

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

It has been rightly observed that¹, "the limits of the present district of Bhagalpur being purely artificial, no connected account of the territory that now bears this name can be expected. Its history must be sought for in the history of the large areas of which it forms a part."

In length about 140 miles and breadth varying from 14 to 45 miles², and situated in the rich and fertile valley of the Ganga and being divided by it into two almost equal portions, the districts of Bhagalpur, named after its chief city³, corresponds to

¹ *Bengal District Gazetteer, Bhagalpur*, 1911, p. 26.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

4,226 square miles in area.

Towards the beginning of the 19th century at the time when Buchanan visited it, the district comprised an area of 8,255 square miles.

Referring to the extent of the district, Cap. Sherwill in his *Geographical and Statistical Report of the District of Bhagalpur* (1869) remarks that it comprised 7,801.04 square miles of territory and is divided by the Ganga into 2 unequal portions, the larger portion lying to the north of the river.

In Murphy's Report on the *Survey and Settlement Operation in the Bhagalpur District* (1902-10), the total area of the district given is 4,158 square miles of of which 2,374 are comprised in North Bhagalpur and 1,784 in South Bhagalpur.

Rennell's map of the south-east part of Bihar drawn in 1773 portrays the district of Bhagalpur, and is the earliest of its kind so far known. Next comes, the map drawn by Francis Buchanan in 1811, and published in *Buchanan's Journal*. There is another map of Bhagalpur town drawn in 1824, 1st November, by one Gopinath with sites indicated in a Persian Script. The map has been preserved in the Magistrate's Record Room, Bhagalpur. N. S. Sherwill's map of the district of "Bhagalpur" on 4 m.=1 inch scale drawn in 1852 and his map of Rajmahal Hills on a scale of 2 miles=1 inch and drawn in 1855 are also preserved in the above record room. *The Survey of Bhagalpur* by Major J. Macdonald and Cap. N. J. Steward was published in 1902. This map deals with the civil station and the environments in the years 1866-67, 1869 and 1870.

In the absence of any reliable data, no definite statement can be made with regard to the origin and meaning of the name "Bhagalpur". The word cannot be accepted to have been derived from Bhagadattapur, named after Bhagadatta, who was the King of Pragjyotispur (Assam). Some authorities interpret it as "the city of good luck", or "the city of the refugees". (*Vide District Gazetteers of Bhagalpur*, 1911 and *Martin's Eastern India*, Vol. II). In an old Bhojpuri song, quoted in G. A. Grierson's page 27, the Bihar Peasant Life, the people of Bhagalpur have been referred to as runaways or fugitives.

The song runs thus—

*Bhagalpur ke Bhagelia, Kahalgau ke thug,
Patna ke diwalya, tino namjad,
Sune pawe Chhaprahiya, tino ke ture rag.*

It means, "the *Bhagels* of Bhagalpur, the *thugs* of Colgong, the bankrupts of Patna, are all famous (Sharpers) but if a man of Chhapra hears this, he will beat them all".

It seems not unlikely that here the people took shelter on account of constant Maratha aggressions on the neighbouring countries, or as the traditions run, the absconders were punished during the Muslim rule, or the place named after Bhaglu, some prominent but now an unknown historical figure.

some portions of the ancient kingdoms of Anga and Mithila. It is bounded on the north by Nepal; on the east, north of the Ganga, by the district of Purnea; on the south and east, south of the Ganga, by the Santhal Parganas and on the west by the districts of Darbhanga and Monghyr. The northern and the southern portions of the district, afford different physical characteristics. The north is the playground of rivers that flow from the Nepal hills, and the south has old alluvium soils, laterite uplands and hills. The northern portion is, therefore, subject to floods and the changing beds of the capricious hilly rivers, whereas the south is more stable, except the north-eastern corner, which is subject to occasional excesses of the two hill streams.

In his journal (p. 73) Buchanan observes,.....(the name) "is said to have been given by the Mugal officers who collected a number of fugitives, and defended them in the plains from the violence and depredations of the disorderly chiefs of the interior."

VEDIC AND EPIC AGE

The people of Anga unknown to the Rigveda are mentioned in the Atharvaveda¹. There is lack of evidence in vedic literature that Angas were non-Aryan people that came overseas to eastern India. They were, in fact, the earlier Aryan immigrants². Titikshu, the second son of Mahamanas, who was seventh in descent from Anu, founded the kingdom of Anava in the East and named it after his ancestor³. The Asura King Bali begot by his wife Sudesna five *Ksetraja* sons, viz., Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Sumha, and the Anava kingdom that expanded and developed under the asura king was named after his sons, and the five kingdoms thus formed were named Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Sumha. Separated from Magadha by the river Champa, Anga comprised the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr. The capital of Anga was Malini, also called Champa Malini in the Puranas⁴. Situated

¹ *Atharvaveda*, V. 22, 14.

² *Vedic Age*, by Mozumdar and Pusalker, George Allen, Unwin, 1951, p. 256.

³ *Ibid*, p. 279.

⁴ *Matsya Purana*.

at a distance of four miles to the west of Bhagalpur, it was described in the Mahabharata as a place of pilgrimage¹. No particulars are available about the kings in the Anga genealogy till we come to Lomapada, also called Romapala, who is placed seventh in the genealogical list. Lomapada was a well known archer, and a great friend of king Dasarath of Ayodhya. Lomapada's great grandson Champa gave the name Champa to the Anga capital, which was till then known as Malini. Champa, also called Champapuri, was surrounded by groves of Champaka at the time of the Mahabharata². The Buddhist works mention one queen Gaggara as having excavated an artificial lake³, containing groves of Champaka trees on its banks. From the *Champaka Sreshthi Katha* a Jaina work, it appears that the town was in a flourishing condition. There were perfumers, spice-sellers, weavers, washerman, etc. This fair and fortified city, with its ramparts, gates and watch towers was regarded as one of the six great cities of northern India. Champa was a very sacred place to the Jains and the Buddhists. Parsva, the immediate predecessor of Mahabir, is associated with Champa. It was visited by Lord Mahavira who spent here three *parjjusanas* (rainy season retirement). It was the birth place of Biraja-Jina author of *Tankavatara Sutra*, and also that of Palakapya Muni⁴; birth place and the place of death of Basupujya,⁵ the 12th Jaina *Tirthankara*. Sona Kolaviza, the author of one of the Theragathas was a resident of Champa. At the time of Buddha, Champa was regarded as one of the six great cities of northern India, the other five being Rajagriha, Sravasti, Saketa, Kausambi and Benares. Amanda, the first and favourite disciple of Buddha, exhorted the latter to give up his earthly body in one of such cities. Subhadrangi, the mother of Asoka, was born at Champa. Her father was a poor Brahmin, who took her to Pataliputra and presented her to Bindusara, King of Magadha (347 to 319 B.C.). Champa is also traditionally the abode of Chand Sadagar the story of whose son Lakhindra

¹ *The Mahabharata*, Vana Parva, Chapt. 85.

² *Vedic Age*. Mozumdar and Pulaskar, p. 293.

³ *Amussana Parva*. Chap. 42.

⁴ May be identified with the large silted up tank called sarovara.

⁵ Palakapya Muni was the author of Hasty-Ayurveda, also called Gajachikitsa, etc. (Anandasrama Sanskrit series), a work on elephant ivory. After the manner of Puranas and in the form of a dialogue held in Champa between king Lomapada of Anga and the Sage, Palakapya gives in 4 secs. an elaborate account of the ailments peculiar to elephants.

⁶ At Nathnagar, a quarter of Champanagar, exists a temple of Digambara sect which is dedicated to Basupujya.

and his wife Behula is graphically mentioned in the Bengali poem called *Mansar Bhasan*. Snake worship and Behula Puja are still performed and a big Champa mela held. The king of Champapuri had two beautiful palaces, one called Gandalata at Kuruchatter now called Karpāt, seven miles east of Bhagalpur, near the Goghana, and the other at Kridasthali near Pathargata on the confluence of the Ganga and the Kosi¹. A number of Jakata stories² mention merchants taking ships at Champa, and then either coasting to Ceylon or adventuring many days without sight of land to Suvarnabhumi. The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea proves that Bengal (which included Bihar) maintained an active overseas trade with south India and Ceylon in the first century A. D. The commodities exported are said to have consisted of Malabathrum, Gangetic spikenard, pearls and muslins of the finest parts.

After Lomapada the next famous king of Anga was Karna who built and held his court in Karnagarh. Major Wilford³, and Buchanan Hamilton, being lost in the maze of the royal dynastic list with about half a dozen of kings having the name of Karna, failed to determine Karna of the Bharat war and the builder of Karnagarh. Karna was a faithful ally of the Kauravas and a sincere friend of Durjyodhana, the chief of the Kauravas. He was a pathetic victim of misfortune throughout his whole life. In reality the eldest of the Pandavas, he was never regarded as such by the Pandava brothers. Being deserted just after his birth by his mother Kunti, because he was born during her maidenhood by the Sun God, he was brought up by a worker in wood, who adopted him as his son. In spite of the social stigma of birth out of marriage, Karna was admitted to be one of the great heroes of the epic age almost unrivalled in war and bravery. It was not for the want of ingenuity in war, or lack of bravery, but out of sheer adverse fortune that he was killed by the third Pandava, his adversary.

BUDDHISTIC AGE

So far about the Vedic and Epic age. During the Buddhistic age, we learn that Satanika Parantap, the king of the Vatsyas, whose capital was Kausambi, near Allahabad, attacked Champa, then under the rule of King Dadibahana. But particulars about

¹ *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* by N. Dey, London, 1927, p. 44.

² *Maha-Jataka-Jataka: Jataka VI, 34, no. 539.*
History of Bengal, Vol. I, Edited by Muzumdar, Dacca, 1943, p. 661.

³ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX, Buchanan, p. 74.

the results of the war are not known. It, however, transpires, that sometime later, Anga grew powerful and there was no love lost between her and Magadha. For sometime Magadha remained an integral part of Anga. King Bhattiya of Magadha was defeated in war by Brahmadata of Anga. But at a subsequent date the Goddess of Fortune frowned upon Anga and her prosperity was on the wane. Bimbisara (C. 603—551 B.C.), son of Bhattiya, revenged his father's defeat by putting Brahmadata to death and annexing Anga to his empire. Champa passed to the hands of the Magadhan victor and remained as an appanage for centuries to come. After the death of Bimbisara, Ajatsatru (Kunika) (C. 551—519 B.C.) made Champa his capital, but his son Udayin (C. 519—503 B.C.) transferred the seat of Government to Pataliputra. With the loss of independence, the people of Champa lost all their morals and strength of character so much so, that in course of time they became notorious for their bad character¹;

As a province of Magadha, Anga witnessed along with the other parts of the Empire, vicissitudes of fortune and a change of ruling dynasties. The Sisunagas, the Nandas, the Mauryas, the Sungas and the Guptas ruled in chronological succession over Anga. The country must have felt the brunt of Kalinga, Satavahana, Greek (Menander) and Kushana invasions. The end of the Kushana rule towards the first half of the 2nd century A.D. synchronises with the rise of the Bharasiva Nagas, who originally issued from Baghelkhand, set up their rule in the Uttar Pradesh and east and west Bihar, of the two capitals of the empire one was Champavati or Champa. The Gupta rule that extended over Anga witnessed the renaissance of Indian art and a brilliant development of works in metals, such as iron and copper. A copper statue of Buddha about 7½ feet in height, delicately executed, discovered at Sultanganj, testify to the importance of the place and its vicinity as producing marvellous specimen of handiwork in bronze and other metals. Fa-Hien, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited Magadha in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. while following the course of the Ganga descending eastwards,

¹ Champa has been described in the Dasakumara Charita as abounding in rogues.

found on the southern bank the great Kingdom of Champa¹.

