, detail of a watercolor copy of a wall painting from Tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis, Egypt, CA. 3500-3200 B.C.

Another beautiful painting from Egypt, Ti watching a hippopotamus hunt from Saqqara, (2450-2350 BC), shows elements of a landscape as a human figure is shown in the center on a boat, and in the background, tree, fishes, and hippopotamus.

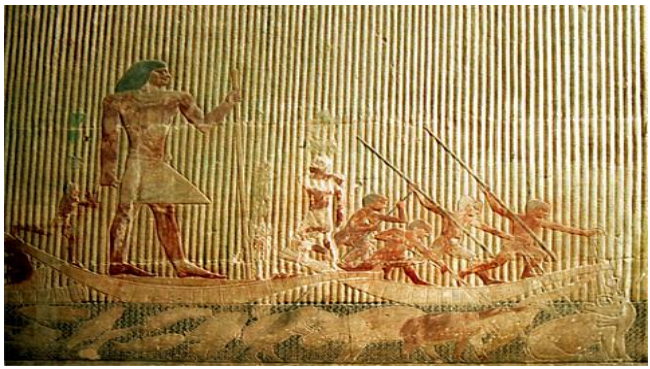

Figure 4. Ti watching a hippopotamus hunt, relief in the mastaba of Ti, Saqqara, Egypt, Dynasty V, CA. 2450-2350 B.C.

Minoan wall paintings were made in fresco technique and express the salient qualities of a landscape. An example is a wall painting depicting the miniature ships and sea discovered from west house, Akrotiri (1650 BC), which skillfully arranges ships with sea waves.

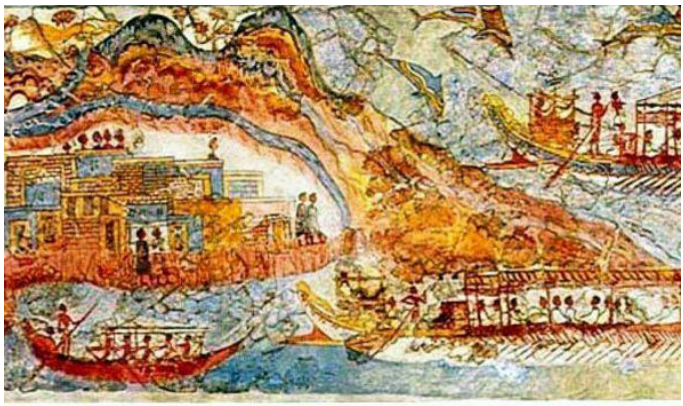

Figure 5. Flotilla, detail of Miniature Ships Fresco, from Room 5, West House, Thera, Greece, CA. 1650 B.C.

Another wall painting that can be called a landscape from Room Delta 2 (1650 BC), has a freshness and vitality in its floral repetitions. The artist has captured the vividness of colors in the flowers and even rendered the vagueness in the rocks with curved lines and vivid colors.

Figure 6. Landscape with swallows from Room Delta 2, Akrotiri, Thera, Greece. CA. 1650 B.C.

A diving scene captured by a Greek artist is an interesting example of a wall painting. This painting is from the ceiling of the tomb of the Diver, Paestum, Italy (480 BC). It depicts a youth diving into a pool placed on the right side and beside him there is a jumping deck. There are two trees with no leaves and at the bottom, there is a slightly aroused wave of water. This painting is a beautiful example of an open composition with lots of negative space, which has been created to give importance to the diver. The trees and swollen water wave remind one of the qualities of a true landscape in this wall painting.

Figure 7. Youth diving, painted ceiling of tomb of the Diver, Paestum, Italy, CA. 480 B.C.

Etruscan people also contributed to the art of mural painting and decorated their home walls with paintings. One of the paintings in the tomb, "hunting and fishing scene" is a work that can be associated with the features of a landscape. It is an open composed painting using animals and fishes randomly placed in a vast field with waves of water at the bottom. The open space of this mural makes it a significant example of landscape painting.

Figure 8. Diving and fishing, detail of mural painting in the tomb of Hunting and Fishing, Tarquinia, Italy, CA. 530-520 B.C.

With the advent of Christianity, a new focus and emphasis entered the art scene; the paintings represented biblical stories. Christ as the good shepherd was depicted in an atmosphere of green fields, trees, mountains etc., such as in 'Landscape with the Flight into Egypt'. The symbols in these paintings are representative of medieval religious worldview in which the earthly life was considered a passing phase and the world as mere appearance.[2] Pleasures associated with the worldly life were thought inferior.[3]

Figure 9. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Landscape with the Flight into Egypt, Oil on canvas, 1563.

Landscape painting at the time cannot be seen as a genre in its own right as the elements found are only used in the background often providing a context to the mostly religious central theme. Artists also started to use colors and forms in the background depicting the mood of the event. However, this rendering of the natural environment in a religious painting was not the main emphasis of the artist. A major shift in focus is observed with the Renaissance.

When we analyze the historical situation that followed the Renaissance, we find two key role players responsible for the stylistic and thematic flowering of art, i.e. the Patron and the Artist. In the case of patrons, including monarchs, popes, and aristocrats, the course of action is determined by their need for power and glory. Whether they used political or religious authority, their main motivation stemmed from the emotional

needs of power and its proper manifestation to sustain the control and expand it. Their ambition for power and control determined what to observe and how to perceive; their practice however depended upon their temperament and political wisdom.[4]

Similarly, the sensibilities expressed in an art work were not only informed by the general observation and perception of the artist but also by his personal disposition of what to observe and his mental conditioning of how to perceive. A further scaling of art work was done by the intellect, aesthetic taste, sensitivity to subject matter and virtuosity of the artist. The artist not merely portrayed the subject as it is but more importantly the way in which he felt it, which is expressed in the art work as composition, emphasis, movement, and other subtleties of artistic manifestation.

A historical analysis reveals that the mind of the patron and that of the artist in the above period was most effectively influenced by the general intellectual and emotional atmosphere that had its roots in the Renaissance. The Renaissance, from this perspective, can be seen as a movement which caused perhaps the greatest ideological upheaval in European history; an upheaval that was both in terms of balance of power and intellectual/aesthetic temperament.[5]

The Renaissance is a time period when European Intelligentsia was emancipated from the authority of the Church, and consulted Greek sources for ideals. Starting in Italy, it gradually spread to the whole of the Europe. A shift in authority became visible with the advent of scientific theories which reduced the role of God and consequently the authority of the Church to a major

extent. With science, there came freedom as the authority of science was intellectual and non-governmental, and was different from the authority of Church. It did not lay a dogmatic system that could explain each aspect of life; instead, it lifted the ideological lid and provided room for inquiry and understanding, which further gave rise to individualism.[6] Philosophers such as Bacon, Descartes, Machiavelli, and Leibniz were a product of this period and so were Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Michelangelo. All of them had distinct individual personalities affected by social dictates in various ways. It was a society that was set free from the chains of dogma and also from the chains of integration.

From the middle of the 13th century to the end of the 15th Century, Italy had no distinct political authority.[7] This was the time between rejection of the Church and acceptance of science. However, as Bertrand Russell points out, the intellectuals of the time needed an intelligence to differentiate between Plato and Aristotle standing as philosophical giants poles apart.[8] The emergence of science had a profound influence. The basic facts like sense of relation, comparison and measurement, the elements which are used to paint perspective, became the new ideas of space and a new perception of light followed. It was at this time that Flemish and Italian painters occupied the center stage.

Due to the incorporation of scientific worldview in the 14th Century, we find that painters started depicting natural beauty. In the frescos of Ambrogio Lorenzetti we find a factual rendition devoid of symbols.

Figure 9. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, The Effects of Good Government in the Countryside, in the Sala della Pace in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, 1337–39.

Throughout the 15th Century, tapestry like frescos became more and more frequent. The artists explored new ways of expressing perspective in landscape painting. Their focus shifted to exploration of compositional techniques. For instance, Van Eyck developed his expertise in perfecting the use of perspective. Artists like Bellini focused on the rendering of light. His portrayal of light is almost emotional: he loves the poignancy of sunrise and sunset and utilizes light to heighten the effect of his subject in the landscape. Indeed, this unique ability of sensing light in its emotional detail gave landscape painting a new direction.

Around this time, there developed two schools of thought. One preferred an accurate rendering of subject matter, while the other believed that a landscape should depict religious, historical or poetic themes not merely

by placing a few figures here and there but by displaying the mood or character of the whole scene. The first school perfected at the end of the 15th Century was the High Renaissance which expressed the scientific and perfectionist attitude to the fullest. Michelangelo took sculpture to the heights of perfection and symmetrical beauty. The idea of symmetry seeped into landscape painting as well. In this very era there appeared Hieronymus Bosh who possessed a most delicate perception of nature. The background of his paintings contain some of the most truthful landscapes because they are based on a perception of nature in its nuances. The other school of thought later culminated into the Baroque movement.

This was a consequence of the movement of Reformation that severely affected the authority of the Pope. To regain its authority, the Church came up with a strategy in the form of Counter Reformation. It is interesting to observe that there is a law in Nature that a dynamic entity, be it an individual mind or a collective mind such as a society, after disintegration, demands a higher order for reintegration. The reason is that the complexity that increases after disintegration has to be compensated. The Counter Reformation could not restore the authority of the Pope on the same plane as before. As a result, we have the Council of Trent in the middle of the 16th Century, which made the role of the Church flexible and passed some rules to obstruct what was prevalent in art in the name of freedom, especially under the style known as Mannerism.

In 1561 the Council of Trent defined the role assigned to the arts, in which religious imagery was admitted and welcomed as a support to religious

teaching. One passage of the decree demands that 'by means of the stories of the mysteries of our Redemption portrayed by paintings or other representations, the people be instructed and confirmed in the habit of remembering, and continually revolving in mind the articles of faith'.[9] It was also recommended that the images should appeal to the faithful and may transcend the spoken word to support the authority of the Church.[10]

The 17th Century paintings of Holland witnessed the rise of the Baroque period. One of the reasons was Rembrandt who is probably the most sensitive and accurate observer who ever lived. In his landscape drawings of the 1650's, every line -- straight or curved -- contributes to an effect of space and light. Rembrandt lived a troublesome life due to his family circumstances. As he spent more time with himself, he was more introspective, gave importance to the self and had tendencies towards mysticism. According to Rosenberg, he discovered that the intangible aspects of humans can only be expressed through body gestures and that the most flexible and intangible elements of the visual world, such as light, shade, and atmosphere, are best suited for the suggestion of this spiritual content.[11] The characteristic simplicity that one notices in his work is due to the difference of approach that he had with his contemporaries. He painted biblical content but in an altogether different way and according to his own will.

Figure 10. Rembrandt, Landscape with a Long Arched Bridge, Oil on oak, 1637.

The 17th Century also produced painters like Claude Lorrain and Nicolas Poussin. Lorrain broke away from tradition in depicting imagery of nature. He focused on detail and this is observable in whatever landscape he painted. The tonality he explored in the foreground was so delicate that one could sense the warmth of the sun. While Lorrain had a special eye for detail, Poussin looked for harmonious relationship between vertical and horizontal elements of Design.[12]

Figure 12. Lorrain, Sunrise, Oil on canvas, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1646.

Figure 11. Nicolas Poussin, Landscape with a Calm, Oil on canvas, 1651.

By the end of the 18th Century, Romanticism began taking shape. It was a reaction to the mechanistic worldview which in the wake of the Industrial Revolution had pushed back the ideals of pastoral life.[13] Moreover, the coming into being of a more profound understanding about the might of nature garnered an emotional response in artists who appreciated the sublime. The artists shifted from realistic rendering to either depictions of rural and pastoral life as a counterpoint to the mechanistic industrial life or portrayed the might of nature to express their emotional response to the sublime.

Artists like John Constable preferred the idealism of living a simple life. His landscape paintings record the pastoral and rural life in magnificent detail.

Figure 14. John Constable, Hay Wain, Oil on canvas, National Gallery, London, 1821.

Turner, on the other hand showed the fruits of industrial revolution in cityscapes and produced some marvelous landscapes depicting nature in its power and glory. We can feel in a Turner an immense symbolism and an expression in the color of his imagination. In his later landscapes, one does not find a single form defined; nevertheless, they are extraordinarily true.

Figure 125. Joseph Mallord William Turner, Raby Castle and Park from the North, Oil on canvas, 1817.

Figure 136. Joseph Mallord William Turner, Fishermen at Sea, Oil on canvas, Tate, London, 1796.

The swift use of the brush spearheaded by Turner was also a precursor to Impressionism. Impressionism started as a movement to capture light in its first impression. It was a plain air technique but since artists were sensitive to changing light over the hours of the day, they could not capture a scene with maximum fidelity. To capture light as quickly as possible they usually depicted the first impression through the use of quick brushstrokes. The post-Impressionism scenario was more focused on introducing new techniques of rendition.