Later Guptas
of Magadha
and Sasanka.

With the break up of the Gupta empire, the later Guptas of Magadha, whose connections with the imperial Guptas have not been ascertained till now, established supremacy over Magadha.

Adityasena, son of Madhava Gupta and the eighth king of the line possessed administrative talents and military skill that won for him the title of the "guardian of the world, by whose white umbrella the whole circuit of the earth was covered". An inscription of Adityasena discovered on the Mandara Hill² relates that both he and his queen Shri Kondadevi installed an image of Narahari (Man-lion), an incarnation of Vishnu, on the hill, and that the queen performed an act of piety by excavating a tank named Papaharini³ at the foot of the said hill. Adityasena was, as stated in the aforesaid inscription, "a ruler of the earth up to the shores of the oceans.....and a performer of Aswamedha and other great sacrifices". His kingdom included Magadha, Anga and Vanga. The political destiny of Anga next passed to Sasanka, the king of Karnasuvarna (near Berhampur in Bengal). Originally a military adventurer and a feudal chief entitled Mahasamanta, he extended his sphere of political influence in south Bihar, Benares and Ganjam (south Orissa).

After Sasanka, the sovereignty of Anga passed to Harshavardhana, of Sthanisvara, who possessed undying reputation for warlike and peaceful activities. Hieun-Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, visited India during the rule of this monarch and visited main Buddhist centres. He had visited Champa, or Chen-po as he calls it, situated at a distance of 300 li or 50 miles east of Monghyr. About Champa he writes⁴ the Capital has the river Ganga to the north, the soil is level and fertile, regularly cultivated and productive; the temperature is wild and warm; the manners of the people are simple and honest. There are several *sangharāmas* (Viharas) mostly in ruins, with about

Harsha (606—
647 A. D.).

• Hieun-Tsang.

¹ *Travels of Fa-Hien*. J. Legge. Clarendon Press, Oxford. 1886, p. 100.

² Mandar Hill, or Mandargiri, is situated near Baunsi in the Banka subdivision, and at a distance of 30 miles south of Bhagalpur, the headquarters station. Besides being a place of pilgrimage, the hill on account of many interesting ruins possesses value in the eye of the antiquarian.

According to the Pauranic version, Vishnu defeated the notorious giant Madhukaitab in a battle that had continued for 10,000 years, and ultimately piled the Mandar hill over his body, for preventing the monster from doing any harm to the world. There is also a story in the Mahabharata to the effect that the hill was used by the Gods and the Asura in churning the ocean.

³ At first: called Manohar Kund. The tradition runs that a Raja of Kanchipur called Chola was cured of his leprosy by taking a dip into its water. In gratefulness, the Raja windened and deepened the tank, and since his days, a fair is held here every year in the month of Pous.

⁴ *Buddhist Records of the Western World*. S. Beal, Vol. II, p. 191.

200 priests. They follow the teaching of the little Vehicle (*hinajana*). There are some twenty Deva temples. The walls of the capital are built of brick, and are several feet high. The foundations of the wall are raised on a lofty embankment, so that by their high escarpment, they can defy the attack of enemies.

To the east of the city 140 or 150 li the south of the river Ganh Ganga is a solitary detached rock, craggy and steep and surrounded by water¹. On the top of the peak is a Deva temple.

From what he read in Hiuen-Tsang's account Cunningham concluded, that the political boundary of Anga then extended from Lakhiterai (Lakhisarai) to Rajmahal on the Ganga, and from Paresnath Hill to Kalna on the Bhagirathi².

At this time Champa was under the rule of the Khetauris of Malorigin and was a powerful kingdom³.

Gopala (C. 750—770 A.D.) the elected Pala King of Bengal, conquered Magadh and South Bihar in the third decade of the eighth century. Under Dharmapala (C. 770—810 A.D.) the son of Gopala the frontier of the empire extended to the west of the Sone river. As a Buddhist and a patron of education and scholarship, the Emperor of Bengal founded Shri Vikramsila Vihara on a hillock on the bank of the Ganga in Northern Magadh⁴.

Surrounded by a strong wall, the Vihara was constructed after a good design. With the University of Vikramsila. central temple adorned with Mahabodhi images, there were all told 108 teachers inside the enclosure⁵. The outer wall surrounding the whole monastery was embellished with artistic work, with a painted portrait of the famous scholar Nagarjuna adorning the right hand side of the principal entrance and that of Atisa on the left. The University of Vikramsila, also

¹ Cunningham identifies it with the picturesque rocky island off Patharghata with its temple-crowned summit. *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 477, also *Archaeological Survey*, Vol. XV, p. 34.

² *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, Edited by S. N. Mozumdar, Calcutta 1924, p. 546.

³ *Bhagalpur District Gazetteer*, p. 27.

⁴ Cunningham identified it with the village of Silao near Baragaon. (A. S. R. VIII, 75) Dr. S. C. Vidyabhusan with Sultanganj in Bhagalpur District; N. L. De with Patharaghata hill near Colgong (J. A. S. B. VI. 7) Dr. Banerjee Shastri takes it to be Keur, near Ausalganj, "Indirect line with Nalanda (within a distance of 15 miles) and Adantapuri. J. B. C. R. XV. 276. Some favour the modern villages of Oriap, Antichak and Modhorampur near Vatesharsthan, 6 miles north of Colgong Railway station, as being the site.

⁵ *Ancient Indian Education* by R. K. Mookerji, M. A., Ph. D., Macmillan & Co., London, 1947, p. 587.

founded by Dharmapala included six colleges, and a central hall, called the House of Science with its six gates opening on the six colleges. The gates of the University like those of Nalanda, it is said, were guarded by most learned scholars called *Dvara-Pandits*, who were the custodians of scholarship. Students were admitted to the university on the recommendations of these erudite gate-keepers. We come across the names of these six keepers of the gates, who worked as such, during the period 955—83 A.D. Ratnakara Santi, E. Gate: Vagisvarakirti of Banaras, W. Gate: Naropa, N. Gate: Prajnakaramati, S. Gate: Ratnavajra of Kashmir, First central Gate: Janasrimitra of Gauda, Second Gate. The President of the University was not only a scholar of outstanding merit but also a religious sage. Buddha-Jnana-pada, was the President during the time of Dharmapala: Dipankara of Srijnana Atisa was the head of the institution between 834—38 A.D. As an important feature of the administration of the University it should be noted, that the teaching was controlled and conducted by a Board of prominent teachers and that there was one joint Board for both the Universities of Vikramsila and Nalanda. The utility of maintaining one uniform standard of teaching in the different Indian Universities that form the chief problem of the present day educationists was very ably solved in India more than one thousand years ago. Thus we find there was an exchange of teachers between the Vikramsila and Nalanda University and scholars like Dipankara and Abhayakara working at both the places. As regards the working of the university, the rules and regulations governing the daily life of the resident studies and allied matters, nothing definite in details may be said. Nalanda is better off in this respect, the detailed working having been laid down by Hiuen Tsang, who was supplemented by I-Tsing. But no similar account of Vikramsila is available. Nevertheless, it goes without saying that "the success of the work of Vikramsila as a seat of learning is amply demonstrated by the quality and quantity of its output, the prodigies of piety and learning it produced, and the profound contributions they made to knowledge and region by their numerous writings which practically built up the culture and civilisation of another country, Tibet."¹

Here we think it worthwhile to refer to those eminent scholars of the Vikramsila University who were deputed to Tibet for working, and wrote outstanding works in Tibetan. Acharya Buddha Jnanapada, who held the post of Acharya for ordination at Vikramsila, developed the study of Mantra-Vajracharya, that was taught only at this University and nowhere else. The nine works that he wrote in Sanskrit on Tantra are lost but are preserved in Tibetan: Vairachana Rakshita, who wrote several works in Sanskrit and

¹ *Ibid*, p. 589.

translated into Tibetan several Tantrika works, accompanied his Guru Padmasambhava to Tibet about 750 A. D. He was known as Mahapandita and Mahacharya: Jetari, an inhabitant of Varendra, and originally a student and later a professor won the title of Pandita: Prajnakaramati, already referred to as the keeper of the south gate, wrote several works in Sanskrit and Tibetan: Ratnakara, the keeper of the East Gate, having first obtained ordination at Odantapura University,¹ entered Vikramsila as a pupil of Jetari. He was the author of thirteen works in Sanskrit, and went to Ceylon at the invitation of the King to preach Buddhism. Jnana Sri, a native of Gauda and the keeper of the second Gate mentioned before, wrote several works in Sanskrit, that were later rendered into Tibetan by him; Ratnavajra of Kashmir, another gate-keeper, came to Vikramsila at the age of thirty-six or so, and by virtue of his scholarship won the title of Pandit: Vagisvara of Banaras, also a gate-keeper of the University wrote in Sanskrit, and his famous work Hrityubanchanopadesa was translated into Tibetan. Dipankara Sri Jnana, also known as one of the greatest of Indian scholars, was born in 980 A. D. in a wealthy family of Gauda. Having renounced his riches at an early age of 19, he entered a monastery at Odantapuri, and completing his education and obtaining mastery over Hinayana, Mahayana, Vaiseshika and Tantras sailed off to Suvarnadvipa (in Pegu) for further studies. There he passed the next twelve years of his life and then returned to India and was elected Head of the community of Buddhist Monks of Magadha and Gauda, as a result of the victory that he had won over the monks in a discussion held at Bodhgaya. In reward of his merit King Nayapala made him the head of the Vikramsila University. At the invitation of the Tibetan King Chan Chub, Dipankara proceeded to Tibet to purge Tibetan Buddhism of its many corruptions. He thus worked in Tibet for 13 years (1040—1053 A. D.) and passed away near Lhasa at the age of 73. Some 200 works on Tibetan Buddhism are ascribed to him. Viryasimha was an associate of Atisa and he helped the latter to translate his works in Tibetan. Athayakaragupta, a native of Gauda and a monk, began his life as the family priest of the King Rampala. A great writer in Sanskrit and a translator in Tibetan, he obtained the title of Arya-Mahapandita. He was present at Vikramsila at the time of the first Turkish invasion of Magadha. Tathagata Rakshita, a native of Orissa, and a Kayastha by birth, was at first a student and then a professor of Vikramsila obtained by dint of merit the titles of "Mahapandita" and "Upadhyaya". He wrote on Tantra shastra in Sanskrit and later translated them into Tibetan. Ratnakirti, was a student of Vikramsila who was known as Updhyaya, Pandit and Mahapandit. His Tibetan translations are an asset to Tibetan literature. Manjusri,

¹ Bihar Sharif, Patna district.

was another celebrated Pandit of Vikramsila who produced Tibetan translations of Sanskrit works. Dharmakirti, was a native of Tibet and a student of Vikramsila University. He translated many Sanskrit works into Tibetan; Sakya Shri Bhadra, was native of Kashmir and a reputed logician. He was at Vikramsila when the Muslims destroyed it.

By virtue of their military conquests the Palas became the inheritors of Vanga (Eastern Bengal) and Gauda (Western Bengal). Anga forming a component part of the latter in those days. The Anargha-raghava of Murari, who flourished in the latter part of the eighth century A.D. refers to Champa as the Capital of Gauda. This connection of Champa with a Pala King of Gauda has been inferred from the study of the Jaynagar image inscription also¹. The glory of the Pala empire won under Gopala and his two immediate successors, Dharmapala and Devapala (C. 810---815 A.D.) suffered a wane after the death of the last named sovereign, and during the reign of Narayanpala (C. 854---908), Anga, Vanga and Magadha paid homage to the Rastrakuta King Amoghavarsha I (814---877 A.D.)² and to his son Krishna II (877---913 A.D.)³. In addition to this defeat Narayanpala had also to eat the humble pie at the hands of the Pratihara King Mahendrapala I (C. 885---910 A.D.). An attempt however, was made by Narayanpala to regain his lost prestige, and for sometime at least, he recovered north Bengal and Bihar and acquired sovereignty over Kanauj.⁴ An inscription dated the sixth year of the reign of Gopala II, the successor of Narayanpala, found at Jajilpara, in Maldah District, refer to the victorious camp of the King at Vataparvatika on the Ganga, referring obviously to Vateshwarasthana at Patharghata, near Colgong. There are epigraphic references to some Chandella⁵ and Kalachuri incursions into Bengal in the 11th century A.D. In the 11th Century as well, Bengal and Anga suffered at the hands of Jatavarman the founder of the Jadava dynasty of East Bengal,⁶

¹ *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca 1943, P. 31.

² This line of Kings usually described as Rastrakutas of Manyakheta (Markhed, in the Nizamis dominions). Their original home was Karnataka, and their mother tongue Kanarese. Narayanpala's submission to the Rastrakutas has been referred to in the Nilgund and Sirar stone inscriptions of Amoghavarasa. See *Dynastic History of N. India*, Vol. I, 301.

³ The Deoli grant of Krishna III. *Dynastic History of N. India*, Vol. I, 301.

⁴ Bhagalpur Copper plate of Narayanpala.

⁵ The Khajuraho epigraph tells us that the wives of the kings of Kanchi, Andra, Radha and Anga lingered in the prisons of King Dhanga, son of Yasovarman of Jeja Bhukti (Bundel Khund). *Ibid*, p. 678.

⁶ The Belava Copper plate of Bhojvarman. *Ibid*, pp. 331---33, Jatavarman was a Rajput of the Yadava class, and he migrated from the Punjab.

and the Gangeya King of Dehala (C.P.)¹. Mathana also called Mahana, the maternal uncle of Rampala, the king of Bengal, became the feudatory ruler of the principality of Anga, paying obedience to the ruler of Bengal². Lakhsman Deva, the Paramara king of Malwa, and the great grandson of Bhoja, is said to have defeated them³.

Under the suzerainty of the Palas, Anga was influenced by the culture that developed under them. The Vedic culture that gathered strength in Bengal, received an impetus in Anga as well. Brahmins well-versed in the Vedas and the Vedangas, and adept in the performance of sacrifices received stipends and royal grants⁴. Saivism or the cult of Siva, that developed in Bengal in those days was that of the Pasupata sect⁵.

The Sena Kings.—It was by means of conquest that the Senas, who were originally Karnata Kshatriyas coming to Bengal in the train of Vikramaditya VI, Chalukya, became the legal successors of the Palas in Bengal and Anga. Lakshmansena (1185—1206), the son of Ballalsen, and an important and powerful king consolidated the Sena Kingdom. But the last days of his rule were unhappy and tragic. Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji, a follower of Muhammad of Ghor, being attracted by the prevalent conditions in Bihar, than almost unprotected as a result of the fall of the Gahadvallas, marched his Turkish troops to Bihar and Bengal and brought them under Muslim sway. The effects of this conquest over the country and particularly over Nalanda, and Vikramsila Universities have been fully narrated by the author of Tabakati-Nasiri, and need no reiteration here. In fact, the two Universities stated above were levelled to the ground, their students were either put to sword or scattered pell-mell and a great number of books put to the flames.

* Bakhtiyar Khilji's invasion of Bengal and Bihar and destruction of Vikramsila University.

Muhammadian Rule.—Thus were Vanga and Anga brought under the sway of the Muslim rulers of Delhi, and were ruled by the Turco-Afghans, Saiyyads, Lodis and the Mughals in chronological succession. Bhagalpur formed part of Sarkar Monghyr, one of the seven sarkars into which Bihar was divided at the time of Muslim conquest. Towards the close of the 14th century, Bihar was incorporated to the kingdom of Jaunpur and remained as its appendage for about a century when it was conquered by Hussain-shah of Bengal and later by the rulers of Delhi.

¹ See Dynastic History of N. India, p. 772.

² Saranath inscription of Kumardevi, queen of the Gahadvalla King Govinda Chandra (C. 1114—55 A.D.).

³ See History of the Paramara Dynasty by D. C. Ganguly.

⁴ See Bhagalpur Copper plate of Narayanpala, History of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 396.

⁵ Ibid.

Under the Muslim occupation, Bhagalpur did not rise to any political prominence, except that it was the seat of the Pargana officer, and that it being the only convenient route leading to Bengal, the soldiery passed to and fro this district on either punitive expeditions or their return journey to the subah, or the provincial capital. In the fourth decade of the sixteenth century, while on his way to Bengal campaign, Humayun was held up by his astute Afghan rival Shershah in the narrow defile between the Ganga and the Rajmahal Hills. Humayun, no doubt, passed through Bhagalpur on that occasion. From the account of revenue assessment at the time of Akbar as reproduced in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, we learn that the total amount of revenue collected from Pargana Bhagalpur was 46,96,110 dams¹. In fact, this amount seem to be the highest in comparison with the revenue that was realised from the other 21 parganas that constituted Sarkar Monghyr. Besides yielding the highest amount of revenue, Bhagalpur hardly played any remarkable political role during the Muslim rule, and it surely gave precedence to Monghyr on account of its strategic position on the Ganga. Bhagalpur, however, receives mention in the Muhammadan chronicles of the 17th century.

On their way to Bengal, the royal force of Akbar marched through the town of Bhagalpur in 1573 and 1575. During the second Bengal campaign led against the rebellious Afghan king of the place, Mansingh the General of the Imperial forces, made Bhagalpur the temporary headquarters of the army. Again in 1580 when the military revolt of Bengal against Akbar commenced, Todar Mall, the Minister-cum-General, marched down to meet the rebels as far as Monghyr. With a cavalry of 30,000 the insurgents were encamped at Bhagalpur. Todar Mall prevailed upon the local Zamindars to cut off all supplies to the rebels and thus forced them to retreat. For nearly two centuries Bihar was governed by the Viceroys of the Delhi Emperor, with their seat at Rajmahal. The town of Bhagalpur was afterwards made the seat of *aumil* (Governor) or imperial Fauzdar or military governor². They do not appear to have ranked as high as the governors of Purneah and few of them got the title of Nawab.

¹ A dam is equivalent to one-fourth of a rupee.

² Buchanan, in his *Account* (Pub. by B & O. Research Society, Pat. 1939), page 65, gives the names of the following Muslim Governors:—

In the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719—48) were Delazag Khan, Reza Jammun Khan, Rahimdad Khan, Ali Quli Beg, Amiruddin Khan, Hendali Khan and Ali Jawed Khan.

In the reign of Ahmad Shah (1748—54) there were Ali Quli Khan, Bahamun Khan and Aliquli Khan in the reign of Alamgir II (1754—59) there were Subkhuruli Khan, Jafurali Khan, Syed Mukuram Khan, and Sheikh Fakhruddin.

In the reign of Shah Alam (1759—1806) there were Mir Masoudali, Sultan Daud, Wareali Khan, Sadurat Haq Khan and Zainul Abedin Khan who was succeeded by an English gentleman.

Not far from Bhagalpur towards its southern direction lies Umarpur which is associated with the name of Prince Shah Shuja. Situated near the range of hills, full of dense forests infested with tigers and other games, the place became an object of attraction to the prince. Besides buildings for his own residence and that of his staff that he constructed, he excavated a tank and a masjid, that still bear his name¹. Over and above the constructions of a few mosques and tanks here and there, the Muslim occupator of Bhagalpur has left as its heritage the Muhammadan nomenclature of places and sites. Thus names such as Aligunj, Quazi Chak, Kuzwali Chak, Khanjarpur, Munsoorganj, Musakhchouk, Moulachouk, Sujaganj, Sarai, Tatarpur, Urdu Bazar are all reminiscent of the Muslim Rule. These place names have their value.

The important monuments were those of Ibrahim Hussain Khan at Khanjarpur (built in the 17th century). Dargah of Moulana Shah Baz; or Pir Shah Jangi Shah Baz; a mosque and monument of a saint built in the 17th century by Hazrat Sayed Ali, mosque at Bhikanpur built in the 15th century by Bandugi Shah Neknam; a mosque at Qazichak, at Colgong the remains of Mahmud Shah, the last independent King of Bengal, who died in 1539. The

Muslim administration is further associated with the establishment of an educational institution at Bhagalpur² for imparting knowledge in Arabic and Persian. This seminary

was sponsored by Maulana Shah Baz, who was originally a native of Bihar, and later of Bhagalpur by adoption. The said maulana was held in high repute for his piety and learning, and the number of students that he taught was 200, whose expenses he defrayed from a fund which was established from the bounty of the Emperors Jahangir and Shahjahan and the generosity of the wealthy. Maulana Muhammad Salam, the eldest of the four sons of Shah Baz, who succeeded the latter, as the head of the seminary, obtained from Prince Shah Shuja 500 bighas of land in pargana Colgong and 19 bighas in Bhagalpur, the later for the purpose of constructing a building for the seminary. Moulana Salam had 150 students on the roll. Abdul Latif succeeded Salam, and the former by his third son, Moulana Taqi. After Taqi came Muhammad Afsum, then came Hafiz and Aukil. The help that was rendered to the seminary by Jahangir (1605—1627) and Shahjahan (1628—1658) was continued under Alamgir (1658—1707), Bahadur Shah (1707—12), Farukhsiyar (1713—18), Muhammad Shah (1718—48), Ahmad Shah

¹ At a place called Kaja, about 10 miles S.E. from thana Kodwar Shah Shuja is said to have had a hunting seat. The Prince built a column of brick at Taraha, S.W. four coses. His hunting seat was near a small fort built by A. Shekurali Khan; this was the residence of a military officer, who was employed to protect or overawe the zamindars of Barkop, Parasanda and Nayades, Buchanan, p. 80.