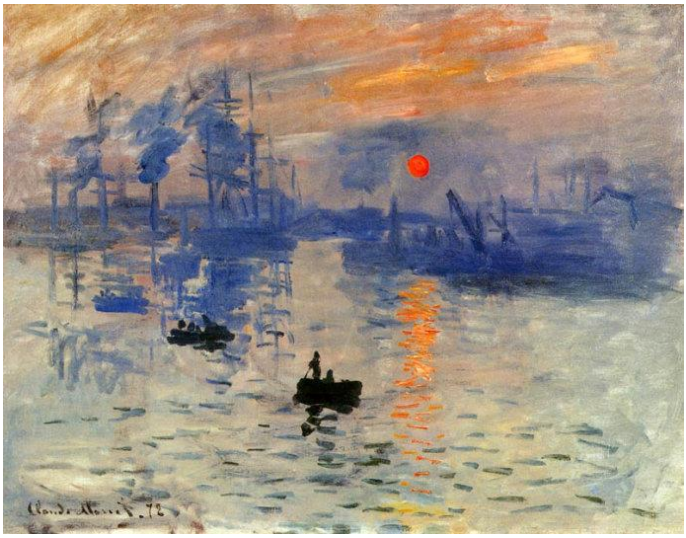

Figure 17. Claude Monet, Impression Sunrise, Oil on canvas, Musée Marmottan Monet, Paris, 1872.

The shift in focus of landscape painting coincided with various art movements. We find Expressionism in which Vincent van Gogh captured the movement of light in his landscapes. With Realism, artists attempted to depict reality as it is, particularly involving human beings as subjects working in fields. With Psychology came Surrealism, in which landscapes acquired a dream-like appearance.

Figure 18. Vincent van Gogh, Wheatfield with Crows, 1890.

Figure 19. Salvador Dali, Nude in the Desert Landscape, 1946.

Landscape painting as it has evolved over centuries depicts a continuous shift in human conception of the world and a change in priorities. We observe art as an expression of changing social and political reality. It is

only with the Renaissance that we see a major shift and that is a preference for individuality. The period after the Renaissance is marked with frequent instances of innovation as the diversity of individual mindsets came into play. The artists represented nature in four principle ways including symbolic, realistic, romantic and then imaginative. These four ways refer to four distinct attitudes on part of the artist. In the symbolic way, the appearance had a meaning greater than its form; this symbolic attitude was a product of religion. The rational mindset preferred realistic rendering, whereas the emotional attitude gave rise to romantic and idealized depictions of nature. With sufficient maturity in technique and accumulated experience the imaginative landscapes are a product of the modern mindset that refuted historically legitimate patterns and preferred individuality over dictation.

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POLITICS IN PRE-PARTITION IN INDIA: A CASE STUDY OF NAWAB MUSHTAQ AHMED GURMANI'S ROLE IN THE PUNJAB POLITICS

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ABSTRACT

Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani was not only actively engaged in the provincial politics but also remained busy in the local politics of Muzaffargarh and his group always participated in the elections of Muzaffargarh District Board. He contested the elections of the Vice-Chairman, District Board in 1925. In a general meeting of the Muzaffargarh District Board held on January 1926, he was declared as Vice-Chairman, District Magistrate retained as Chairman.[1]

KEY WORDS
Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Punjab, Muslim League

Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani remained for four years Vice-Chairman of the Muzaffargarh District Board.[2] When he started his distinguished political career in 1926, All India Muslim League was not a well

organized and popular among the masses.[3] The differences within the Muslim League came to scene when it split on the question of cooperation with Simon Commission in 1927. The party's conservative faction, led by Sir Muhammad Shafi, decided to cooperate with the Simon Commission.[4] While the other group led by M. A. Jinnah, boycotted it. On the Provincial level, his political career started with joining the All India Muslim Conference,[5] but long before that, he had begun participating in local politics. All Parties Muslim Conference, which was held on 31 December 1928, and Ist January 1929 at Delhi with Sir Agha Khan in the Chair. Formation of All-India Muslim Conference was necessitated by the Nehru Report.

It was resolved to introduce the real Muslim opinion on important constitutional problems, a Conference was s convened to all shades of Muslim opinion.[6] All non-official Muslim members of all provincial and central legislatures were called to participate.[7] Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani participated in this conference. He was nominated as member of Muslim Conference Executive Board.[8]

Gurmani got nominated to the Punjab Legislative Council, however, his effective political role began in 1937, when the Unionist Party emerged as the main political power in the province. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani formally joined the Muslim League in 1932[9], he had evinced interest in the activities of League. He participated in various Sessions of the Muslim League even though he had inclination towards the Unionist Party.

Following the Legislative Council act of 1861, Legislative Councils were established in all parts of British India; except the Punjab which got its first Legislative Council in 1897.[10] Gurmani decided to join the League, knowing the fact it would become popular and true representative of Indian Muslims. His political career at the local level became watershed in his future, because, soon he started his experiments with the policies at the provincial level. The year, 1930 became the landmark in his political life, when he became a member of the Punjab Legislative Council from Muzaffargarh District, remaining a member until 1936.[11]

In 1932 he was nominated as a member Representative of the General Interests.[12] His non-official nomination was based on Muhammadan Land holders Constituency in 1930.[13] During this period, he joined the Unionist Party, which was founded by Mian Fazil Hussain, with the help of a few Hindus and Sikhs members of the Punjab Council in 1923.[14] Its main purpose was to provide a unified policy for administration of the transferred departments and uplift of rural and other less-developed areas and population.[15] In 1940, Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani said, "I am a member of the unionist party".[16] The Unionist stood for the safeguard of landholders, interests and a general uplift of the rural areas. Mian Fazil-I-Hussain was a staunch supporter of provincial autonomy. His party enjoyed the support of a large number of Hindus and Sikh Zamindars as well.[17] Although, the Unionist Party was a non-communal organization, but Muslim influence was predominant. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani remained active in politics

and at that time held the dual membership of the Unionist and All India Muslim Leagues.

The Government of India act of 1935, represented a definite advance over the previous constitutional arrangement, but it fell short the expectation of the people. Both the League and the Congress were dissatisfied with the act and held that it did not apply enough to satisfy the political parties of India. Nehru had described the Act as a charter of bondage,[18] and a Congress resolution of 1936 stated that the future constitution of India could only be framed by a Constituent Assembly based on adult franchise. The League had criticized the Federal Part of the Act, but showed its willingness to work the provincial scheme of the Act.[19] In spite of their opposition to the act, both Congress and the League decided to contest the Provincial Elections under the Act of 1935. It came into force on April, 1937, except for the parts dealing with the All India Federation.[20] Election for the Indian Central Legislative Assembly, which was still functioning under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1919 were held towards the end of 1934.

After the inauguration of the Act 1935, the government announced the date of election for the Provincial Assemblies. This announcement occupied the attention of the political parties in 1936. Both Congress and Muslim League had decided to contest the Provincial election. It was expected that Congress would sweep the polls in the Hindu majority provinces, and League or other parties led by Muslim Leaders would win the Muslim majority provinces. The All India Muslim League had no well-organized

body in the beginning of 1937. Mr. Jinnah had returned from England and it was his efforts and attempt that in 1936 League was reorganized and decided to take part in the election. On the other hand the Congress was comparatively a more organized party. In the Bombay session of the All-India Muslim League in April 1936, the League set up its machinery to contest the elections[21] and Mr. Jinnah was authorized to form a central Election Board.

Jinnah started his work on extensive tour of the provinces, contacting the influential leaders in order to muster their support for the League. Jinnah toured the many Provinces to urge the provincial leaders to join the League. In this connection, he reached Lahore on April 19, 1936. He met Mian Sir Fazal-I-Hussain at his residence. Jinnah suggested that the Muslim Candidates should fight election on the League ticket and in the provincial Assembly they should form a ministry with the support of those having similar policy and programme.[22]

Sir Mian Fazil-I-Hussain felt that the Muslim representation on the provincial legislature did not constitute a majority and unless they got the support some reliable non-Muslim group they could not form a government in the Punjab. For this purpose, he had organized a composite National Unionist Party.[23] His main objective was to weak the position of the Punjab Muslim League and to maintain strong hold of Unionist in the Punjab politics. In 1936, Mian Fazil-I-Hussain was invited to preside over the Muslim League session but refused due to his engagement to reorganized the Unionist Party. Fazil-Hussain asked

the Quaid-i-Azam to abstain form provincial politics and instead continue to work on All-India level.[24]

As a result of their agreement, the Muslim League and the Unionist Party contested as opposite parties in the provincial election of February 1937. In these elections, Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani took part from the Unionist Party in the Muzaffargarh constituency.

On April, 1936, Sir Fazil-I-Hussain inaugurated election activities and his main purpose was to establish formal procedures for the selection of candidates and to provide means to raise funds for the compaign.[25] He reorganized Unionist Party at Mamdot villa in Lahore and set up a regular secretariat. Fazil-I-Hussain died on August 7, 1936, but his successor, Sikandar, Carried out the post election portion of Fazil's plan. The party went a head with election portion designating single candidate in most of the eastern and central Punjab. In the west Punjab districts, where no other party existed, many of contestants were committed to the Unionist Party.

The provincial elections were held in the winter of 1936 to 1937. There were 1,585 seats in the Provincial Assemblies.[26] The results of the election for provincial Assemblies indicated that Congress won mainly in Hindu Constituencies out of 1,585, the Congress captured 716. On the other hand Muslim League performance was not very impressive. Out of 485 Muslim seats, the Muslim League only captured 109 seats.[27] The Punjab Assembly of 175 members, of whom eighty-six would be elected from territorial constituencies specially designated for Muslims. The

election would be under a separate electorate system.[28]

In the election, the League put up poor show winning only two Muslim seats in the Punjab Legislative Assembly, Malik Barkat Ali and Raja Ghazanfer Ali. The Unionists Party secured 88 out of the 175 seats, while Congress also managed only 18 seats.[29] The remaining 8 Muslim members including the Muslims winning from the joint constituencies of the big landlords[30] and 23 Hindus zaminadar and schedule caste member were elected on the Unionist label.

In these elections Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani took part from the Constituency of Muzaffargarh North, was succeeded against Mian Mahbub Ali.[31]Gurmani got 6581 its turn out was 49.5%[32] During the election compaign, on 19th June, 1936, he wrote a letter to Mian Fazil-I-Hussain in which he said that a suggestion should be issued from the important Pirs of the province in support of the unionist party. He enclosed a copy of those Pirs (Sajjad Nashines): Diwan Sahib of Pak Pattan; Sajjada Nashin of Mahar Sharif (Bahawalpur State); Sajjada Nashin of Taunsa Sharif (Distt. Dera Ghazi Khan); Khawaj Ghulam Nizamuddin Sehib of Tausa Sherif; Sajjada Nashin of Sial Sharif, Distt. Shahpur; Pir Sahib of Golra Sharif, District Rawalpindi; Pir Fazl Shah Sahib of Jalal pur, Distt. Jhelum; Pir, Lal Badshah Shahib of Muhhmot, Distt. Attock; Sajjada Nashin Sahib of Sultan Bahu, Distt. Jhang; Pir Sahib of Pir Kot, Distt. Jhang; Khan Bahadur Makhdum Murid Hussain Qureshi of Multan; Khan Bahadur Makhdum Saddar-ud-Din Shah Sahib Gilani of Multan; Pir Muhammad

Hussain Shah Sahib of Sher Garh; Pir Jamaat Ali Shah of Alipur Sharif, Distt Sialkot; Pir Sahib of Nairia Sharif, Distt. Rawalpindi.[33]

He said that those Pirs and Sajjada Nashins who had the local influence in districts and constituencies should be approached for the support of Unionist Party.[34]

A study of the politics of the Unionist Party shows that the Pirs themselves were keen to support it for their vested interest, because they themselves were big landlords and wanted to maintain status quo in rural areas. During the elections of 1937 landlords and Pirs acted as broker in their localities to mobilize their Kinsmen, Murids and clients to vote for the Unionist Party in return for promise of government patronage.[35] Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani played an important role in the election compaign. He suggested that we should contact the Sajjada Nashin Sahib of Ajmer, Sajja Nashin Sahib of Piran Kaliar, District Saharanpur (U.P) and Khawaja Hassan Nizami Sahib of Delhi.[36] Most of the successful unionist candidates contained leading landlords and Pirs. The Pirs had been particularly important in the Unionist Party's success as they controlled the most effective of all traditional channels for political support. Infact a number of Pirs played a leading role in the election as candidates and propagandists for the Unionist party. The Pirs of Shergarh, Shah Jiwana were influential in mobilizing support for the unionist. The rival Gilanis and Qureshi, Pir families of Multan Carved up the Multan and Sujabad Constituencies between them.[37] Fourteen of the leading Pirs of the Punjab and its surrounding areas

issued an election appeal on the Unionist Party's behalf.[38]

In the 1937 election, Fazil-I-Hussain and his successors were more anxious to secure the support of the Pire. The Unionist high command approached a number of influential Pirs to come their support in the elections. Most of the prominent Pirs supported to the Unionist Party.