² Judicial letter sent to John Shore, President of the Committee of Revenue, Fort William, dated 1st August 1783.

(1748—54) and others. Aukil was succeeded by Abid and the latter by Muwahhud. Under Taqi the number of scholars were 200, under Afsum 80, and under Hafiz 60 only. But the number increased 150 under Afsum and under Abid it decreased to 30.

The different parwanas containing an account of the land and the stipend granted for the support of the said educational institution contain not only the names of the emperors under whose reign they were granted but also the names of the governors or fouzدارs. For the history of the administration of Bhagalpur, the names of the governors are now worth recording. Motabik Hazi Muhammad Dewan, 1089 H., 21st year of Alamgir's reign; Motabik Muhammad Beg 1116 H., 2nd year of Bahadur Shah's reign; Delair Khan, 1st year of Farrukh Syar's reign; Motabik Abdullah Khan, 1125 H., 3rd year of Farrukh Syar; Motabik Delazra, 1127 H., 1st year of Muhammad Shah; Golam Hussain Khan, 1134 H., 10th year of Muhammad Shah; Muh. Saduk, 1154 H., Alla Cooly, 1163 H., Nawab Jafar Ali Khan, 1166, Syed Warris Ali Khan, 1174 H., and Muzaffar Jang 1177 H.

The total amount of land granted to the seminary was 3,724.1 bighas, yielding a revenue of 370.4 rupees and the stipend amount to 25.93 rupees.

Judicial system.—We also get a glimpse of the judicial arrangements of Bhagalpur during the rule of the Muslims¹. In the archives of the Collector of Bhagalpur there are two old letters dating 5th July and 1st November 1792 from the Collector of Bhagalpur to the President, Council of Revenue, Fort William, Bengal, that furnish reports of the persons by whom the Qazi office was held in the district, of the functions of the Qazis their salaries and other incidental details. Under the Chief Qazi of Suba Bihar, there were two Qazis, one for Bhagalpur and the other for Rajmahal. The Qazi of Bhagalpur, had under him four principal assistants, who resided at Bhagalpur Colgong, Bihpur and Gogri. In theory the district Qazi of Bhagalpur had not only to try the criminal cases, but also to witness deeds, perform marriages and funerals. But in practice, however, he attended the criminal court only, and entrusted his other duties to the care of the assistants. The four assistant Qazis helped by Sub-Assistant Qazis placed at different places. These Sub-Assistants numbered five in pargana Bhagalpur, three at Colgong, three at Bihpur and the same number at Gogri. The salary of the Qazis of Bhagalpur was rupees sixty-five only per month and those of his principal assistants rupees sixty only. The Sub-Assistant Qazis got no salary but obtained "fees" from the parties, that varied from rupee one to annas four in the case of marriages, funerals and in witnessing documents.

¹ Dr. K.K. Basu's article, Administration of Justice in Bhagalpur, Journal, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XX, 1934.

The Qanungo system.—The Chief Qanungoes were those of Bhagalpur, Colgong and of Kharagpur. The qanungoship of Bhagalpur and of a portion of Colgong was conferred by Hussain Shah, the king of Bengal upon Sriram Ghosh, and it remained in hereditary succession for about 200 years in the family of Sriram. Sriram came from Murshidabad and settled in Bhagalpur in the reign of Shah Jahan. After Sriram came Krishnadas, after him Bhagabati, then Pranath, Kripanath, Dayanath, Mayanath and Parashnath. When the Qanungo system was abolished in 1787, some considerable area was settled with Parashnath personally and since then he and his successors became the chief zamindars of the district.

The qanungoship of Colgong was conferred upon a Hindu renegade on the third year of the reign of Alamgir. The qanungo's grandson Aukil Muhammad was a contemporary of Parashnath.

The first Muhammadan Raja of Kharagpur, Todar Mall, who took the name of the Raja Afjun, obtained his title from the emperor Jahangir in 1615. He was also appointed qanungo of Mohalat Kharagpur by the Mughal Emperor. On different occasions the Rajas of Kharagpur asserted and tried to enforce by arms a claim to the qanungoship of Bhagalpur. Raja Afjun, on an asserted title to 13 gundas in the rupee of the *rusoom qanungoey* received by Dayanath, the grandfather of Parashnath had with aid of an armed force plundered Dayanath's house of all his property and with it carrying away Loknath, the younger son of Dayanath, whom he kept in confinement till his father paid rupees ten thousand which Raja Afjun asserted to be due to him.

As qanungo of Bhagalpur Parashnath received Rs. 6,238 yearly in money and held lands of an annual value of Rs. 4,089. As qanungo of part of Colgong he received Rs. 436 annually in money and held lands valued at Rs. 26. Aukil Muhammad, qanungo of the remainder of Colgong, received Rs. 1,326 per year. The total amount of qanungoes *rusoom* collected by Qadir Ali of Kharagpur was Rs. 8,012. When the qanungoship was abolished Parashnath was given a special pension of Rs. 200 per month and the *Nankar* lands. Aukil Muhammad was given a pension of Rs. 40 per month but no allowance was made to Raja Qadir Ali.

Currency and coinage.—The coins¹ that passed current in the several districts consisted of *Sonats*, *Siccas* and Rupees. The *Sonats* and *Siccas* were named after Murshidabad and Patna, the places where they were struck. The Murshidabad *Sonats* were perfect in weight and quality. They were issued in the reigns of

1. Revenue letters sent from Collector of Bhagalpur, dated 7th November 1776, etc., preserved in the Collector's Record Room, Bhagalpur.
Vide Dr. K.K. Bose's article, "Currency and Coinage in Bihar under the Hon'ble Company", Vol. XXX, 1944, p. 237.

Muhammad Shah (1719—48), Ahmad Shah (1748—54) and Alamgir II (1754—59). The Murshidabad *sicca* rupees had an weight equal to *Sonats* and were issued in the 11th, 12th, 15th and 19th years of the reign of Shah Alam II (1759—1806). The rupees were designated "Dacca" and "Benares" after the names of their places of issue. The "Dacca" or "Jahangirnagar" rupees weighed like Murshidabad *Sonat* and *Sicca*. Azimabadi (Dacca) rupees coined in the reigns of Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II were of purest quality. Benares rupees, struck in the 17th and 18th years of the reign of Shah Alam, were perfect in quality. The old Benares rupees were those that had been issued by Alamgir and were deficient in quality as well as weight. Farrukhabad rupees of Alamgir like the old Benares rupees were deficient both in the quality of silver and weight.

There was hardly any standard coin in the different districts. It varied from one district to another. The different standards, therefore, led to the practice of charging commissions and *battas* at the time of exchanging one species by another. Again there was no uniformity in the commission charge or *batta*. The sudder bazar rate varied from the mofussil bazar rate. The Murshidabad *Sonats* had to pay 6.1 per cent in the mofussil, and 1.9 per cent at the sudder bazar at the time of reducing them to *sicca* coins. The Dacca rupees commission was 9.6 and 3.2 per cent at the Mofussil and Sudder respectively. Besides the aforesaid *Copper* silver coins, copper coins and cowries were also in circulation. The madosic copper coin (2=1 anna, and 1=160 cowries, Fallos (4=1 anna, and 1=80 cowries), Neem Fallos (8=1 anna and 1=40 cowries), Paw Fallos (16=1 anna and 1=20 cowries) were in circulation. The Madosic pice contained on the adverse, the words "Shah Alam Badshah" and on the reverse "Julus sun". The fallos, Neem Fallos and Paw Fallos contained similar inscriptions both on the obverse and reverse. In 1765 when the Diwani or Revenue Administration of English Rulers of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was granted to East India Company, the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II reigned. Bhagalpur District was a huge tract in the east of Sarkar Mungir, Subah Bihar, lying altogether to the south of the Ganga except the pargana of Chai, but having no fixed boundary on the south and west. In the first of decade of the 19th century the district of Bhagalpur included most of the Formation of the district. modern district of Monghyr and the Santhal Parganas.

But latter, the southern portion was restricted in area and the northern portion greatly extended. The first great reduction in the area of the southern portion was made in 1832 when a separate district with Monghyr as headquarters was formed. A great addition followed in 1838 when the three parganas were transferred from Tirhut to Bhagalpur. In 1855 after the Santhal Rebellion, the Santhal Parganas District was formed, and the previous increase

in area was counterbalanced. In 1864 Bhagalpur still further lost the character of south Ganga district which it had possessed in the eighteenth century, by the addition of Kabkhand, Uttarkhand and parts of Nathpur, Dhapar, etc., about 700 square miles of country on the north of the river. In 1874 the area of the district was still further diminished by the transfer of about 614 square miles of territory to Monghyr. In recent years Bhagalpur district was again shorn of a certain area on the other side of the Ganga which went to create Saharsa district.

In 1769 the series of Muslim governors terminated, and an Englishman, named William Harwood¹ was appointed the first supervisor with his headquarters at Rajmahal to superintend the local collection of revenue. Bhagalpur was not then a separate revenue area but was under the supervision of Rajmahal for this purpose. In 1774 he was succeeded by Barton who continued in office till 1779 to be succeeded by his own assistant Cleveland, who became the first Collector. Cleveland remained in office till 30th November 1783 when on account of his ill health (which ultimately carried him away on 13th January 1784) reducing him to the necessity of seeking relief for a change of air, left Bhagalpur leaving the charge of his district to the care of his assistant Charles Cockrell.

The latter carried on his duties till 19th February 1784, when he was relieved by Chapman. Chapman was followed by Davies and the latter by Adair who continued till 1789. After Adair came A. Seton who carried on office till 9th March 1790, when he was transferred to the post of Collector of Bihar, and left the charge temporarily to his Head Assistant Samuel Davis who was relieved of his charge by James Grant on April 13, 1790. Grant was succeeded by Dickinson, Fombelle, and F. Hamilton, the last continuing in office till 1816. Then came Ricketts, Battye, Collins, Sage, Ward, Stonhouse, Star, Dunbar and James.

Incursions of hillmen from the south of the district presented a problem to its early British administrators. The Muslim administrators had to face similar problems, which they tried to solve through the establishment of Ghatwali Tenures.² They originated in assignment of land at a very remote period for the protection of the *ghats* or passes in the hills against the incursions

Measures to stop incursions of the hillmen.

1. Revenue letter sent, dated the 20th October 1774 (Collector's Record Room), Bhagalpur, also Revenue letter received from W. Hastings and others, dated the 20th September 1774. Ghatwali was the name applied to the tenure of land by those whose duty it was to protect the district from the incursions of the tribes which inhabited the districts of Ramgarh and the eastern portions of the Santhal country. *Ghatwali* or *ghatwal* means one who guards the *ghats* or mountain passes.
2. See Revenue letter sent by G. Dickinson, Collector of Bhagalpur, dated July, 1797, to William Cowper, Board of Revenue (Collector's Record Room, Bhagalpur). Also Murphy's Survey and Settlement Operation, Bhagalpur, p. 18.

of the Marathas *Ghatwali* system especially, but also of other marauding tribes and were held by the *Ghatwals* or guards of the passes, on a service tenure with the additional payment of a small *peshkash* or tribute to the zamindar, in whose property they were situated. The zamindar had no authority to resume such lands, the service not being one of personal nature to the zamindar, but a public service rendered to Government for the general safety and welfare of the country. The early British administrators of the district allowed the *Ghatwali* tenure to continue, in addition, appointed Captain James Brown, an officer who had the command of a Light Infantry Corps for the protection of the country¹ and later in 1773, in charge of the jungle territory country. As under the Muhammadan administration the *Ghatwali* system did not work on well and made confusion worse confounded. Jagarnath Singh of Lachmipur, the Chief Ghatwal, abetted by Bisu Singh, Ghatwal of Kakwara, and Prasad Singh and Ummed Singh, Ghatwals of Kharwar prevented the Collector, Barton from collecting his rents and excited the farmers and the zamindars to withhold their rent as well. In

1777 and 1778 in spite of Captain Browne's vigilance the raids of the hillmen continued and in 1779 the two zamindars of Mandar, who were loyal to the British, were put to death by Rup Narain Deo, the successor of Jagarnath. On an attempt being made to arrest Rup Narain, he fled to the jungles of Bhirbhum for refuge. Subsequently, he was pardoned and restored to his zamindary in February, 1783. Again there ensued a period of dispute between Lachmipur and Kharagpur, and of insubordination on the part of the former ending with a grant of pardon to him and on the recommendation of the Sadar Diwani Adalat a separation of Lachmipur from Kharagpur.

Appointment of Captain Browne.

Rup Narain Deo, Ghatwal of Lachmipur.

The subjugation of the hill chiefs and rule over them became an all absorbing thought with Cleveland. He had thoroughly understood the vital issues that were at stake. The plan for the pacification of the hillmen, said to have been first suggested by Captain Browne in 1778, was now adopted by him. In agreement with the principles of justice and humanity a state of warfare was avoided; the policy of considering the hillmen as enemies and treating them as such was abandoned. This measure produced the desired object and lent a new colour to the situation. Cleveland occasionally left his headquarters and made tour through the

1. Warren Hastings in his letter, dated the 26th September 1773 to J. Barton, Collector of Bhagalpur (Revenue letters received, Bhagalpur Collectorate Record Room) states that "you (i.e. Barton) are to consider him (Browne) as no longer under your authority, but if at any time you should require the assistance of his corps you will be pleased to acquaint him therewith and he has my orders to comply with your application".

hills and part of the jungleterry to have an interview with as many of the hill chiefs as possible and to give them feasts and presents on the part of Government. Further with a view to securing to the hill chiefs means of subsistence the want of which obliged them to commit improper and inhuman act, measures were adopted to employing a number of them in the services of Government. A corps of Hill Rangers consisting originally of 1,300 men was established. For many years they were armed with their country weapons, the bow and arrow. It is an instance of Cleveland's sound judgment, that he named for their first native commandant, a chief named Jourah. After some years the men were armed with muskets instead of bows and were in all respects on the same footing with other native requirements. Later, their number was reduced from 1,300 to 700 of whom 200 were not genuine mountaineers, but Hindus from the plain. Moreover, allowances were paid to all the hill chiefs and a court consisting of the officers of the corps of Hill Archers for trying the delinquents was set up. The last method not only had the desired effect in inflicting proper punishment on the refractory but gave universal satisfaction to the chiefs and the inhabitants of the hills in general. As a result the people who were so long considered as a perpetual dread to the inhabitants of the low country, *quitted* their former modes of life and became civilised. The jungleterry was converted into a colony with a busy life throbbing all round. Cleveland had become almost a legend to the hill tribes. He is commemorated at Bhagalpur by a temple like structure opposite the Circuit House and a tablet in the compound of the house known as *Tilakothi*.

As an additional precaution against occasional raids in which cattle were stolen and murders committed, Cleveland adopted a plan, first suggested by Captain Browne in 1778 of settling down invalid soldiers of the company on the waste lands between the hill country and Bhagalpur. Thus healthy spots of ground within the district were selected, and the quantity of land given to each of the officers and sepoys varied according to their position and status. At first settlements were made on the south of the Ganga, then extended to the north and the west. But for the difficulty of obtaining suitable lands and the inability of the invalid soldiers to work as a husbandman, this jagir system was discontinued in 1821.

THE EARLY EUROPEANS IN BHAGALPUR

From a brochure "The Early Europeans in Bhagalpur" by Dr. R.K. Bose, Ph. D., read at the fifteenth sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commission in 1938, it will appear that quite a large number of European officials as well as non-officials had settled down in the town and district of Bhagalpur in the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first half of the

nineteenth century. Almost with the introduction of the new administrative system in 1779 when an European Supervisor was appointed for Bhagalpur with headquarters at Rajmahal, a number of Europeans started settling in the district both in public and private capacities. The official records and the Christian cemeteries at Bhagalpur yield a good deal of information on the subject.

There was also a regular succession of European indigo planters at Bhagalpur who later on either sold out or became gentlemen farmers or Zamindars. One of them the Grant family, was one of the largest Zamindars in the division. Dr. K.K. Bose has another paper "An Account of the Indigo Planters at Bhagalpur" read at the fourteenth sessions of the Indian Historical Records Commission in 1937.

The cemeteries commemorate quite a few of them who have had their contributions to the civic and cultural life of the district. Several of them were associated with the Invalid Establishment at Bhagalpur which comprised a colony of invalidated Government pensioners, mostly from the military. Some of the graves are of administrators, doctors and professional men. One of them Dr. Glass died at Bhagalpur in August, 1822. The inscription mentions that he was looked up to by the Indians as their common father. Dr. Glass was the surgeon of Bhagalpur. Among the graves of the administrators mention may be made of E. F. Lator, officiating Collector (died October, 1845), Captain Ratton (died November, 1800), Skinner of Bengal Civil Service (died February, 1863), etc. Particular mention has to be made of Augustus Cleveland, Collector of Bhagalpur, 1775—1784. He had brought about the pacification of the lawless and turbulent wild tribes of the jungleterry of Rajmahal.

Another remarkable fact is that some of the early Europeans including Government officials acquired extensive landed property in Bhagalpur district. Some of them are noted below and it may be an interesting research if their privately acquired lands were the nuclei of indigo plantation:—

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|-------------------------|----|---|
| (1) Antonio, L. Pere .. | .. | An Italian, held 5 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, 1811. |
| (2) Chalmer, R.W.A. .. | .. | Held 5 bighas of land with a house and garden at Bhagalpur (date of authority January, 1795.) |
| (3) Dickison, George .. | .. | Held at Bhagalpur 281 bighas of land with a house, garden and office, 1803. |
| (4) Garner, Capt. I .. | .. | Held 60 bighas of land with house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1814. |
| (5) Harrington, J. .. | .. | Held 50 bighas of land at Bhagalpur. |

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|----------------------------------|----|----|--|
| (6) Hay, John | .. | .. | Held lands at Bhagalpur and Colgong, a portion of his land at Colgong was occupied by a barren hill on the summit of which a small house was erected. It was held in the name of J. Grant who made it over to Hay. |
| (7) Hunter, John | .. | .. | Purchased from C. L. Trower 30 bighas of land at Bhagalpur. |
| (8) Hutchinson, Lieut. Col. John | .. | .. | Held 60 bighas of land at Bhagalpur and 7 bighas at Colgong, 1803. |
| (9) Johnson, A. | .. | .. | Held about 49 bighas of land with house and garden at Bhagalpur (date of authority, February, 1793 and October, 1813). |
| (10) Littlejohn, Major P. | .. | .. | Held 60 bighas of land at Bhagalpur with house and garden, 1816. |
| (11) Lutterloh, H.E. | .. | .. | Held 50 bighas of land at Bhagalpur with bungalow which he purchased from late Registrar Smith, 1795. |
| (12) Maling, C.S. | .. | .. | Held 50 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, 1803. |
| (13) Marshall, Major W.H. | .. | .. | Held land with house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1818. |
| (14) Mathews, Major | .. | .. | Held land with house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1818. |
| (15) Nisbet, R.P. | .. | .. | Held 50 bighas of land with house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1828. |
| (16) Saufora, John | .. | .. | Held land with house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1814. |
| (17) Shaw, Capt. Thomas | .. | .. | Held 14 bighas and 7 cottah of land at Bhagalpur, 1802. |
| (18) Shaw, W. | .. | .. | Held 60 bighas of land with house and garden at Bhagalpur, 1802-1827. |
| (19) Smelt, A. | .. | .. | Held 41 bighas of land at Bhagalpur with house and garden, 1814. |
| (20) Spottiswood, Capt. Robbert | .. | .. | Held 10 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, 1800. |
| (21) Steer, W. | .. | .. | Owned 35 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, 1818. |
| (22) Trower, C.L. | .. | .. | Held 39 bighas of land at Bhagalpur, 1803. |
| (23) Turnen, J.L. | .. | .. | Held lands at Colgong with house and garden, 1825 ; also 18 bighas at Bhagalpur, 1822. |
| (24) Ward, J.P. | .. | .. | Held 35 bighas of land with house and garden at Bhagalpur. |
| (25) Wintle, James | .. | .. | Purchased from Trombelle (no. 381), 50 bighas of land at Bhagalpur. |

Apparently, the good climate and position of Bhagalpur were an attraction to the early Europeans. Some of them carried on trade and commerce or followed other professions while others became gentlemen-farmers and ultimately Zamindars. Some of the

administrators had settled down in Bhagalpur or had acquired properties. A Commissioner referred to elsewhere acquired an extensive area and built a church and handed over the properties including the church to the Calcutta Diocese when he left for home.

The European planters and gentlemen-farmers showed better methods of cultivation and the good of consolidation of holdings. They brought in a number of plants and trees and encouraged the cultivation of peas, potatoes and most of the winter vegetables. They took interest in dogs, horses and livestock and poultry. In Bhagalpur some of them grew excellent oats and experimented on the cultivation of sugarcane and poppy.