Generally, the voters cast their votes on tribal or personal basis and not according to their political conviction. The rural constituencies obeyed their landlord and Pirs. During the election of 1937 one thing was very interesting that all those traditional landlords and Pirs families whose motives were to continue their dominance.[39]

The National Unionist Party emerged as an influential group in the Council. It provided new hopes and broad inter-communal out look to the people of the Punjab but actually it organized the landlords, the favorites of the British and brought them into power as rulers of the Punjab. The Unionist manifesto provided protection to the existing power structure by supporting the land Alienation Act. In return, the landlords and Pirs provided necessary assistance to the Unionist Party to strengthen its political position against the Congress and the Muslim League with in the Punjab Legislative Council. The feudals always won their elections by mobilizing their kinsmen tenants, labourers and murids. The election compaign of Gurmani in 1937 also exposed us to a very remarkable aspect of his political career. He had intimate relation with the remarkable figures of his constituency who ultimately resulted in his

success. Sehars, Saheetay of Leyyah, Tungwani of Kot Sultan, Makhdoom of Daira Din Pana and Jukhar is of Hassan Pur. Gurmanis of Tattha Gurmani were his stanch supporters Jokhars, Qureshis and Dasti were the opposing group. He was also aware of the political importance of the spiritual mentors (Sajjada Nashin) in the western Punjab and his area.[40] He wrote a letter to Sir Fazal Hussian in 1937 in which he made realize to importance of Sajjada Nashin in politics and also persuaded them for the support of the Unionists. He contacted the Pirs of Taunsa Sharif, Gillanis of Multan, Qureshies of Multan, Mukhdoom of Daira Din Panah, Pir of Siwag in Leyyah, Bokharies of Uch Shareef, Mukhdoom of Bahawalpur to win support for his allies and himself. He had also personal contact with Pir which gave him a spiritual determination, which brought about respect to him among the people of his area and Pirs of different areas.

In the Punjab Unionist Party Mushtaq took the oath of office of Private Parliamentary Secretary on April, 1937, under the leadership of sir Sikandar Hayat.[41] Mushtaq Gurmani was appointed as a Parliamentary Private Secretary of Education and Health. The cabinet pledged itself to a programme of future advance in the province's rural areas, expansion of educational opportunities, elimination of the disabilities of the backward and schedule castes, and prosecution of new development scheme.

The Congress, which claimed to be the largest representative political organization in the country, had inspired confidence amongst the minorities. The Congress assured them that the interests of

minorities would be safe in the hands of the majority, the contingency of Communal award or separate electorates would never have arisen. Gurmani replied that question of minorities rights, that if they wanted to do away with Communal and electorates, they should try to inspire confidence amongst the minorities by following the lead given by the Unionist Party in the Punjab.[42]

Gurmani was the strong supporter of Unionist policies. He suggested that if the Congress followed the lead given by the Unionist party, the whole question would be solved before long.[43] He promptly responded Nehru's statement in which said that in subcontinent one was Hindus other was British Gurmani criticized this statement in assembly and also said that Muslims were also a big nation in the subcontinent.[44] Though the Muslim League secured only two seats. The Muslim members of the Unionist Party were very worried over severance of their association with the Muslim League, particularly Nawab Shahnawaz Mamdot, who advised Sikandar to patch things up with the League.[45] They had received as assurance that Jinnah was ready to help Sikandar to solve the very practical problems of making the Unionist Party, or its Muslims members, part of the League.[46] Formal invitation was sent to those members of the Unionist Party who wee members of the League Council to attend the League session at Lucknow. Their constitutional position had not changed if they campaigned against the League. The twenty-fifth session of the All India Muslim League commenced at Lalbagh, Lucknow, on October 15, 1937.[47] The members accepted and accompanied

Sikandar to attend the League session. Mamdot and Raja Ghazanfar Ali were among those who dealt with the League and arranged for Sikandar himself to attend as a "special invitee."[48] The existing Muslim League members in the Punjab also attended the session, represented particularly by Malik Barkat Ali since Iqbal was in too poor health to attend.[49] As agreed there was a talk between Jinnah and Sikandar. Barkat Ali prepared a draft but Sir Sikandar rejected it. He said that condition in the draft assumed to compel him to stay out of the League rather than joined it.[50] Another draft was done by Mir Maqbol Mahmud with Raja Ghaznafar Ali and Nawab Mamdot aiding him. Both Sikandar and Jinnah singed this "pact" and it was satified by the Council of the League.[51]

The terms of the agreement were straightforward. It arranged for Muslim Unionists to participate in the League on national matters, while they would remain unionists in regard to provincial questions. Sikandar would ask all Muslims in the Unionist Party in the Assembly to join the League's central and provincial bodies. Future elections and by elections would be held under the banner of the Unionist Party in the Assembly to join the League's central and provincial bodies, and those elected members would form Muslim League Assembly Party. They would be freed to enter into alliances or understanding with any group with smaller programme and the Punjab Muslim League Parliamentary Board would be reorganized.[52] The pact was enthusiastically greeted in the Muslim League session.[53] The reconstruction of the Punjab

League Board was not painless. But Iqbal before his death complained to Jinnah about usurpation of the affairs by Sikandar's men.[54] Sikandar met Iqbal, stressed that the pact did not affect the composition or the working of the Unionist Party. They Punjab Muslim League would be reorganized with his mayoralty in the Provincial Parliamentary Board. The Leader of the Provincial League alleged that Muslim members of the Union party hesitated to sign the League pledge. They said that Sir Sikandar intended to bring the provincial League under his control.[55] Quaid-i-Azam assured them that their differences could be amicably resolved after signing the League pledge.[56]

In March 1938, Allama Iqbal resigned from the Presidentship of the Punjab League and was replaced by Sir Shah Nawaz of Mamdot.[57] In April 1938, Sir Sikandar attended the special session of the Muslim League in Calcutta. He also expressed his full confidence in Quaid-i-Azam Leadership.[58] In the same session, the Punjab League was disaffiliated when the All India Muslim League Council met in Calcutta under the Presidentship of Jinnah on April 18, and 19, 1938.[59] A thirty-five member organizing Committee was appointed by Jinnah, under the Presidentship of Sir Sikandar Hayat.[60] Three days before Iqbal's death, 25 out of 35 seats on the League organization Committee in the Punjab were given to Sikandar and his group, while Iqbal's group was allotted only 10 seats.[61] Gurmani was also member of this Organizing Committee.[62]

The League made its first move towards partition in October 1938 through its Sind provincial

branch. The Conference opened on 8th October and lasted till the 13th. Among those who attended its were Jinnah, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Fazal Haq, Liaquat Ali Khan, Shaukat Ali, Raja of Mahmudabad, Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Naqwab Jamal Khan Lehgari, Moulana Hamid Badayuni, Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, M.A. Khuro, Mir Bunde Ali Khan, Sir Sultan Ahmad and Abdullah Haroon Himself.[63] When the Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference met in Karachi, under the Presidentship of the Quaid, the Question of the shape of future constitutional reforms that would be in the best interest of Muslims of India.[64] Haji Haroon was the main spirit behind the Conference. He had strong views on the future of Muslim Politics. As a result of the deliberations of these leaders, the Conference adopted a resolution, which said:

> This Conference considers it absolutely essential that the interest of an abiding peace of the vast Indian continent and in the interests of unhampered cultural development, the economic and social betterment, and political self determination of the two nations known as Hindus and Muslims. This conference therefore recommends to the All-India Muslim League to devise a scheme of constitution under which Muslims may attain full independence.[65]

It was the main political resolution, and was moved by Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, who took nearly half an hour to readout. The resolution was seconded by Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani of the Punjab, and supported by Haroon of Sind and Sajjad Abdur Rauf

Shab of the Central Provinces.[66] Its resolution had set the ball of Pakistan rolling. It has given a new revolutionary turn to the politics of Muslim India. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani had the distinction of having been one of foremost planers and executor of that turn.[67]

The twenty-sixth Annual session of the All India Muslim League was opened at Patna on December 26, 1938, and continued for the next three days under the Presidentship of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.[68] Jinnah addressed to the session, on which he threw light on the activities of Congress Ministries. He emphasized that unity should be generated among the Muslims. He advised that the Muslims in the Congress Camp to join the Muslim League for their own benefit and the benefit of the entire Muslim community.[69] When the third day, sitting of the session commenced in the morning a resolution on the non-interference in the affairs of Indian states was adapted the Muslim League thought it was bound by its present programme and policy to maintain on attitude of non-interference in the affairs of the Indian States.[70]

The League already declared that it would not interfere in the internal administration of the states. Its main reason was that Rulers of states were Indians and had sympathy of the League. But the Congress and certain other Hindu Organizations were interfering directly in some states where the Hindus were in a majority. Many allegations were made against certain states, especially Hyderabad. Because it was governed by a Muslim Ruler. Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Private Parliamentary Secretary of the

Punjab Government supporting the resolution, said that Congress had declared its "Home Deptt. Hindu Mahasaba"[71] to take steps to bring the state under its influence. He said that the Congress kept its eyes shut as regards Muslims sufferings in Kashmir.[72] He accused the Congress of suffering from a minority phobia and of trying to suppress the Muslims in every conceivable manner, both in British India and the Indian states. This session of the All India Muslim League once more demanded that full reform and a state equal to that of the other provinces in India should be given to British Baluchistan.[73] He requested the British to take immediate steps in that direction with out any further delay. This resolution was moved by Khan Bahadur Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani.[74]

At the Patna session of the Muslim League on Organizing Committee was setup under the Chairmanship of Sikandar Hayat. Its main purpose was to promote the establishment of District Branches of the League throughout the Province.

On March 6, 1939, this Committee met, under the Chairmanship of Sikandar Hayat, to initiate steps to carry out its assignments. He appointed Mian Ramzan Ali, as a caretaker for the implementation of its organization decision with the assistance of Pir Taj-ud-Din, Mian Bashir Ahmad and Fayyaz Ahmad.[75] Veteran Leaguers of the Punjab thought that Sikandar Hayat actually wanted to lead the Punjab Muslim League as well as his own Unionist Party. Malik Barkat and others stopped him from getting the leadership of the Punjab Muslim League. When the matter was referred to Jinnah, he strongly "denied the existence of any oral understanding beyond the

terms of the Jinnah Sikandar Pact."[76] In the Patna session of All India Muslim League, the tension Between Sikandar and Barkat Ali was lessened through the efforts of theirs colleagues.[77] Differences between Sikandar and Malik Barkat Surfaced again when the League organizing committee began it held its meeting under the Chairmanship of Sikandar. The organizing Committee met on August 11, 1939, to initiate preparation for the forth coming League session at Lahore, in 1940 and to complete arrangements for the formation of the new Provincial Muslim League.

On 27th August, 1939, the All India Muslim session was Commenced at Delhi, in which Mian Ahmad Yar Daultana, Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Syed Afzal Ali, Syed Amjad Ali, Nawab Muzaffar Ali Khan and Nawabzada Khurshid Ali Khan, all they came form the Unionist Party[78] attended the session. But Mushtaq Gurmani did not participate in the discussion.[79] At the next meeting of he Organizing Committee held on November 8, 1939, in which further discussion of formation of the Punjab Muslim League. However, another meeting of the Committee was held on January 10, 1940 at the residence of Sikandar. When, according to Batalvi, only Muslim Unionist were present, he announced the establishment of the Punjab Muslim League to the press on January 11, 1940. Nawab Shah Nawaz Mamdot was elected as the president of the Punjab League, Mian Ramzan Ali as the Secretary, and Mian Amir-ud-Din and Muhammad Ali Jafri as financial secretary and Organizing Secretary.[80] Sikandar was elected as the leader of the Muslim League. The case

for the affiliation of the newly constituted Muslim League, Shah Nawaz went to attend the session of the All India Muslim Council in Delhi on February 25, 1940. But Malik Barkat Ali, Ashiq Hussain Batalvi and Pir Taj-ud-Din were also present there, and they argued that the new organization did not enjoy the support of the Muslims of the Punjab.[81] They said, "it is a Branch of the Unionist Party.[82] To resolve this problem, the League Council set up an Enquiry committee headed by Nawab Ismail whit Khaliquzzaman and Rajs Mahmudabad as member. Malik Barkat Ali and his group submitted their plea before the Enquiry Committee, which also heard evidence given by Malik Rabnawaz of Ferozpur, Syed Mir Ahmad Shah of Compbelpur and Nawaz Wilayat Ali Khan of Karnal."[83]

On the other hand, Nawab Shah Nawaz Mamdot, Mian Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Mian Ramzan Ali, Raja Ghazanffar Ali Khan and Syed Amjad Ali pleaded the case of the newly established provincial League as "the main, trust worthy witness of Sir Sikandar."[84]

After reviewing the Punjab Muslim League's application, the Enquiry Committee decided to grant of affiliation on March 16, 1940.[85] In the meantime difference arose between Quaid and the Unionists over the question of participation in war Committee and interpretation of the Lahore Resolution. Sir Sikandar wished to provide full support to the government for its war efforts. The Muslim League working Committee held on June 17, October Bombay, warned it members against joining any of the war Committee and Boards. The Muslims

members of the unionist party, some of, whom were present in the meeting, were not happy over this decision.[86] Sikandar Hayat attended this session. However, on his return to Lahore, Sikandar inaugurated the Punjab war Board established by the Governor. This inaugural session was attended, among others, by Nawab Shah Nawaz, Mamdot, Mian Mushtaq Ahmad Grumani, Syed Amjad Ali, Raja Ghazanffar Ali Khan and Mian Amir-ud-Din.[87] In this meeting, decision was taken to establish the District War Board in the Province.[88]