General Administration

The first Collectorship of Bhagalpur¹ established in 1774 for purposes of general administration included the following offices, viz., the Collector's, the Diwan's, the Serishtadar's, the treasury, the Munshi's, the Vakil's and the Nazir's. The Collector's office included one Collector with a salary of sicca
 Collectorship of Bhagalpur. Rs. 157-8-0 per month, one Assistant on Rs. 48, besides the Collector's writers and the public servants; the Diwan's office was composed of a Diwan, who received as salary Rs. 200 per month and a Naib on Rs. 50, the Serishtadar's office included one Serishtadar on Rs. 40 and four Muharrirs on Rs. 15 each, the treasury office included a Khazanchi or Tahsildar on Rs. 30, 2 Muharrirs on Rs. 15 each, and one Poddar on Rs. 5 only; the Munshi's office included 2 Persian Munshis, receiving Rs. 50 and 25 and one Bengali Munshi receiving Rs. 25. The Vakil's office included two Vakils, one of whom attended the Khalsa cutcherry at Calcutta for the business of Bhagalpur and Rajmahal on a salary of Rs. 70 per month, and the other receiving Rs. 30, the Nazir's office included one Nazir on Rs. 15 besides the peons, daftaries, etc.

The Criminal court included the Qazi of the district
 Criminal Court on Rs. 100, one Mufti on Rs. 50, 2 Moulvies
 at Bhagalpur. on Rs. 50. and 30, one Naib-Qazi on Rs. 20
 and one Naib Mufti on Rs. 20.

In addition to the criminal court at Bhagalpur there
 was another such court at Rajmahal, with
 At Rajmahal. one Naib-Qazi and one Naib-Mufti on Rs. 20,
 2 Persian writers on Rs. 20 each and 5 peons, etc.

¹ Extract of the proceedings of the Governor-General and Council of Revenue Fort William, dated 7th October 1774 preserved in the bound volumes of the Revenue letters received in Collector's Record Room, Bhagalpur.

The annual expenses incurred for the maintenance of the foregoing offices and spent on other items amounted to Rs. 27,847-3-0 per annum. These items of expenditure are given below:—

Items of expenses incurred in maintaining the establishment.			Rs.	a.	p.
Establishment of the cutcherry officers and servants ..	..	..	14,097	3	0
Establishment of the contingent charges ..	..	..	720	0	0
Establishment of the Provincial courts of adalat ..	..	..	5,280	0	0
1 Kotwal, with 41 pykes, night watcher, etc. ..	..	..	972	0	0
Dawk charges, including 20 burkundazes ..	..	..	1,328	0	0
Repairs of bungalows for accommodation of travellers on the high road leading to Patna.			700	0	0
Charges of ammunition and carriages ..	..	..	300	0	0
Charges remittance estimated on sicca ..	..	..	2,00,000	0	0
			500	0	0
Road charges to the Collector for going and coming between his district and Rajmahal.			2,000	0	0
Maintenance of public prisoners ..	..	..	600	0	0
Surgeon's allowance ..	..	..	1,260	0	0
Allowance to the Qazi ..	..	..	90	0	0

Warren Hastings while marching against Chait Singh of Benares came to Bhagalpur on 16th July, 1780 and having passed here a week left for Monghyr on 23rd July. During his stay at the place, he was a guest of Augustus Cleveland, the Collector of Bhagalpur. Hodges describes the situation of his house built on an elevated island, four miles across, with the Ganges on one side of it, and a nullah on the other. The country, he says was park-like with splendid isolated trees and sylvan glades. The house has been described as a large and beautiful building on the Italian model standing at the head of a lawn which sloped to the river and was planted with flowering shrubs. Close at hand was a padlock inhabited by different species of deer. We get a cursory view of the court buildings at Bhagalpur and Rajmahal from contemporary records. F. Hamilton (The Collector of Bhagalpur) in his letter, dated 23rd March, 1805 to C. Buller, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort William, states that the Court at Bhagalpur was held in the private buildings of Dickinson secured on rent of Rs. 200 per month; the general condition of the premises was very bad. The Cutcherry was held in a mosque situated at the foot of the hill on which stood the dwelling house. The house contained one or two dark rooms with an open verandah; the doors and windows were entirely out of repairs. The records were deposited in two or three small but very damp godowns situated under the shade of a great tree: the treasury and stamp

papers were lodged in a godown adjoining the kitchen of the dwelling house. There was also another building in the park, directly opposite to the dwelling house, about a hundred yards distant, the high road running between them but in so ruinous a state, that it was dangerous to appropriate it to any use.

The building situated at Rajmahal originally consisted of a large mosque on which Cleveland made improvements and built a bungalow and other out-offices, which he converted into a cutcherry and temporary dwelling place. It was known as the "Singhes Dellaun". The cutcherry at Rajmahal remained distinct. Owing to the extent of the revenues, many records were archived there. This helped the Collector when he went there once in every year to settle the business of the Bengal portion of the district.

An account of the demerits and nature of the Government native pleaders has been furnished by J. Fombelle, the Judge, of Bhagalpur in his letter dated 28th February, 1795¹. The report includes the names of 14 pleaders, out of which seven were Muhammadans and the rest Hindus. Among the Muhammadan pleaders, one claimed to have studied the Headayas, Sherrah, etc., in the Madrasah at Burdwan and Bhagalpur, but on examination found to be unable to read them. Excepting one or two most of them never read any law book nor any Persian book and had served either as a naib-munshi or as a mullah or as a Amin before their appointment as pleaders. The Hindu pleaders like their Muhammadan counterpart, before their appointment as pleaders, had acted as *gomastah*, *Amin* and *Tehsildar*, and they had never read any book on Hindu law, nor could understand Persian well, nor explain the Persian regulations in Hindi.

During the early years of British rule in the district the prisoners were kept in an insecure state. There were only two jails at Bhagalpur, made entirely of mud with tiles. Of these two jails, the first had walls enclosing an area of 473 feet $\times$ 405 feet, and the second that was smaller in size, had an area of 225 ft. $\times$ 100 ft. The large jail meant for containing upwards of 400 prisoners consisted of two straw buildings, a guard room and a separate detached place with a large shed under which prisoners dressed their victuals. The thatched roof exposed the inmates to the inclemency of the weather. The surrounding wall of the jail compound was made of mud and the jail was insecure. Inside the jail there was only one well and no drain to carry off the filth and neither was there any separate place as a hospital for the sick. The small jail where some 250 prisoners could be accommodated consisted of one

¹ Judicial letters received (Collector's Record-room), Bhagalpur.

large straw building, a guard room and a shed. Instead of being deprived of all those comforts of life which they had forfeited by their crimes, the prisoners were surrounded by their wives and children who were the constant companion of their confinement. They enjoyed a greater degree of ease and happiness than the lower class of inhabitants of the district. The place of confinement had more the appearance of a village than a jail. In addition to the aforesaid jails for the criminals, there was the "*Diwani jail*" meant for confining the debtors and others in arrears of revenue to Government. This jail consisted of the remains of a few huts. But later, the condition of the jail improved.

J. Fombelle, the Collector of Bhagalpur, in his letter dated 31st July, 1799 to G.H. Barlow and others, members of a committee for investigating into the condition of the police, throughout the Company's Government gave an account of the police within his jurisdiction. Though gang robberies decreased in the eastern part, it increased, in spite of the efficiency of the police that contained respectable characters as "*darogas*", in the other parts of the district. The causes as operated to the increase of crime were: (1) the abolition of *Sayer*; previous to the abolition, the police of the country rested principally with the landholders. When the police establishments were instituted by Government thousands of people were deprived of their employment in the zamindary police. These unemployed, principally composed of the lower order of people preferred preying upon the community to learning new occupations, (2) the police establishments were too inadequate to protect the extensive tracts committed to their care. Each police thana contained a daroga, a jamadar and 10 to 20 *burkandazes* only; (3) Vagrants of all descriptions, having no other ostensible means of subsistence than by catching birds, snakes, etc. freely moved about in the country, and added to the number of crimes; (4) Bands of armed men from 5 to 20 upwards constantly parading the country on pretence of going to their homes or of seeking service were most dangerous to the community; (5) the insecure state of many parts of the great rivers and want of proper regulations for the ferries accounted for the increase of gang robberies; (6) large number of prisoners confined under the orders of late Naib Nazim were for want of proof set at liberty by the Company's Government. Among those who were set free many were hardened dacoits. They reverted to their former predatory habits; (7) under late Naib Nazim, the severest examples were frequently made in cases of dacoity, and entire gangs were sentenced to suffer death. But the refined principles of justice were ill calculated for those who were a scourge to the peace loving inhabitants of the Company's territories; (8) the want of sufficient authority of the Magistrate was responsible for the increase of crime. When the prisoner was committed to take his trial,

six months or more elapsed when his trial began in the circuit court and then there was a chance that the prosecutor or witnesses were dead and were not to be found. The evil could be done away by vesting the Magistrates with greater authority and limiting it to lesser degrees of guilt.

Bishop Heber, who visited Bhagalpur in 1824, writes
 Towns in the district. "Boglipoor is in a pretty situation and said to be one of the healthiest stations in India."

Bhagalpur and Rajmahal were the two places in the district that can be properly called towns. The former was a miserable collection of huts extending over four miles of ground cut up and divided by fields, gardens, plantations and numerous roads. The whole place resembled an inhabited forest rather than a town.

Champanagar and Lachmiganj, two large contiguous towns, lying to the west of the old Karnagarh fort, formed a portion of the town of Bhagalpur. These towns were full of weavers, traders, and dyers and had large markets. The houses of Europeans were numerous, but most of them unoccupied. Some of them were large, and all scattered round the town in very fine and commanding situations. There were about 150 houses of brick, all in a very bad style, and none of them respectable in size. The town consisted of scattered market places newly built, and a few tolerable roads. The streets of Bhagalpur were repaired by the working convicts who under the orders of the Magistrate cleaned out particular places and cleared away jungles. The inhabitants were enjoined not to permit accumulation of filth near the houses. Precautions were taken to render as little offensive as possible the spots they resorted to in the mornings and evenings to obey the calls of nature. In Rajmahal, which was at a distance of 80 miles from the Suddar Station, the same measures could not be taken, but in both towns most of the natives of respectability kept the ground immediately round their houses tolerably clean.

The only tax that was collected was the chowkidari tax for the maintenance of night watch. It was collected by an officer called Bakshi according to the rates fixed upon every householder by the Panchayat. This tax varied in amount from Re. 1 to anna one per head per month. Each chowkidar got a salary of Rs. 3 and had to guard from 40 to 50 houses.

The great thoroughfare from the western provinces to Murshidabad and North-east skirted the banks of the Ganges and passed through the whole length of the district and through the town of Bhagalpur. Heber's book is a store-house of information.

On September 30, 1811 an attempt was made to collect House tax in Bhagalpur according to Regulation XV of 1810. On the appearance of the Tahsildars the people shut up their houses and shops. In the evening while F. Hamilton, the Collector of Bhagalpur, was driving out in his carriage, several thousands of inhabitants were standing on either side of the road. They poured forth complaints and clamorously declared their inability to pay the tax. Later on 21st October while carrying into execution the collection of the House tax, Hamilton was grossly assaulted in his carriage. Bricks, stones and every description of offensive missile were hurled at his head, and had he not effected his escape nothing on earth could have saved his life. Two days later, the Collector in concert with the Magistrate aided by a military force under command of Major Little John proceeded to the house of the principal defaulter and instigator of the disturbances. The house was forced upon and distress levied upon his property upon which a tender was made of the balance which was accepted.