In an interview in September 1940, Sikandar strongly objected to the idea of dividing India on communal lines. He said, "Punjab should not be ruled by one nation but all Punjabis."[89] When he was questioned about his position about Pakistan, he categorically stated it remained the same as after the Lahore Session. He also emphasized that the Lahore Resolution did not envisage the division of India.[90]

The Inqalab of Lahore generally supported his stand and interpretation of the Lahore Resolution.[91] In February, Jinnah in a letter objected to his statement and asked him to refute them.[92] Earlier in Feb. 1942, Sir Sikandar while replying to an adjournment motion regarding detention of Congress members of the Assembly reiterated that "I do not stand by Barkat Ali's Pakistan.[93] On his strong statement, Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani and Nawab Shah Nawaz Mamdot objected and threatened to resign from the parliamentary until he contradicted the press report.[94] In March 1941,[95]the Punjab Muslim student Federation had resolved to hold a special Pakistan Conference at Lahore in support of

the Pakistan resolution of the League. This was the most important, meaningful and magnificent of all student Conference. It was for the first time, that the Federation took the lead in holding such a conference. A few days later, After the Quaid's approval of the programme, the Muslim students under the guidance of the Punjab Muslim student Federation worked day and night. In order to win the support of the Muslim leadership, the Federation wrote letters to men allover the country invitation to attend the conference. The response was admirable. The Muslim leadership from all over the country sent their god will messages. Form amongst the Muslim leadership, the names Sardar Aurangzeb, Mian Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, Nawqab Bahadur Yar Jang, Sir Shah Nawaz Mamdot, Qazi Isa and Choudhary Khaliquzaman were important.[96]

As a member of Punjab Legislative Assembly Gurmani showed concern for the development of his area. He suggested various schemes for the betterment of district Muzaffargarh. Gurmani suggested introducing progressive system of education in the district of Muzaffargarh which would help to evaluate to equip its inhabitants to meet the needs of the time. Only 1.9 percent of he people were literate in the district which was a miserable turnout as compared to the education standards in other districts.[97] He reiterated the primary education was not enough to enable the people to put signatories on the ledger of the "Sahokars" while their fathers put their thumb impression on that Primary education was not helpful to change the ground realities. The education should help them to

become the useful members of the society and farmer and professional. He suggested that to achieve such ends an agriculture form was to attach to the schools in rural area and industry in the urban areas. To establish such schools in area like Amritsar and Lahore would not provide the desired results where people had ample opportunities to learn about the industry in different industries. He also suggested changes in the curriculum of education. To him "education should bring light to those who are in darkness the curriculum should be introduced in such a way the boys of the Area had at least access to the vernacular newspaper. The text must have had the material which would evaluate the boys to have some idea about the modern method of quite respective professions. More over the education should be made compulsory and free upto the sixth level."[98]

He was also very much concerned about the economic condition of the district Muzaffargarh in 1932, as member of Punjab Legislative Council, he criticized the performance of agriculture department to the district of Muzaffargarh. He developed their better seed should be provided to the farmers and experimental farms established in the district where land friendly crops are explored. He also emphasized upon the encouragement of fruit growing in the district by the Government. He suggested that fruit specialist headquarters should be established in the district. Fruit farms were established where climates plants were explored and then provided to the zamindar on nominal rate and money was realised through installments. Abiana rate should be lowered

for first five years on gardens. He urged the government to establish cottage industry. More sugar industry had better prosperity in this area. In this way the interests of rural areas should be saved from the exploitation of those who had little concern with the land.[99]

The Muzaffargarh was always flooded with the river water which caused many diseases in the human beings in cattle's. Gurmani criticized, it and pointed out the poor performance of the Health Department, which was causing the spread of Malaria among the people and also many diseases in cattles. He demanded that necessary arrangement should be made to make available travelling hospitals and free medicine to the people and also vaccination arrangement for the pre-emptive diseases. He also criticized the incompetence of the civil administration in the district. He suggested the progress reports of the engaged department should regularly be sent to the government and the heads of the concerned departments should strictly watch the work of the respective department in area.

The Thal Irrigation scheme was the first irrigation project which was formulated by the Punjab government. This scheme was prepared in 1871, but so far it had remained on papers. M. A. Gurmani said:

> The people of Muzaffargarh, Mianwali and Shahpur Districts have waited enough and they are living in the hope of seeing the fruit of this project. The government should make an honest effort to give this scheme practical shape, with the least possible delay.[100]

He further raised question about the construction of Ghazi Ghat. At that time, that was a boat bridge on a canal near Ghazi Ghatt. After the Second World War, Mian Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani was appointed as a Director of Recruitment (Technical, vocational Training, and publicity) by the government of India on March 1942:[101]

Technical wing was under the control of Labour Department and its main objectives were to: provide facilities for technical training to suitably qualified, demobilized services personnel with a view to facilitating their reserve in civil life;[102] help-demobilized because personal to in crease their earning capacity and to take up useful occupations;[103] make the maximum use of the country for the production of Consumer goods; provide the requisite skilled manpower for the development of small scales cottage industry; securing an adequate supply of skilled personnel required for the post war development schemes, both govt. in a private.[104]

This Directorate of publicity was also observing working under the Labour Deptt. It was responsible for the recruitment of technicians, training of demobilized persons in non-engineering trades.[105]

On December 26, 1942, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan died in Lahore. Malik Khizer Hayat Tiwana was appointed Premier and gained the support of the Assembly. Malik Khazir Hayat Tawana was fond of old tradition and the Unionist Party. He was unable to understand the rapidly changing political condition in the sub-continent. The British were planning to give up those responsibilities in India soon after the war, while the Congress was bringing all kinds of pressure

for immediate independence and establishment of a Constituent Assembly. The Muslim League also made its efforts for the acceptance of its demand for Pakistan. The Unionist Party established its branches in every part of the country and launched a vigorous campaign for mobilizing the Muslim Masses.[106]

This action was against the rules of the Muslim League. In March 1943, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni moved a resolution in the Muslim League Council. He criticized the Muslim Leaders of the Unionist Party for their negligence towards the Muslim League and failure to establish Muslim League parliamentary in the Punjab Assembly. Khizer's groups demanded that Muslim League should not interfere in the Punjab affairs.[107] A number of Muslims complained to the Muslim League leaders and demanded to take effective action against it and to free it from the Sikandar. Jinnah pact. Then Quaid visited Lahore in March 1944, but failed to convince Khizr Hayat who was later expelled from League and his Muslim Ministers were urged to quit his cabinet. Then Gurmani resigned form the Unionist Party and left the Government benches in the Punjab Legislature.[108]

Towards the end of March 1945, the Government of India decided that the responsibility for the Resettlement and Employment in civil life of demobilized services personnel and discharged workers should be assigned to Labour department.[109] Labour Department before this prepared a scheme for setting up a co-ordinate result and employment organization.[110] The scheme was circulated to all Department of the Govt. of India to the provincial

governments on 17th April, 1945.[111] Provincial Government had accepted the scheme. The primary function of this organization was to deal the resettlement of ex-servicemen and women and discharge war workers.[112] Its main objective was to achieve full employment and higher living standard for the people of India.[113]

Employment exchange wing under the Labour Department was set up on June, 1945.[114] Its objective was to impart the requisites knowledge and training to those who had been selected for managerial posts.[115] Under the Labour Department scheme employment was to be established, exchange work was a technical character and required a fully trained managerial staff.[116] At that time, it was not available in India.[117] In consultation with the Federal Public Service Commission, Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani was appointed Director General of Resettlement and Employment on 18th July, 1945, and he remained this post till 1947.

On 19 February 1946, the British government announced that a Cabinet Mission led by Lord Pethick Lawrence (secretary of state for India), sir Stafford Cripps (The President of the board of Trate), and Mr. A.V. Alexander (First Lord of the Admiralty, would be sent to India to resolve the constitutional dead lock. The Cabinet Mission arrived in new Delhi on March 24, 1946. The Cabinet Mission spent three weeks in discussion with the representatives of the Congress, the Muslim League, the Sikhs, and the Hindu Mahasaba.

The Congress made it clear that it wold never agree to the partition of India. On April 3, 1946,

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad met the Mission and made it clear that the Congress stood for undisputed independence for a United India, and the future constitution must be drawn up by the constituent Assembly. He also explained that the Congress wanted a Federal Govt. with a limited number of compulsory federal subjects such as defence, communication and foreign affairs, the residuary power would vest in the autonomous provinces. He added that Pakistan demanded by the League was harmful to Muslims.[118]

Mr. Jinnah decided to call a convention of all Muslim members of the central and provincial Assemblies. On April, 7, 8 and 9, over 400 Muslim legislators attended the convention at Delhi. M. A. Jinnah presided over the Convention and H.S. Shurawardy moved a resolution. The resolution demanded that the six provinces of Bengal and Assam in the North East and the Punjab, North West Frontier province, Sind and Baluchistan in the North West be constituted into sovereign independent state of Pakistan, and that two-separate constitution making bodies be set up by the people of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions, and the provision of safeguards for minorities. Any attempt to impose a constitution or to force on them an interim government contrary to the Muslim League point of view, one hundred million Muslim would resist such a move with all the force at their command for their national survival.[119]

After discussion with various leaders, the Cabinet Mission proceeded to Kashmir for a short

rest. In Kashmir, they hatched a plan which it thought would be acceptable to the Congress and the League. This was the dilemma the Cabinet Mission hoped to resolve by their three-tier proposal. It was put forward by Cripps, who had borrowed it from a Punjabi Leaguer, Nawab M.A. Gurmani.[120] At the top there would be the Union of All India, in the middle the sub federations of Pakistan and Hindustan with separate legislatures, and below them provinces and states or groups of states, which agreed to, join one or other of the two sub-federations.[121] Jinnah was not agreeable to the three-tier Union Scheme.[122] Jinnah wanted an independent sovereign state. The Congress on the other hand, was even opposed to the creation of an all-India Union on a three-tier basis.[123] Congress had already expressed their opposition to the scheme, who wanted to avoid partition at any cost, persuaded the Congress to agree to maximum autonomy to provinces as a better alternative than the partition of the country.

Jinnah told Shaukat Hayat that he was grieved at an alternative scheme of Pakistan having been proposed to the Cabinet Mission, whose author, among others, was M.A. Gurmani.[124] Gurmani had taken up a definite position that the third June Plan was based on his plan submitted to the Cabinet Mission and there was no other alternative plan put forward by him which might have caused grief to Jinnah.[125] He told Mr. Inamur Rehman that his formula envisaged a united India with autonomous units reserving a few subjects like defence and foreign affair for the central Government. That proposal submitted by M.A. Gurmani to the Cabinet

Mission of which Cripps was a member, was opposed to the idea of the Creation of Pakistan.[126] He was at that time joint secretary to the Government of India. He made those proposals as a Government servant. Gurmani told him that he made his proposal in his capacity of a Govt. servant.[127] W.M. Short, Secretary of Cripps, appreciated Gurmani's contribution in the formation of Cabinet Plan and paid great homage to his statesmanship.[128]

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ACCOUNTABILITY AND ADMINISTRATIVE EFFICIENCY: THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SOUP KITCHEN ACT IN IRELAND (1847)

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ABSTRACT

British narratives glorify the administration's management of the Great Irish Famine of the 1840s. However, revisionist historians suggest that the soup kitchen established under the Temporary Relief Act were not as effective in addressing the needs of the people struck by famine as claimed by the British administrators. This paper examines the issues of accountability that were not addressed by the administrators. While the soup kitchens did indeed redress various Famine-related issues, this paper argues that these soup kitchens created further issues resulting from mismanagement and the absence of accountability.

Key Words

Ireland, Famine, Soup Kitchen, Accountability

The Great Irish Famine of the 1840s was a controversial event, whose interpretation divided both nineteenth-century politicians and modern historians. Though the direct cause of the Famine was the outbreak of the potato blight in the potato fields,

the inefficient British relief policies, the dominant ideology of political economy and the English feeling of superiority over the Irish largely contributed to a serious degradation of the situation. Had the political will existed to mitigate the suffering of the Irish paupers, the Famine would not have extended over six consecutive years (1845-1851). The first year of the Famine was handled by Sir Robert Peel, the Tory British Prime Minister of the time. The second year of the Famine and the subsequent years were under the administration of the Whig Prime Minister Lord John Russell. By the autumn of 1846, public works, which represented the main relief measure of the Whig administration, failed to provide effective assistance to the increasing number of paupers.[1] Therefore, the Whig government introduced in 1847 the Temporary Relief Act known as the Soup-Kitchen Act.[2] This relief scheme stipulated that soups were to be distributed freely to the Irish paupers.