In 1802 the Government is said to have ordered a *Khanah Shumari* or list of inhabitants to be prepared. Martin Montgomery, who visited the district in the thirties of the last century in a statistical table (Vol. II, Appendix A) gives an estimate of the population of the district at 2,019,900. The first enumeration of the population carried on scientific lines in 1872 gives the figures as 1,824,738. This number gradually increased in 1881, 1891, and 1901 to 1,966,158, 2,032,696 and 2,088,953 respectively. This matter has been discussed in details in the text on "People".

At Bhagalpur town the number of houses was 5,000 (Buchanan). From another statement made by the Magistrate of Bhagalpur relating to the number of houses in the towns and villages, we find that Rajmahal had 1,639 houses, next to it came Sultangunge with 1,189 houses, and next Amarpur and Colgong with 970 and 748 houses, respectively.

J. Parry, the Magistrate of Bhagalpur in his letter dated 5th April 1816 to J. Shakespears, the Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces, Calcutta provides a list containing the number of villages in the 19 thana division in the district of Bhagalpur. In the list of honour the first five places were taken up by Tarapur with 858 villages, Luker Dewanee with 806 villages, Banka with 765 villages, Ratangunge with 642 villages and Gogree with 476 villages. The Rajmahal thana includes 289 and Bhagalpur Kotwali 133 villages.

Drinking was common, and great quantities of liquor were consumed in the cities, towns and villages. There were four kinds of intoxicating liquor manufactured in the district, viz., *Mowah*, a distillation

from the produce of a tree of the same name; *Phoola*, a single distilled spirit from *goor* or clayed sugar; *kundee*, a double distilled spirit from the same material: *Tauree* or *Toddy*. The hill people prepared amongst themselves in the hills, a distillation from grain, called *Patchwaye*. A manufacturer sold from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 worth of *Mowah* per month. Its greatest consumption was during the rains. The price of one bottle of *Mowah* was half anna. *Phool* sold at 2 annas per bottle and *Kundee* at 4 annas per bottle.

Slavery was prevalent. The male slaves were called *Nufurs* and the female, *Lrundis*. There was scarcely any native of res-

Slavery. pectability who did not entertain one or more slaves; none were employed as confidential servants and the greater part of the men were employed in agriculture. Descendents of slaves continued in a state of slavery in the same family for several generations. But the institution was regulated as per rules framed by the Council of Revenue, Fort William on May 17, 1774. Those persons who forcibly detained or sold any man, woman or child as a slave without a deed attested in the usual manner by the Cazi of the place where the slave was purchased by the proprietor, or those who stole any children from their families or places of abode were punished by law. Further, no person was allowed to buy or sell a slave who was not such already by formal legal purchase, and any Cazi, who granted any deed after 1st July, 1774, was dismissed from his employment and the deed declared invalid. The right of the masters to the children of their slaves already their property were not legally taken away from them in the first generation, but that right could not be extended further.

The number of common beggars in the district as
Common beggars— estimated by Buchanan, was about 4,000. This
magic and number included 15 enucles.
witchcraft.

Superstitious belief in magic and witchcraft was common with the people. At Bhagalpur town about 25 children were supposed annually to perish from the malevolence of the witches of *Dains*. Chapman, the Collector of Bhagalpur in his letter dated June 15, 1785 to Macpherson, the Governor-General and Council of Revenue refers to an incident in which a poor old woman was put to death. It was believed that an old woman had destroyed a great number of children by magic, and that to stop her further devastation, ten petty chiefs in the neighbourhood had met and determined to put her to death, which in obedience to their orders was immediately done by a dependant of one of them. The Collector prevailed upon the chiefs and secured a promise from them to the effect that in the future they would refer all matters relating to magic and witchcraft to him for examination previous to their further action.

The Record Room of the Commissioner and the Collector of Bhagalpur contain records relating to the cases of Sati held in the district. E. Pardy, the District Magistrate, gives an annual report of the number of Hindu women who burnt themselves on the funeral piles of their husband during the year 1815. The report in question mentions three cases that took place at Tarapur, Pealapur and Lokamanpur. At the first two places, the ages of women were nineteen and fifty respectively. The lady who burnt herself at Pealapur was a Brahmin, the Tarapur woman was a vegetable seller and the Lokamanpur woman was a Rajput. Two other cases occurred at Pealapur in 1817. In the case of one, it was a lady aged twenty-five, and of the other eighty-three. In 1822 another case occurred at Rajmahal. A. Chalmer, the Magistrate was present at the site and he tried to dissuade the widow from her purpose. The woman who was aged only twenty-six remained firm in her resolve and with an unparalleled coolness entered the burning pile. There was another such incident held on 23rd February 1830 and reported by R.N. Barlow, the Judge and Magistrate of Bagalpur. The incident occurred at the Barari Ghat in the town of Bhagalpur. The bundle of papers classified as Monghyr misel No. 91 preserved in the archives of the Divisional Commissioner, Bhagalpur, relate to the case of Sati, held in pergana Belliah, Monghyr on August 9, 1863. It was more a case of vested interest, than voluntary action marked by inhuman treatment.

The earliest famine in this district was the great calamity of 1770. It brought about impoverishment and ruination. In the next 15 years there were frequent drought and scarcity.

In the fifties of the last century two sorts of schools for the Santhals, the ordinary school and the Industrial school, were started. In the latter, various arts, such as tanning, shoe making, rope making, carpet making, weaving tussur silk and also methods of agriculture would be taught.

Later, this scheme of education was disapproved by the Court of Directors on the ground that it identified the Government in measures prosecuted by the Missionaries and so exposed the arrangement to the risk of perverted misconstruction. They, therefore, desired that in supersession of the previous arrangement, a scheme was to be prepared for affording the Santhals the means of education through the agency of Government Officers.

In the Census of 1881, it came out that there were 42 males only per thousand who were learning and literate. In 1891 the figure was raised to 61 males and 1 female per thousand who were learning and literate. In 1901 the corresponding figures were 95 males and 2 females which was a considerable increase and gave a hopeful indication for the future.

Later History.

College education in Bhagalpur is identified with the Tejnarain Jubilee College, that was established in 1887 by Babu Tejnarain Singh, a Local Zamindar. In 1890 it was raised to the status of a first grade College. Law classes were opened and later abandoned. They have been again started recently. There are besides High Schools, Middle Schools, Primary Schools, Training Schools for Teachers, Sanskrit *Tols* and Muhammedan *Maktabas*. The growth of education and educational institutions forms the text of a separate chapter.

The Santhal Insurrection

The story of the Santhal Insurrection is an important episode in the early history of the Bhagalpur district as the Santhal area was then included within Bhagalpur. Synchronizing with the creation of a new administrative division, called the Santhal Parganas, it marked the end of one epoch and the beginning of another. The area of land designated as Damin-i-koh was in the year 1823 declared to be the property of Government, and all cultivable lands were for sometime reserved for the native mountaineer settlers. The Santhals soon made their appearance from the neighbouring countries and effected a settlement in the Damin-i-koh. In 1830 the Government gave their sanction to the settlement of the Santhals, and issued orders protecting them against undue exaction by the Government grantees of the hill lands. In 1832 this tract of the country was divided between the districts of Bhagalpur, Murshidabad and Birbhum. In November, 1836 the management of the Revenue administration devolved on an officer who was placed under the direct orders of the Collector of Bhagalpur. In matters of general management of a Superintendent he was subordinate to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, and in criminal matters under the Magistrate of Bhagalpur. The number of Santhal villages increased with astonishing rapidity and with it the Government revenue. But this increase in revenue was not due to any over-assessment but entirely to increased cultivation. There were cases, however, of illegal cesses levied by Government underlings which added to the payment made by the settlers and against these illegal exactions the people had no protection.

The origin of the Santhal insurrection is not to be traced absolutely to agrarian but more to the complicated legal system prevalent in the country, to the unmitigated dishonesty and extortion on the part of the money-lenders, and to the rapacity and various acts of oppression of the police and Civil Court underlings. In addition, the acts of omission and commission on the part of the railway officials and their subordinates created

Causes of the
Insurrection.

a sense of indignation in the minds of the Santhals. Thus the movement so originated drew to it all those whose patriotism was stimulated by the recollection of their suffering at the hands of the usurpers and the police; but the fundamental idea at work and that which was attempted to be put in practice was the establishment of a Santhal realm and kingdom. The Santhals dreamt of their patriarchal arcadia of ancient days when they had no overlords, and they were themselves masters of the Gangetic valley. Their yearning for independence was, therefore, a supervening cause of the insurrection.

A petition was presented to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur division ten months before the insurrection broke out. It set forth their grievances and reminded the Commissioner repeated and ineffectual applications they had made for redress. The Commissioner's order on this petition was dated 19th April, 1855, or nearly 8 months after the date of its presentation. He then sent it for suitable orders to the Collector, the Collector sent it to the Magistrate, and the Magistrate was making preparations for an enquiry that was cut short by the announcement that the Santhals were in open rebellion. It, therefore, seems probable that the insurrection might not have occurred had those complaints been properly investigated and had vigorous and prompt action been taken to redress the wrongs of the disaffected Santhals. The administrator's delay could not have had a worse effect.

So it happened at length after years of patient endurance that the final outbreak came in the months of May and June, 1854. Six dacoities were committed by the Santhals in the houses of the money-lenders residing in the *Damin*. These dacoities were not the unaided work of a mere gang, but were undoubtedly committed with the counsel, consent or connivance of the Santhal population generally.

Thus starting with the desire to revenge themselves on the money-lenders, the Santhals found themselves arrayed in arms against the British Government. It was a vast assembly that collected near Barhait—the only place of any size in the *Damin-ikoh*. Practically the whole fighting population answered the summons, and the gathering was augmented by many from beyond towards Birbhum whose grievances were no less great. The insurrection was commenced by a person who called himself the Thakoor or Soubah. The other noted leaders were Sidu and Kanoo, Chand and Bhaïrab. They declared that a *parwana* had fallen from heaven, giving them permission to take possession of the country, that the rule of the Company was at an end and the reign of their Soubah had begun. At first they contented themselves with simple pillage, but before long they began to massacre the peaceful inhabitants, men, women, and children and burn the

villages. The insurgents were armed with bows and poisoned arrows, axes, swords and a few guns only. The *dawk* of 8th July 1855 conveyed intelligence about the assemblage of the Santhals for seizing the country. Some four days after, the police Daroga and nine of his men, who went to quell the insurrection were killed. The rebellion, thus, commenced with bloodshed and spread rapidly with many frightful atrocities. All the old barbarian instincts, long suppressed, seem to have returned, and their wild passions once let loose. There was no restraint until the revolt was finally crushed out by the sheer weight of superior military organization and force.