Historians seem to be divided over the administrative capability of British relief policy-makers. While nationalist historians indicate that the British politicians and administrators were sufficiently skilled to administer adequate forms of relief to massive numbers of paupers, revisionist historians ascribe the failure of the British government's relief policy to both the limited skills of contemporary politicians and the huge number of relief recipients. Though the nationalist-revisionist debate has been marked by a fierce struggle in the academic circles, the emergence of post-revisionism in the 1990s led to a moderate interpretation of the Irish past. The main objective of post-revisionist historians is to

provide an understanding of the past free from the ideological constraints of either nationalism or revisionism. Therefore, many of the conclusions of both nationalism and revisionism are defied and re-examined by post-revisionist historians. However, the emergence of post-revisionism did not end the polarisation of the Irish past. A number of post-revisionist historians still support nationalism or revisionism.[3]

The historian and Famine specialist Christine Kinealy argues in her book, *The Great Irish Famine: Impact, Ideology and Rebellion*, that the British public servants of the time were able to devise a machinery of relief capable of feeding about three million people daily. Unlike the revisionist accounts of the Famine events, she indicates that the British government had the logistic and administrative skills to provide relief to massive numbers of paupers:

In terms of relief provision, however, the Temporary Relief Act was undoubtedly the most successful policy introduced by the Whig government. At its peak in July 1847, over three million people were being provided with free rations of food daily, clearly demonstrating the logistical ability of the government to manage a system of large-scale relief.[4]

Revisionist historians, however, argue that the British politicians of the day did not possess the administrative and logistic ability to administer relief to the massive numbers of paupers. K.B. Nowlan states in the introduction of the book of Edwards and Williams, *The Great Famine: Studies in Irish History*,

that the British politicians struggled very hard with the Irish conditions in order to mitigate the suffering of the people. Moreover, he holds a sympathetic attitude towards their role and blames the situation on the Irish economy and social conditions.[5]

The post-revisionist account of history, which provides a moderate approach to the writing of the Irish past, seems to oppose the revisionist conclusion that the British politicians lacked the expertise to administer relief to all the Irish paupers. The economic historian Cormac O' Grada argues that the implementation of the Temporary Relief Act was carried out with success. Though he questions the dietary value of the soup provided to the paupers, he indicates that the government's relief measure contributed to the fall of mortality:

The publicly-financed soup kitchens which replaced the public works were designed to target those most at risk directly. The food rations were in effect non-transferable and non-storable. They reached three million people daily at their peak in early 1847, an extraordinary bureaucratic feat. Doubts remain about the effectiveness of a diet of thin meal-based gruel on weakened stomachs, but mortality seemed to fall while the soup kitchens operated.[6]

This article seeks to examine the way in which the Temporary Relief Act was implemented with a special emphasis on the degree of the adequacy of the soup kitchens as a form of relief. Unlike other works dealing with the soup kitchens as a form of relief,[7] it mainly emphasises the close relationship between

the implementation of the Temporary Relief Act and the highly-debated theme of accountability. While a number of historians hold the British government of the time guilty for the loss of human lives during the Famine years, other historians tend to be sympathetic to its role.[8] In order to avoid anachronism and passing judgements on the performance of the British public servants, the government's action should be examined within the context of nineteenth-century. Therefore, this article examines a number of primary sources in an attempt to measure the administrative competence of relief officials and policy makers. An evidence of the British government's capability to provide relief successfully to massive numbers of people implies that the British government of the time could be held guilty for its inaction during the operation of the rest of the relief measures. However, an evidence of the contemporary administrators' inability to cope with the increasing demands for relief implies that the British officials of the time did not possess the skills to meet the demands of the Irish people.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE SOUP SYSTEM

The alleviation of distress under the provisions of the Temporary Relief Act consisted of providing cooked rations to the destitute people.[9] In an attempt to ensure a varied diet, the Commissioners underlined that the cooked food should occasionally include rice porridge. Children under nine years of age were to receive half rations and those who were older than nine along with adults were to receive full rations.[10]

Despite the fact that the paupers regarded the rations of soup insufficient, the Commissioners claimed that the Board of Health approved the quantities provided. They stressed the fact that the role of the government was not to ensure comfortable living conditions to the people who were to receive only "what is strictly necessary".[11]

The Temporary Relief Act seemed to be introduced after a wide range of consultations among the major officials of Irish relief. The consultations included correspondence between the British Prime Minister and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Bessborough.[12] The correspondence of the head of the Commissariat and the officers of the Board of Works also reflected consistent views about the necessity to implement the free distribution of food instead of ineffective public works. A wide range of communications between the different administrative branches of relief proved to be indispensable to ensure a smooth transition from the current relief measures to the soup system.[13]

The government established a Commission, under the superintendence of John Burgoyne,[14] to implement the new scheme of relief. The Commission played the role of the central administration which supervised the local administrations[15] in charge of the direct provision of soups throughout Ireland. In order to avoid confusion and ensure better implementation of the relief scheme, the correspondence of the Local Relief Committees should only be sent by their chairmen. Relief policy-makers also insisted on the administrative efficiency of the members of the Local Relief Committees. As a matter of fact, the

Temporary Relief Act enabled the major officials of relief to dismiss the incompetent members of the Local Relief Committees.[16]

While the Local Relief Committees were to supervise the provision of cooked food within the electoral divisions, the government established a Finance Committee in each Poor Law Union in order to control the expenditure of relief. The latter was composed of two or four resident landlords to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant.[17] One of the major roles of the Committees was to encourage the exploitation of land to its full potential. To this end, a joint action was to be organised with the Local Relief Committees in order to encourage the landowners to cultivate the land and find solutions to the problems preventing farm work. The Finance Committees were also to play an important role in checking the working of the Local Relief Committees. The lists of paupers were accepted only after being checked and corrected by the Finance Committees and then approved by their chairmen. The account books of rations and the amount required by the Local Relief Committees were also subject to the inspection and approval of the Finance Committees.[18] It was evident that the establishment of these committees barred the local bodies from their traditional powers. The scope of action of the Local Relief Committees seemed to be very limited as the Finance Committees were to make the final decisions concerning the provision of relief. The Local Relief Committees were no longer allowed to furnish or issue relief tickets without the consent of the Finance Committees. Such changes in the role of the local bodies certainly

reflected the government's anxiety to ensure a greater control upon the working of the Act.

The necessary funds for the operation of the Act were derived from three sources. Firstly, they consisted of the collected rates within the Poor Law Union. Secondly, subscriptions whether local or from any kind of charitable bodies were added to these funds. Thirdly, the Treasury would grant money to the Committees in proportion to the contribution of both private charity and the collected rates. In case there was a shortage of funds in the Poor Law Unions, the Treasury would also advance money on the security of the rates.[19] In doing so, the government mainly made the financing of relief a local responsibility. This also marked an extension of the role of the Poor Law. Under the provisions of the new Act, the local administrators of the Poor Law were to administer relief not only within the workhouses but also outside them. Instead of being used for the provision of only the permanent form of relief, the poor rates were to finance relief on an extensive level. It is important to mention that whenever an advance of money was made by the Treasury, the Committees were required to strike a new rate for the immediate collection of the funds advanced. However, this was by no means possible in all the unions. The inability of the Boards of Guardians to collect the rates often led to their dissolution and the appointment of paid officials.[20]

Despite the optimism of the major officials of relief about the implementation of the Act, they seemed to be cautious about its management. George Grey, the Home Secretary, indicated to the

Lord Lieutenant that "great care and prudence would be requisite in the administration of this relief".[21] He made it clear that the objective of the government was to encourage private employment in agriculture and re-establish the ordinary relations between the occupiers and the owners of land. The mismanagement of the scheme, he indicated, could encourage idleness and increase the number of people requiring relief. For this reason, Grey argued that a strict superintendence of relief was necessary for the successful working of the Act.[22]

The new relief measure, which needed a transitory period for its implementation throughout Ireland, marked a transfer of responsibility from the Relief Commission under the control of Sir Randolph Routh[23] to the newly established Commission managed by Burgoyne. Moreover, Routh had to play a secondary role under the provisions of the Temporary Relief Act. He had to carry on the importation and sale of Indian corn to its final stage while being a member of the new Commission. He seemed to be extensively engaged in the government's network of consultations about the best ways to administer relief in Ireland.[24]

The introduction of the Temporary Relief Act violated one of the fundamental principles upon which the government acted since the Poor Law Act of 1838. From the outbreak of the Famine till January 1847, most of the government officials proved to be committed to the idea that relief should be provided within the workhouses. Though the government adopted public works and the sale of Indian corn as an integral part of its relief policy, these two

measures were regarded as temporary and their implementation did not modify the operation of the Poor Law. Additionally, the operation of both forms of relief did not enable the paupers to receive assistance in the form of food outside the workhouses. That the government decided to provide food freely represented a fundamental change in the administration of relief. While public charity had been restricted to the most distressed, the new Act made it possible, in some cases, even for the holders of land to be admitted among the people receiving assistance. The eligibility for relief seemed to cover a larger number of people than it had been the case under the provisions of the previous legislation.[25] In spite of that, it was not the intention of the government to be extensively engaged in the mitigation of Irish distress. The main aim of the Whig administration proved to be the adoption of a cheaper form of relief.

It is important to mention that before the passage of the Temporary Relief Act the chairman of the Relief Commission was critical of the government's decision to provide relief in the form of the free distribution of food. In the beginning of December 1846, he indicated that the people should be taught how to cook their own food instead of the gratuitous soup. The free distribution of soups, he argued, might increase the number of people dependent upon the government. He feared that the new measure might accentuate the economic crisis.[26] However, he did not maintain consistent views about the new scheme of relief. By the end of the same month, he appeared to be highly confident in the

machinery of the new measure "The soup system promises to be a great resource and I am endeavouring to turn the views of the committees to it. It will have a double effect, of feeding the people at a lower price and economising our meal".[27]

It was evident that the introduction of the Temporary Relief Act emphasised both the principle of local responsibility and the provision of relief at low cost. Though government officials acknowledged the limitations of the Act to eradicate destitution, they were generally optimistic about its operation. The administrative preparations for the implementation of the soup system also showed that government officials wanted to implement a highly-controlled system of relief in an attempt to avoid cheating while providing assistance to the paupers.

THE OPERATION OF THE TEMPORARY RELIEF ACT

At the beginning of 1847, the Local Relief Committees in the most distressed districts were urged to establish soup kitchens as quickly as possible. The main objective of the government was to relieve a larger number of people at low cost. For this purpose, the government granted donations of sums of money equal to the collected sums of money for the introduction of the soup system "The Committees are well aware of the very great encouragement intended by the Government in giving them donations equal to the amount of their subscriptions".[28] The ease with which the rates were collected reflected the rate-payers' enthusiasm about the operation of the new scheme. Contrary to the

beginning of the implementation of the previous scheme, which had been marked by a major difficulty in the financing of relief projects, the beginning of the operation of the soup system was characterised by the quick collection of funds.

After a few months of its operation, the Temporary Relief Act introduced change in the market. Due to the fact that a large number of destitute people were fed with a limited quantity of food, market prices decreased significantly. This made the Commissioners optimistic about the role of the Local Relief Committees to provide relief under the most economical arrangements. However, the working of the Act was, the Commissioners argued, based upon unsound principles. In their first report, they emphasised the fact that the Act was of a "temporary character".[29] They appeared to be apprehensive about the consequences of providing relief to an immense number of people. They feared that the Act would result in long-lasting social evils as people became increasingly dependent upon the government.

It was a fundamental concern to the government that the implementation of the Temporary Relief Act should be carried out at low cost. To this end, the government sought to establish cheap soup kitchens throughout Ireland. The head cook of the Reform Club, Mr Soyer,[30] invented a new cooking device of soups which met the satisfaction of the Treasury.[31] In a letter to Routh, Charles Trevelyan, the undersecretary to the Treasury, indicated that Mr Soyer's apparatus would provide a cheap form of relief. The correspondence of the Treasury with the

Relief Commission was marked by Trevelyan's confidence in Soyer's invention. He also showed a concern for the adoption of a cheap recipe proposed by the same cook. Consequently, he suggested that Mr Soyer should teach the cooks of the Local Relief Committees the way to cook soups "in the most nourishing and economical manner".[32]

Despite Trevelyan's optimism about the quality of Soyer's soup, contemporary medical research contrasted with the attitude of relief policy-makers. The findings of Henry Marsh, the physician of the Queen, opposed the general atmosphere of enthusiasm about the new soup. He explained in a pamphlet that the soup did not constitute a healthy diet to the labourers:

Food of this description is unsuited to the labourer. It will not maintain strength nor will it maintain health and, if long preserved in, it will be followed by someone or other of the prevailing diseases which result immediately from deficient, imperfect and impoverished blood.[33]

Additionally, Soyer's soup was criticised by the *Times* which announced in the month of February that the proposed recipes were deficient in the essential vitamins for the human body.[34] There is no doubt that the soup system did not contribute to the amelioration of the health of relief recipients. Notwithstanding the fact that relief officials rated the soup system highly, the food distributed to the paupers did not represent a healthy diet.[35] An examination of the official reports about the state of

health of the paupers in 1847 supports the view that the soup distributed was deficient in the necessary vitamins for the human body. In summer 1847, health officials recorded the spread of a disease "sea scurvy" which made the Board of Health insist on the introduction of fresh vegetables in the soup.[36] It is worth noting that scurvy was essentially caused by a significant drop in Vitamin C intake. While the potato diet represented a substantial source of Vitamin C, the soup of Indian meal was deficient in this vitamin. Accordingly, a large number of paupers, who had depended heavily on potatoes, were automatically subject to scurvy since the level of Vitamin C intake dropped significantly.[37]

Furthermore, the design of Soyer's soup kitchen model and the procedure of feeding the paupers had initially been criticized by John Burgoyne. He found it inhumane that the destitute had to crowd in front of the kitchens and then eat with spoons chained to bowls.[38] Nevertheless, criticism against Soyer did not prevent his model from being adopted. By his new apparatus and cheap recipes, Soyer became a famous cook in Great Britain.[39] It was evident that Soyer's procedure of providing soup to the destitute people imposed harsh conditions. Though he succeeded in introducing a quick and cheap form of relief, he showed no concern to the psychological impact of his invention on the people. In addition to the fact that the destitute people ate in chained bowls, Soyer limited the process of entering, eating and leaving the kitchens to only six minutes.[40] The cruel treatment of the paupers receiving soups left a legacy of shame in the Irish collective memory. Though the

oral tradition emphasises the extent of suffering endured by the Irish, it avoids dealing with the experience of stigmatisation in the soup kitchens. The descendants of the famine survivors avoid mentioning the humiliation of their relatives while eating in chained bowls.[41]

More importantly, the implementation of the soup system was marked by delay. In Rosscarbery, County Cork, the delay in the establishment of soup kitchens had a disastrous impact on the people. The local priest stressed the deterioration of the situation in this locality:

My good pious people are every day dying of hunger and its consequences....and their sufferings must frightfully increase during the next month because the labourers heretofore employed at the public works are almost all now disemployed, and the projected out-door relief cannot come into full operation in this parish for some weeks.[42]

It is important to mention that the delay was often caused by the bureaucratic procedure of granting relief. Actually, the government insisted on a number of administrative checks before the start of the operation of the distribution of food. The parish priest of Goresbridge proved to be critical of the administrative machinery of the soup system:

The names of the poor applicants for relief are taken down; the lists are then sent to Kilkenny, from thence to Dublin and then home again; in all which places, they are to undergo a revision, if any error be

discovered full time must be taken to correct it before the poor starving creatures will get one pint of porridge.[43]

The criticism of Goresbridge's parish priest was certainly well-founded. The implementation of the Temporary Relief Act required huge administrative preparations. Mr. Bromley, the accountant of the Commission, issued many circulars to the local administrations of relief. By the end of March 1847, the total documents comprised about ten thousand books, eighty thousand sheets and three million card tickets which made their total weight about 14 tons.[44] This immense documentation reflected the bureaucratic machinery of relief since the implementation of the Act needed time while there was a real need for assistance in most of the localities. The different stages of preparations before the provision of relief to the paupers proved to be at odds with the realities of the situation in Ireland:

However zealously the several committees and our officers may have acted, it is manifest that the accumulating extent of the calamity, and the precautions necessary to ensure regularity, and some check upon so enormous an expenditure, require more time before relief by food can actually be administered, than is consistent with the natural impatience created by the emergency.[45]

It was evident that the long administrative preparations for the implementation of the scheme seemed to serve as the pretext or rationale for delay. Relief administrators clearly attributed more

importance to a cheap form of public charity than the immediate alleviation of the destitution inflicted on a massive number of people.

Additionally, in some parts of Ireland such as Ballina the delay in the implementation of the soup system was mainly caused by the lack of a resident class of rate-payers to raise subscriptions. The lack of funds made the implementation of the free distribution of food impossible. One of the relief officials, Herbert Voules, argued that the only alternative left to the destitute people in that locality was the creation of employment "The only way to meet this difficulty is by affording employment to the people on or near their own townland".[46]

During the summer of 1847, it was evident that soup-kitchens were established in a large number of unions. The number of the destitute dependent upon the soup rose sharply in a short period of time. On 3 July 1847, the Temporary Relief Act appeared to be in full operation as more than three million persons received cooked food throughout Ireland. The dependence of massive numbers of persons upon the government's assistance was necessary during the summer months when agricultural employment was very limited. The main concern of the Commissioners was to support the destitute people till the start of the harvest.[47]

The administrators of relief indicated that some destitute people adopted a wide range of methods to get more rations of food. This was manifested by the fact that dead and absent people were put on the relief lists. Some persons even borrowed children in order to compel the administrators to grant them

more rations of the soup:

Gross impositions were daily practised by the poor, the dead or the absent were personated; children were lent for a few days, in order to give the appearance of large families, and thus entitle borrowers to a greater number of rations.[48]

It was the intention of the government to restore a spirit of independence among the labourers. By June 1847, the administrators engaged in the supervision of the temporary measure regarded a reduction in the number of paupers dependent upon the soup kitchens necessary. They alleged that a gradual closure of the soup kitchens would force the labouring class into farm work. The same argument was, in fact, used to close the scheme of public works.[49] The government carried out a rapid reduction in the number of people receiving cooked food. The number of paupers receiving rations was reduced from 3,020,712 to 505,984 between the months of July 1847 and September 1847.[50] While the implementation of the Temporary Relief Act had been sluggish, its suspension was very quick.

The soup system proved to be more economical than the Labour Rate Act. The increase in market provisions served as an important factor that reduced the cost of rations. Consequently, the cost of relief was reduced by about £20,000 daily. In July 1847, the Commissioners registered a diminution in the demands for loans and grants of about £3000 a day along with an increase of 291,028 persons receiving cooked food.[51] Such a drop in relief expenditure reflected the Commissioners' successful policy relative to the alleviation of Irish distress at minimum

cost. It was even reported that the cost of rations had been less than the estimation of the administrators engaged in the provision of relief. A further reduction in expenditure, the Commissioners argued, could have been possible if cooked rations had been established from the beginning of the soup system.[52] By the end of the operation of the Temporary Relief Act, the Commissioners indicated that £530,368,b29 had been unexpended from the total sum of money reserved for the relief operations.[53]

REACTIONS TO THE SOUP SYSTEM

In the spring of 1847, the soup system occupied a central position in the British newspapers. The British perspective was that the government's scheme operated successfully in its first stage. The *Illustrated London News*, which covered the Famine events through both the written articles and illustrations, put a special emphasis upon the efficient administration of the soup store at Cork. In March 1847, it reported that no abuse was committed since the opening of the kitchen.[54] Though this newspaper was critical of the situation in Ireland, it held a sympathetic view towards the Irish. Another newspaper, the *Southern Reporter*, also praised the role of the administrators of Cork soup kitchen in the alleviation of distress. The provision of food in this kitchen was described to be rapid and well organized. The newspaper also indicated that the cooked rations constituted a healthy diet "We tasted the food they received, which is most carefully prepared from rice and Indian meal, well boiled and seasoned, and can

safely declare that it is excellent".[55]
In addition, *TheExaminer*, which held a positive attitude towards the government's expenditure on the provision of relief in Ireland, stated that the operation of the soup system was successful.The paper considered the measure as an effective means that saved the lives of millions of people. The correspondent of the newspaper praised the significant efforts of the officials engaged in the provision of relief. He argued that the soup system was administered efficiently and economically:

It is my object to prove that the manner in which the public money was expended by the Government was, under the peculiar difficulties of the case, the best they could adopt to effect the immediate preservation of life.[56]

The situation in Ireland during the year 1847 created a debate between two major newspapers which reported on the evolution of the Famine. The *Times* criticized both the machinery of relief implemented in Ireland and the role of the Irish landlords. This newspaper was pessimistic about the improvement of the Irish economy.[57] The *Examiner* published six letters written by Anthony Trollope[58] who praised the role of the landlords in administering the relief operations under the provisions the Temporary Relief Act. He also highlighted the role of clergymen regardless of their denominations "It is but fair to exempt from the censure here implied the clergymen of both denominations, who at this fearful time exerted their energies with unanimity which

surprised us all...".[59]

The official assessment of the operation of the Temporary Relief Act was generally marked by optimism. In an early report in June 1847, the major administrators engaged in the provision of Irish relief were able to point out that the soup system covered a large number of localities and that the members of the Finance Committees "acted with zeal and intelligence, writing in many instances errors of system introduced by the Relief Committees".[60] They also stated that the operation of the Temporary Relief Act removed the widespread prejudice against its introduction:"In several places, those who were at first clamorous against it, now request to receive no other".[61] It is worth noting that the major administrators of Irish relief remained optimistic about the results achieved under the operation of the soup system. They indicated in their last report that cases of death from starvation had been reduced and that the living conditions of people improved.They claimed that the paupers who had been weak became "now comparatively healthy" and "physically capable of any exertion".[62] They also pointed out that the soup system had a positive impact on the society. In fact, the provision of immediate assistance to the Irish lessened the protest against the government and controlled agrarian crime and outrages. That the Act diminished rural violence represented a significant step towards a peaceful society:

It is also reported that the Act has had a salutary effect on the social state of the community, as not only have the multitude been rescued from famine

and death, but crime comparatively diminished, and agrarian outrage, for the period of its duration, suppressed.[63]

It was evident that the soup system was efficient since it tackled the problem of hunger directly by providing food to the Irish people. Throughout Ireland, the government´s interference was praised. In Carlow, the Temporary Relief Act led to the cessation of begging and restored the usual role of labourers in private enterprise. In Cavan, the government's interference saved about one third of the population from starvation. In Cahirciveen, as many as one hundred persons received permanent assistance in the form of food. Unlike the previous operations, the Commissioners indicated that the local bodies played an important role in ensuring the success of the scheme. Though government officials had repeatedly stated that the abuses of the Local Relief Committees had discredited the machinery of the previous operations, the implementation of the Temporary Relief Act was generally satisfactory.[64]
Though the Commissioners took pride in emphasising the success of the Temporary Relief Act, they considered the very system they administered as demoralising. They alleged that the provision of gratuitous relief encouraged idleness since paupers received assistance without performing any work. They acknowledged that the system did not promote habits of industry and hard work. Undoubtedly, the provision of relief to a massive number of paupers was considered as ideologically and morally objectionable:

The demoralizing practice of sitting down in idleness and claiming relief as a gift, instead of receiving it with thankfulness, is accompanied by some; and the same parties suggest that, should any after arrangements be necessary, every possible attention ought to be paid to promote the moral and industrial habits of the people.[65]

Demoralizing effects were also caused by the overcrowding of paupers for a long time in front of the kitchens in order to receive the rations.[66] Many paupers therefore refused to queue with bowls in their hands and preferred starvation to the feeling of humiliation. In Tipperary, Clare and Ennistymon as well as in Sligo paupers strongly objected to the reception of assistance from the kitchens.[67] The Commissioners explained the demoralisation of paupers by the bad implementation of the Temporary Act. They seemed to be highly idealistic about the benefits of the government's policy "It is to those parties who undertook such responsible duties without fulfilling them that blame alone can be attached, as nothing could be more perfect than the instructions laid down by the Government".[68] Notwithstanding the psychological impact of the soup system on the paupers, Trevelyan regarded the daily presence of the people in front of the soup kitchens as a test that helped to distinguish between the deserving and undeserving paupers: "The tests applied to the actual recipients of relief were, that the personal attendance of all parties requiring relief was insisted on".[69] The fact that government officials

made the daily queuing for many hours obligatory certainly dishonoured relief recipients and stigmatised them. Additionally, queuing also shows that government officials used hunger to subjugate the paupers to a harsh system of public charity.

In the localities, far from the police stations, the paupers appeared to be highly resistant to the distribution of cooked rather than uncooked rations. This opposition caused serious problems to some inspectors who were unable to put into effect the government's policy "I [Stanely] called upon the several Committees to furnish me with returns of the number of boilers they require, but they seem to be so decidedly opposed to the system of cooked food that I cannot prevail on them to comply with your views".[70] In order to keep the boilers from being broken by the paupers, the only alternative left to the Commissioners in some instances was to say that they would not issue cooked rations. The resistance to the adoption of the system of cooked rations was accompanied with an overriding atmosphere of violence.[71]

In some cases, the officials of relief reluctantly granted uncooked rations. However, the provision of uncooked portions of food often led to abuse. Some peopleexchanged the food for either tea or tobacco and even spirits "Instances have been reported to me [Stanely] of men receiving meal for their families, selling it immediately, and getting drunk upon the proceed, leaving their children to starve".[72] In order to counteract the consumption of alcohol, the Commissioners insisted on the provision of cooked food. They also became conscious of the fact that the

people ignored the right ways of cooking this food "... and those who were disposed to cook the Indian meal utterly failed, not being aware of its requiring to be well steeped previously".[73] This could be explained by the fact that the peasants had completely relied on the potato diet prior to the Famine. In fact, potatoes were consumed during the three meals of the day.

THE ROLE OF PRIVATE CHARITY: PHILANTHROPY AND PROSELYTISM

It is worth noting that private charity played a key role in the provision of relief in 1847. Large sums of money were collected abroad and sent to Ireland for the mitigation of destitution. More importantly, the collection of funds took place in many countries. The high scales of destitution and suffering in Ireland were met by the sympathy of donors abroad. In addition to the grants of the government, private funds largely helped to tackle the immediate need for food. The funds of private charity often served as a supplement to the money advanced by the government.

The British Relief Association played a major role in the mitigation of destitution in Ireland. While other organisations acted independently from the government's agencies of relief, the British Relief Association operated its action through the already established Local Relief Committees. The Whig government made use of the funds of this organisation to implement the distribution of soup in the most affected localities. For example, in order to

establish a soup-kitchen in Swineford and Crossmolina in County Mayo, the Chairman of the Relief Commission proposed to the Treasury to draw on the funds of the British Relief Association.[74]

The Society of Friends, which established the precedent of the soup kitchens before the British government, collected funds from abroad for the purpose of providing food gratuitously to the distressed class in Ireland. In January 1847, the Society of Friends obtained from the British government two steamers so as to transport two cargoes of meal and grain for the provision of food in Ireland. This quantity of food was estimated to sustain between fifteen and twenty thousand persons for a period of six months.[75] In an attempt to counteract the high rate of mortality in Ballina, the members of the Society of Friends offered a ton of meal weekly for the free distribution of food. They also gave donations of money to private individuals distributing soups freely in the same locality.[76] In some remote areas, the charitable efforts of the Society of Friends seemed to represent the only form of assistance provided to the paupers. In a town called Tinahely in the hills of Wicklow, for example, the people were supported only by a soup kitchen established by this private organisation. Though the government's schemes operated through public works, the sale of Indian corn meal and the soup kitchens, some localities depended totally upon private charity.[77]

While the official attitude towards the provision of relief was undermined by the current economic orthodoxy of laissez faire,[78] the members of the

Society of Friends rejected the principles of classical political economy. They believed that destitution should be relieved along with the introduction of fundamental changes in the economy. While Trevelyan and the Whig administration attributed the poverty of the peasants in Ireland to their laziness and dependence on the potatoes, the Society of Friends did not charge the people with idleness. Rather, its members regarded the paupers as the victims of the economic situation:

> Many have attributed this state of chronic poverty to the facility with which a bare subsistence was obtained by the cultivation of the potato. Such does not appear to us to have been the case. The people lived on potatoes because they were poor; and they were poor because they could not obtain regular employment. This want of employment seems in great measure to have arisen from the state of the law, and the practice respecting the occupation and ownership of land.[79]

Due to the fact that the notoriety of the potato blight attracted international sympathy, Ireland received funds from many remote countries. One of the unexpected donations came from the Indians of the Choctaw Nation of America who offered Ireland $170. Though White settlers had forced this tribe to move from its own land, its members showed compassion to the Irish people.[80] Undoubtedly, the donation reflected the humanitarian aspect of the Choctaw people who were able to forget about the suffering inflicted on them by the Europeans. In Europe, donations reached Ireland from many places such as France, Denmark, and Holland. Funds for the

alleviation of destitution also came from Alexandria, Madras, Bombay, Jamaica, South Australia and North America. In fact, donations reached Ireland from the five continents.[81]

The considerable contribution of the British private organisations marked a shift in the British public opinion. At this stage, the Famine seemed to be officially acknowledged as a national calamity that had to be mitigated by both the Irish and the British. It is worth noting that the Queen's Letter[82] largely helped to shape the feeling of sympathy towards people in Ireland. As a result of British understanding of the extent of destitution in Ireland, donations from Britain amounted in May 1847 to £200,000.[83] However, the sympathy of British public opinion was short-lived. In the winter of 1847, private donations to Ireland dropped seriously. Even after the publication of a second Queen's Letter in October 1847 private donations remained limited.[84] The level of international donations also fell significantly. Though a high scale of private donations was short-lived, they certainly contributed to the support of a large number of people in Ireland. Had there been no donations, the suffering inflicted on the people could have been more severe.

Despite the fact that many private organisations from different religious denominations proved to be highly engaged in the alleviation of Irish destitution, a group of proselytisers assisted only the people who accepted to be converted to the Protestant faith. These people who offered food in return for conversion were known as *soupers*. A Protestant missionary group was established on Achill Island in

order to convert as many people as possible. The group chose this Island because of the severity of destitution of its inhabitants. It was the intention of the proselytisers to make use of the economic situation so that they could work out their influence upon the people:

It was impossible not to appreciate the magnanimity of the poor, miserable, utterly destitute and absolutely starving inhabitants of Achill, who were at the time of our visit enduring privations at which humanity shudders, and to know that by walking a couple of miles and professing to change their religion they would have been instantly supplied with food, clothes and lodging.[85]

It is worth noting that the use of food as a weapon to press upon the needy to change their faith was also used in the North China Famine of 1876-79. Like the Famine in Ireland, a group of Christian missionaries saw in the Chinese famine a good occasion to achieve what could not be achieved in normal times. Preachers offered rice to the famished in return for accepting the Christian faith. In fact, this led to the development of the term "rice Christian".[86] Proselytisers thought that their religion was better than the one of the destitute people. However, their efforts led to anti-Christian feelings and a rejection of western ideas.[87]

Similarly, the Protestant proselytising efforts were met with strong opposition among the Catholic clergy. A Catholic curate in Co. Galway, William Flannelly, described Protestant proselytism as an "impious crusade".[88] He indicated that Protestantism

gained ground due to the dilapidated economic conditions. Protestant priests offered food and clothes to the "naked and starved"[89] in return for changing their religion. In order to counteract the Protestant actions, he asked his coreligionists in Dublin to provide donations to Ballinakil and Clifden. He wanted to limit both the scope of action of the Protestants and save the paupers from starvation.[90] There were also individual reactions tosouperism. In West Macroom, an old woman established a soup kitchen for her destitute neighbours in an attempt to protect them from the proselytisers.[91] Additionally, opposition to souperism came from an influential member of the Protestant group in Ireland. Dr Richard Whately, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, highly condemned the way in which food was used as a means of converting the paupers. He indicated that souperism harshly contrasted with the Protestant faith:"there cannot be a more emphatically unsuitable occasion for urging any one to change his religion and adopt our's [sic] than when we are proposing to relieve his physical distress".[92]

Because the renunciation of the Catholic religion proved to be a condition to food entitlement, many converts went back to their old faith when their situation improved: "people would renounce their faith for the time being, in the hope of going back to the old faith as soon as times got better".[93] This shows that the proselytisers had only a short-term influence upon the people whose utmost concern was to be protected from starvation.

Even though the Society of Friends played an active role in the mitigation of the Famine, they were

never charged with souperism. In addition to that, they did not prove to be hostile to the religion of the people they were relieving. Undoubtedly, the members of the Society of Friends were able to go beyond the current prejudice against the Irish peasantry. Their course of action showed that they differed from their British contemporaries such as Charles Trevelyan who believed that the religion of the peasants along with their dependence on the potato crop were the major causes of the Irish problem.[94]

The operation of the Temporary Relief Act has shown that relief policy-makers and relief administrators were capable of providing relief to massive numbers of paupers. The preparations for the introduction of the soup kitchens reflected the administrators' deep understanding of the paupers' frame of mind. They also showed an awareness of the weaknesses of the previous relief measures as they wanted to avoid the abuse of the Local Relief Committees. Additionally, they seemed to have a clear vision of the very system they were administering. In fact, they carefully designed a method of controlling the relief operations in the different localities. Contrary to the waste of capital during the previous relief operations notably public works, the different checks imposed on the operation of the Temporary Relief Act resulted in the provision of relief to three million people at low cost. The government even spent fewer funds than expected. Though relief policy-makers regarded this relief scheme as ideologically objectionable, the operation of the Temporary Relief Act was successful. Despite

the different drawbacks of the soup system such as souperism and demoralisation, the soup kitchens provided a quick solution to the problem of hunger. The fact that government officials limited its operation to a short period of time reflected their commitment to the economic ideology of political economy.

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[4] Kinealy, *The Great Irish Famine,* 42.

[5] Dudley Edwards and Desmond Williams, *The Great Famine: Studies in Irish History* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1956), xi.

[6] Cormac O Grada, "Ireland's Great Famine: An Overview," *Centre for Economic Research Paper Series,* University College Dublin: Working Paper Series 04/25, November 2004, 10.

[7]See for example Irene Whelan, "The Stigma of Souperism" in Cathal Poirteir (ed.), *The Great Irish Famine* (Dublin: Mercier Press, 1995), 135-154.

[8] Harzallah, "The Uses and Abuses of History in Ireland".

[9]First Report of the Relief Commissioners, 10 April 1847, *Appendix D*, 1847 (799) vol 17: 23.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Second Report from the Relief Commissioners with an appendix, 15 may 1847, 1847 (819) Vol. 17: 4.

[12] Peter Gray, "The Triumph of Dogma Ideology and Famine Relief," *History Ireland* 3 (Summer 1995): 31.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Before being in charge of the implementation of the Temporary Relief Act, Burgoyne had been the Inspector-General of fortifications in Ireland.

[15]The members of the Local Relief Committees included the lieutenant or vice-lieutenant of the county, the resident magistrate in the barony division, the magistrates deputed by each bench of petty sessions in the barony, the principal constabulary officer, the

chairman of the Poor Law Union, the principal clergymen of each church, the principal officers of the Board of Works, the officers acting under the Commissary-General and the three highest Poor Rate payers. See *Instructions for the Formation and Guidance of Committees for the Relief of Distress in Ireland*, *Consequent on the failure of the Potato Crop in 1846*, Correspondence Relating to the Measures Adopted for the Relief of Distress in Ireland (Commissariat Series) First Part, 1847 (761) Vol. 51, 490-491; See also *First Report of the Relief Commissioners*, 10 April 1847, Appendix A, 1847 (799) Vol. 17, 12.

[16]Ibid.

[17]*First Report of the Relief Commissioners*, 10 April 1847, 1847 (799) Vol. 17, 7.

[18]Ibid., 14-15.

[19]Sir George Grey to the Lord Lieutenant, 28 January 1847, *Correspondence Relating to the Measures Adopted for the Relief of Distress in Ireland (Commissariat Series) Second Part, 1847(796)* Vol. 52, 56.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Ibid, 57.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Mohamed Salah Harzallah, "Food Supply and Economic Ideology: Indian Corn Relief during the Second Year of the Great Irish Famine (1847)," *The Historian* 68 (2006): 314.

[24]Mr Trevelyan to Sir J Burgoyne, 13 February 1847, *Correspondence Relating to the Measures Adopted for the Relief of Distress in Ireland (commissariat Series) Second Part 1847 (796),* Vol. 52*:* 120-121.

[25]Relief recipients included the infirm and impotent destitute paupers, destitute able-bodied persons who did not own a land, destitute able-bodied persons having small portions of land and the able-bodied persons receiving insufficient wages to support their families because of the high prices of food. First Report of the Relief Commissioners, 10 April 1847, *Appendix D*, 1847 (799), Vol. 17, 22.

[26]Sir R Routh to Mr Trevelyan, 5 December 1846, *Correspondence Relating to the Measures Adopted for the Relief of Distress in*

Ireland (Commissariat Series) First Part, *1847 (761),* Vol. 52, 333.

[27]Sir R Routh to Mr Trevelyan, 30 December 1846, *Correspondence Relating to the Measures Adopted for the Relief of Distress in Ireland (Commissariat Series) First Part*, *1847 (761),* Vol. 51, 483.

[28]Mr Hill to Commissary-General Hewetson, 13 January 1847, *Correspondence Relating to the Measures Adopted for the Relief of Distress in Ireland (Commissariat Series) First Part 1847 (761),* Vol. 51, 1497.

[29]*First Report of the Relief Commissioners*, 10 April 1847, 1847 (799), Vol. 17, 10.

[30]He was a French chef.

[31]Though the soup of Mr. Soyer was very famous, other kinds of soups were also adopted in some localities.

[32]Mr Trevelyan to Sir R Routh, 18 February 1847, *Correspondence Relating to the Measures Adopted for the Relief of Distress in Ireland (Commissariat Series) Second Part, 1847(796),* Vol. 52, 149; See also Mr Trevelyan to Routh, 23 February 1847, *Correspondence Relating to the Measures Adopted for the Relief of Distress in Ireland (Commissariat Series) Second Part, 1847(796),* Vol. 52, 156.

[33]John O'Rourke, *The Great Irish Famine* (Dublin: Veritas, reprinted in 1874), 222-223.

[34] *The Times* (28, 25 and 24 February, 1847).

[35] Margret Crawford, *Famine: The Irish Experience* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1989), 198-215.

[36]Board of Health to Relief Commissioners, 21 June1847, Fourth Report from the Relief Commissioners with an Appendix, 19 July 1847, 1847 (859) Vol 17, p.18.

[37] Crawford, *Famine,* 208-209.

[38] Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger* (Great Britain: Hamish Hamilton, 1962), 178- 179.

[39]A decade after the invention of the soup apparatus and the introduction of the new recipes, Soyer was invited to change the diet of the British army in Crimea; Noel Kissane, *The Irish Famine* (Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 1995), 84.

[40]Christine Kinealy, *A Death-Dealing Famine* (London: Pluto Press, 1997), 101.

[41]Mohamed Salah Harzallah, "The Construction of Famine Memory in the Irish Oral Tradition", *Nordic Irish Studies* 6 (2007): 47.
[42]*Table*t (8 May 1847).
[43]*Table*t (8 May 1847).
[44]*First Report of the Relief Commissioners*, 10 April 1847, 1847 (799), Vol. 17, 8.
[45]Ibid, 9.
[46] Enclosure, 11 January 1847, *Correspondence Relating to the Measures Adopted for the Relief of Distress in Ireland (Commissariat Series)* Second Part, *1847 (796),* Vol. 52, 7.
[47] Fourth Report from the Relief Commissioners with an Appendix, 19 July 1847, 1847 (859) Vol. 17, 3.
[48] Jonathan Pim, *The Condition and Prospects of Ireland* (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1848), 97.
[49] Mohamed Salah Harzallah, "The Great Irish Famine: Public Works Relief during the Liberal Administration", *Nordic Irish Studies* 8 (2009): 87.
[50]Fifth Report from the Relief Commissioners, 17 August 1847, 1847-8 (956) Vol 29, 6; Sixth Report from the Relief Commissioners, 11 September 1847,1847-8 (956) Vol 29, p.7; Seventh Report from the Relief Commissioners, 12 October 1847, 1847-8 (956) Vol 29, 7.
[51]Fourth Report from the Relief Commissioners with an Appendix, 19 July 1847, 1847 (859) Vol p.17.
[52]Supplementary Appendix to the seventh Report from the Relief Commissioners, 1847-8 (956) Vol 29, 7-8.
[53]Ibid., 16-17.
[54]*The Illustrated London News* (13 March 1847).
[55]Ibid.
[56]Anthony Trollope, *The Irish Famine: Six Letters to the Examiner 1849-1850,* Lance O. Tigngay (ed.) (London: Silverbridge, 1987), 5.
[57]Ibid.
[58]He is an English novelist who worked in Ireland for 18 years as deputy postal surveyor. He showed a special concern for the situation in Ireland. After retiring from the post office in 1867, he became the Liberal candidate for Beverley. His letters to the *Examiner* represented his first political writings about Ireland.

[59] Trollope, *The Irish Famine,* 12.
[60]Third Report form the Relief Commissioners with an appendix, 17 June 1947, *Circular No. 48*, (836) vol. 15, 4-5.
[61]Ibid.
[62]Supplementary Appendix to the Seventh Report from the Relief Commissioners, 1847-48 (956) Vol 29, 10.
[63]Ibid.
[64]Ibid., 11-12.
[65]Supplementary Appendix to the seventh Report from the Relief Commissioners, *Abstract of the Several Unions in Ireland*, 1847-8 (956) Vol 29, 10.
[66]Ibid.
[67] Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger*, 295.
[68]Supplementary Appendix to the seventh Report from the Relief Commissioners, *Abstract of the Several Unions in Ireland*, 1847-8 (956) Vol 29, 11.
[69]Charles Trevelyan, *The Irish Crisis* (London: Macmillan, 1880), 63.
[70]Third Report form the Relief Commissioners with an appendix, 17 June 1947, *Circular No48*, (836) vol. 15, 23; I added what is between the brackets.
[71]Ibid.
[72] Ibid, 4; I added what is between the brackets.
[73]Ibid.
[74]Sir R Routh to Mr Trevelyan, 16 January 1847, *Correspondence Relating to the Measures Adopted for the Relief of Distress in Ireland (Commissariat Series) Second Part, 1847(796) vol 52,* 6.
[75]Mr Foster to Lord John Russell, 25 January 1847, *Correspondence Relating to the Measures Adopted for the Relief of Distress in Ireland (commissariat Series) Second Part 1847 (796) vol 52,* 32-33.
[76]Sir R Routh to Mr Trevelyan, 16 January 1847, *Correspondence Relating to the Measures Adopted for the Relief of Distress in Ireland (commissariat Series) Second Part 1847 (796) vol 52,* pp. 6-7.
[77]Mr Trevelyan to Sir J Burgoyne, 13 February 1847, *Correspondence Relating to the Measures Adopted for the Relief of Distress in Ireland (commissariat Series) Second Part 1847 (796) vol 52:* 120-12.1

[78] Harzallah, "Food Supply and Economic Ideology": 305-22.
[79] Society of Friends*, Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends during the Famine in Ireland, in 1846 and 1847* (Dublin: Edmund Burke Publisher, 1996 [1852]), 8.
[80] Kinealy, *A Death-Dealing Famine*, 111.
[81] Trevelyan, *The Irish Crisis*, 84-96.
[82]The Queen published an appeal to the British public in order to raise funds for the mitigation of destitution in Ireland.
[83]*Dublin Evening Mail* (8 May 1847).
[84] Christine Kinealy, *This Great Calamity* (Dublin: Gill& Macmillan, 1994), 165.
[85] Mr and Mrs Hall, *Ireland: Its Scenery and Character,* Vol II, London, 1841-43; quoted in Noel Kissane, *The Irish Famine*, op. cit., 86.
[86] David Arnold, *Famine* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 78.
[87]Ibid.,134.
[88] Kissane, *The Irish Famine*, 86.
[89]Ibid.
[90]Ibid.
[91] Cathal Poirteir*, Famine Echoes* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd., 1999), 172.
[92]Quoted in Helen E. Hatton, *The Largest Amount of Good Quaker Relief in Ireland 1654-1921* (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 147.
[93] Poirteir*, Famine Echoes*, 168.
[94]See for example the first chapter of Trevelyan, *The Irish Crisis*, 1-28.

BOOK REVIEW

***ISLAM AND THE ARMY IN COLONIAL INDIA: SEPOY RELIGION IN THE SERVICE OF EMPIRE* BY NILE GREEN. CAMBRIDGE: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, NEW YORK: 2009.**

Social historians of the British Indian Empire have largely neglected the role of the colonial Army in shaping the religious life of its subaltern subjects. Nile Green's book is an addition to the small number of the studies on the subject, most notably David Ommissi's *The Sepoy and the Raj* and Seema Alavi's *The Sepoy and the Company*. However, Green's book differs markedly from these works for its phenomenologically informed study of the religion of subaltern Sepoys. In his study of the Sufi Islam of soldiers from the Nizam's State of Hyderabad serving the British between 1850 and 1930, Green shows how "a historically mutable Islam served empire even as it was itself reshaped by the military structures of Sepoy life" (p. x). This Islam of the Sepoy was centered on the figure of the "faqirs," the "Muslim holy men attached to the soldiers of the Hyderabad Contingent." (p.4). British attempts to alternatively control and tolerate this Islam of the scantily clad, drug consuming, antinomian faqirs forms the central undercurrent of the book (p. 91). Green's work is relevant to a range of scholars, including those interested in modern forms of control (particularly surveillance, discipline and imprisonment) and the contrasting ways in which different cultures responded to "madness." It may also be placed in Sufi studies, alongside works by Ahmet Karamustafa's *God's Unruly Friends* and Jurgen Wasim Frembgen's *Journey to God*,

two studies of antinomian Sufism from very different times and places. We may also identify the work as part of the genre of Sufi social histories, notably Richard Eaton's *Sufis of Bijapur* and Carl Ernst and Bruce Lawrence's *Sufi Martyrs of Love*.

The primary sources on which Green relies are cheap print Urdu hagiographies of Afzal Shah(d. 1856) and Bane Miyan (d. 1921), two faqirs who wielded enormous influence among Muslim Sepoys in the Nizam's State. In addition to these textual sources, Green conducts interviews with the relatives and heirs of Afzal Shah and Bane Miyan to get competing versions of the past. In many cases, Green withholds his verdict about the authenticity of competing historical claims. For example, in his study of memories of the founding of the State of Hyderabad by Nizam al-Mulk Asaf Jah (d. 1748), Green compares different oral accounts that vary by region, notes one as possibly older based on some details mentioned in a chronicle source, but concedes that it is not possible to be sure about which version is more historically accurate. Recurring motifs of enigmatic objects, the army camp, the morose prince and the final military victory with the faqirs' mysterious and implied intervention in these narratives are seen as strategies for establishing the authority of the saint (pp. 20-22). In one version, the faqir Shah Inayat Mujtaba replaces Nizam al-din as the originator of the Hyderabad flag carried by Nizam al-Mulk. Green sees this displacement as competition for authority in the "miraculous service industry" (p. 21).

Green identifies his work as a phenomenological ethno history of the Islam of the subalterns (p.41). This

involves suspension of all pre-conceived notions of religion and historical plausibility to focus on the "persons, discourses or institutions at work in the social world." (p.4). The concern is to move away from abstract scholarly notions of Islam towards Islam as it was lived by Muslims in history, recoverable through texts that were written in an episteme that permitted agents and causes not conceivable in a "physicalist Newtonian universe." Instead of seeing this as a clash between Islamic and British views of "what actually happened," Green's study examines the different points of intersection and contestation between them to understand how they constitute alternative interpretations of the working of the world (p.5). To achieve this, Green compares narratives in these sources with details found in colonial state documentation, memoirs written by British soldiers from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, and also by evangelical chaplains serving in British India during the same period. Unlike the miraculous interventions of the faqir in hagiographical sources, British sources operate with Enlightenment views of causation, providing a different perspective on the same historical events.

Green's approach stands in contrast to the works of other social historians of Sufi Islam. In *Sufis of Bijapur, 1500-1700: Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India*, Richard Eaton altogether dismisses miracles as later-day constructions serving to establish the charismatic authority of a Sufi. Less dismissive in *Sufi Martyrs of Love: The Chishti Order in South Asia and Beyond,* Carl Ernst and Bruce Lawrence view miracles in hagiographical sources as literary devices serving to

resolve tensions in the life narratives of Sufi masters. Green on the other hand views these miracle-stories as windows to the past, as narratives that "shaped the experience of the world" (p. 49-50).

To elucidate how these narratives shaped the subaltern's experience of the world, he compares such narratives to British memoirs. A case in point are travel narratives in *Afzal al-Karamat,* one of Green's main hagiographical sources on the life of Afzal Shah. In one such narrative, Sepoy Namdar Khan and his troops are suddenly afflicted with heavy rains during a route-march to a military station in Hingoli. The miraculous intervention of their faqir Afzal Shah (who is physically not with them) saves them and not a drop of rain falls on them. Green compares this story with Kipling's short story, "The Lost Legion." Faced with a similar threatening situation as they march through the night in Afghan territory, British soldiers respond to the terrors of the rain with a deep breath, thanking Providence as the rain subsides (p.50). Thus, while the Indian Muslim soldier would look to the miraculous protection of a faqir under life threatening situations, the British soldier would turn to an abstract trust in Providence.

Green's study of tales of miraculous interventions helps him to understand the fears, concerns and the world of the Sepoy (pp. 46-49). Reliance on miracle or the supernatural is not seen as weakness or superstition, but instead analyzed by Green to reveal the different public spheres to which Indian and British soldiers belonged. This in turn proves instructive in learning about their exposition and understanding of self—for the subalterns, such narratives of the past also evince

various ways in which British colonial agency could be subverted in the imagination of the Sepoy (p. 51). Travel stories are mined to trace how a certain cult grew with changes in colonial communication infrastructure and kinship networks (pp. 53-54). Dream visitation narratives are likewise interpreted as a solution to the practical problems encountered by the traveling soldier, but the "emotional register" of the Sepoy's life is not neglected by Green: reliance on the supernatural protection of a faqir is acknowledged for the comfort and belonging it provided (p. 55). In one of most interesting parts of the book, Green compares different sources on the rebellion of 1855 to show how Indian and British sources agree on the course of events right up to a confusing end in which the mutineers were eventually spared. Hagiographical sources attributed this to the miraculous intervention of the faqir, while British sources credited this to the spread of false rumors which forced a compromise on the British side. Green explains how these sources are equally "factual," deploying "miracle" and "rumor"as competing explanations for events (p. 70).

In reading various hagiographical narratives (both textual and oral) as later generation projections; in this respect Green's work is similar to approaches most social historians take. Thus, Afzal Shah's independence and defiance of the British is rendered suspect by its conformity to classical Persian tropes of Sufi emperor defiance, the very real dependence of this faqir on Sepoys serving the British, and the nationalist concerns of the transmitters of such narratives (p. 89). The trope of Bane Miyan as a faqir constantly evading incarceration and thus frustrating the British is

interpreted as a marketing strategy (p. 130). Noting similar tropes in hagiographical narratives about the faqir Taj al-din, Green finds evidence of the survival pressure these figures were facing in a world in which their place was drawing to a close following British and nationalist projects of reform, control and discipline (p. 145).

In reading his sources critically as later projections, Green is attentive to their literary character. However, one may note the limitation of the study, centered as it is on hagiographical sources and oral history. These sources lack of perspectival balance and comprehensiveness. Coming from devotees with vested interests in the construction of these narratives, they are necessarily selective and exaggerated, at best giving us only a partial view of the careers of the faqirs and their followers. Green works largely with selective narratives that serve to glorify the deceased Sufi. The failures, frustrations and political contestations within the world of Sepoy Islam remain obscure. Nevertheless, such limitations are inevitable for any historian, and the method that Green has developed in this book in telling a critical yet culturally sensitive history provides an excellent exemplar for future studies of untold subaltern histories.

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