There were not at the time 1,200 troops within 80 miles of the rebels. The troops were quickly mobilized from Dinapur and Calcutta and placed under the command of Brigadier General Lloyd. The Hill Rangers of Bhagalpur were marched to Colgong. For a time the Santhals held possession of the country till they were forced to make retreat by the Hill Rangers that was reinforced by European troops and native infantry. The country round Bhagalpur was cleared of the insurgents, who were driven southwards. The Birbhum side remained in a disturbed condition for a much longer time. The insurgents were also active on the Murshidabad border. During the rainy season, the rebels took refuge in the forests, but in September they resumed activities in parts of Birbhum and Bhagalpur. On December 31, 1855 the insurrection was officially declared to have been entirely suppressed. The Santhals, however, did not shed their blood in vain. Their descendants reaped the fruits of their sacrifices. The rebellion was followed by a full enquiry into the grievances of the people and by the passing of Act XXXVIII of 1855 which removed from the operation of the general laws and regulations the district called the Damin-i-koh and other districts inhabited principally by the Santhals.*

The Santhal rebellion was followed by the first struggle for national independence, generally mis-called the Sepoy Mutiny. Bhagalpur was with its territories on both sides of the Ganga and with a garrison of 5th Irregulars at the station and of the 32nd Native Infantry at Baunsi entirely composed of Indian sepoys, the district caused anxiety to the Government officials.

The Supreme Government favoured disbanding the 5th Irregulars at Bhagalpur, but the Commissioner of the Bhagalpur division prevented this step being taken. For maintaining peace and order it was, however, decided to place a body of European

*The history of the Santhal Parganas will be covered in the *District Gazetteer* of Santhal Parganas in details. It may be mentioned here that although Act XXXVIII mentions the district of Damin-i-koh, there has not been found reference to any such district in the archives (P. C. R. C.).

troops composed of 100 men of His Majesty's 5th Fusiliers at Bhagalpur, and to send a body of 50 men of the regiment to Monghyr.

From all sides, from Patna and Jalpaiguri, from Chittagong and Dacca, came wild rumours of mutiny that shook the already wavering loyalty of the local troops. On August 14, the 5th Irregulars at Bhagalpur, carried away by the news of their comrades' revolt at Patna, finally broke out into open revolt, and marching off to Rohini joined the detachment of their regiment stationed there. The united force next levied forced contribution of Rs. 12,000 from the local inhabitants and marched on to Baunsi, the headquarters of the 32nd Native Infantry. But here they had been anticipated. A local zamindar, learning their designs, had hurriedly sent a messenger to give warning of their approach. So fast, however, did the mutineers travel that the messenger only reached his destination half an hour ahead of them. But that time was sufficient to enable Col. Burney, who was in command of the regiment, to undertake some hasty measures of defence, and his men proving loyal, the rebel sepoys were forced to march on continuing south-west towards Deoghar. Here too, however, the officials had been warned. Lt. Cooper, who was in command of a detachment of the 32nd Native Infantry quartered there, held them in check as the mutineers attacked. The latter being thus foiled in their attempt for the second time, marched off westward to join the Patna mutineers; they made no attempt to reach the other detachment of their regiment at Dumka. Had the main body of the 5th Irregulars advanced to Dumka, the detachment stationed there would, in all probability, have thrown in their lot with them.

The division remained comparatively tranquil for sometime, excepting some plundering by the escaped convicts from Gaya; on the Purnea side some uneasiness was felt from the proximity of the 73rd Native Infantry at Jalpaiguri.

During all this time the 32nd Native Infantry had remained faithful, resisting the repeated efforts of the 5th Irregulars to draw it into revolt. But suddenly on October 9, seized by one of those inexplicable impulses that swept through all ranks of the native troops in 1857, the 32nd Native Infantry broke into open mutiny. Lt. Cooper in command who enjoyed sincere attachment of his men, Lt. Rannie of the same regiment, in no way favourite with his people, and Ronald, the Assistant Commissioner, who was a stranger to the sepoys, were spending the evening together in the officers' quarters absolutely unsuspecting

of the impending danger. Taken by surprise they were hemmed in, the Sepoys blocked every entrance. They called upon Rannie by name to come out and escape untouched. Then, rushing in, they brutally murdered Cooper and Ronald. Why they spared Lt. Rannie, for whom they had no particular affection and murdered Cooper, to whom they were sincerely devoted and the civilian against whom they had no grievance must remain one of the many unsolved mysteries that fills the annals of the movement.

The headquarters of the 32nd Native Infantry had, in the meantime, marched from Baunsi to Raniganj, and notwithstanding attempts made to tamper with them during the march, on arriving at the latter place they quietly, and of their own accord laid down their arms.

A second detachment of the Corps mutinied at Rampur Hat. On reaching the Bhagalpur division, they followed in the footsteps of the first detachment by surrendering their arms.

Early in November, Capt. Burbank with 100 sailors was despatched to Purnea to meet the situation arising out of an outbreak at Jalpaiguri.

Towards the end of November, the 11th Irregular Cavalry stationed at Jalpaiguri mutinied and went off in the direction of Purnea. Mr. Yule, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur division, summoned 50 men of His Majesty's 5th Fusiliers from Monghyr and led them to the Purnea side. There he joined Burbank and moved to Kissenganj. Soon after came across the two detachments of the 11th Irregular Cavalry and put them to rout with loss of men on the enemy's side. Commissioner Yule had marched by the Ganga-Darjeeling road and was joined by most of the European and Anglo-Indian Planters. There was a fight at Lalbalu near Purnea, details of which will be found in the *District Gazetteer* of Purnea.

Worthwhile to mention some useful services were rendered to the company by some of the zamindars of the division, such as Tilanand Singh of Banaili and his co-sharer, who was a minor and few Muhammadan zamindars. Some European settlers were liberal in supplies and gave assistance with utmost readiness.

BHAGALPUR FROM 1850 TO 1860

A picture of Bhagalpur district could be drawn by study of the Old English Correspondence Volumes for this decade which were available in Bhagalpur Collectorate Record Room. These volumes have neither index nor are these correspondence volumes for each of the years of the decade.

Crime.—The character of the administration being more or less that of a Police State much importance was given to crimes. We have got statistics for crimes in Bhagalpur district from some of these volumes for years 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863 and 1864. The statistics are given in the Appendix.

The statistics will show that the incidence of offences against property without violence was quite high. The incidence of offences which have been grouped together under miscellaneous is also high but it cannot be ascertained as to what type of offences they refer to.

Police Thanas.—With the extension of British Administration it came to be realised that there must be more decentralised points of administration. The main type of administrative units running the machinery was the police thanas. Even as late as 1850 the construction of new thanas had been undertaken. From letter no. 157 from the Magistrate of Bhagalpur Foujdary Adawlut, dated 3rd April, 1850 to the Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces available in Bhagalpur Old Correspondence Volume for 1850, it appears that the construction of new thanas at Modhipura and Boodhawa was sanctioned.

Zamindars.—Another formidable unit was the class of zamindars who wielded considerable influence in the mofussil. Unfortunately the standard of morality among the zamindars and other rich men did not seem to be very high. Letter no. 484, from the Magistrate, Foujdary Adawlut, Bhagalpur, dated 21st October, 1850, to the Superintendent of Police, Lower Provinces available in the Old Correspondence Volume for Bhagalpur, 1850 if correct mentions that there was an old custom in these parts for the female slaves of rich men to be nominally married to one of the male servants of their master and that the female slaves would nominally await her master's pleasures. The zamindars used to harbour criminals and get crimes committed and they were punished severely if detected. European planters of the district were also punished if they were found guilty of any offences.

Education.—By 1861 there was only one Anglo-Vernacular School at the Sadar Station besides one Government School. There were a few other Government Vernacular Schools which were not well attended. The number of native *Pathshalas* was insignificant and the attendance was paltry.

Hospital.—There was a charitable hospital which was well maintained. From correspondence in Volume no. 456 in 1860 it appears that the charitable dispensary was supported partly by Government and partly by subscription and donation. It had at

its fund Government promissory notes for Rs. 6,000. The number of outdoor patients treated in the dispensary during the year totalled 1 891 and that of indoor patients 44 who had been cured. The medical duties of the institution were conducted by the Civil Assistant and the Sub-Assistant Surgeons. The incidence of public health "was not so very bad" though cholera and small-pox had carried off many lives.

Roads.—A good deal of attention was paid to roads and communications, the importance of which had been all the more appreciated during the insurrections of 1857. In 1860 the main road passing from east to west through Bhagalpur Station was re-metalled with *kan-ka*r and several other roads of the town were put in order in 1859. The roads from Bhagalpur to Colgong on the east and to Ghorghat on the west were in a bad state of repair and were taken up for improvement. The road to Bousee was under construction under Capt. Forbes who was the Executive Engineer. The importance of Bousee road lay in the fact that it connected Bhagalpur, the divisional headquarters with the newly-created district of Santhal Parganas. It has to be remembered that the Santhal Parganas was created as a district after the Santhal insurrection of 1855 as it was thought that the Santhals needed a separate administrative unit for this which will require a special sympathetic treatment. In the Santhal insurrection of 1855 and in the following years when the Santhals had to be put down, it was well realised that the roads were very important for military movement and without a good set of roads it would have been extremely difficult to run an efficient administration. From a letter kept in volume no. 456 of 1860 it was mentioned that the Divisional Engineer Mr. Clarksaw was engaged in constructing Madhepurah road and the railway feeder works.

Military Supply.—One of the usual tasks of the Collector of Bhagalpur was to procure supplies, carts, bullocks and boats required for the movement of the military. Owing to the Santhal insurrection this part of the Bhagalpur Collector's work became very heavy from July, 1855 to early part of February, 1856. It became heavier when 1857 insurrections broke out. The Collector who was given a tall order to procure a large number of elephants in 1857 wrote to the Commissioner that there would be difficulty in obtaining the elephants unless he was authorised to pay higher rates of hire monthly. *Choudhuris* or *Sardars* were appointed to procure carriages, bullocks etc., for military movement. As late as 1857 the Collector of Bhagalpur reported that the hitherto working arrangement of procuring carriages for troops through an authorised *Choudhuri* was falling into disuse as nobody was willing

to enter into such arrangements. There are a number of letters in volume no. 58 for 1857 which make out that the 32nd Regiment Native Infantry was located at Bausee in Bhagalpur division for some time. There are several letters referring to the arrangements for carts, bullocks and foodstuff to the Company. At times there were difficulties in finding the carts, bullocks and *palki* bearers particularly in cultivation season. The allergy of the people in not supplying the bullocks, carts and *palkis* probably lay in the fact that adequate compensation was not paid. The Collector mentioned that when it was known that carts were likely to be required for the use of troops, the bullocks used to be driven into the fields and carts taken to pieces by the people. The Collector had suggested that until some system of registration was not enforced, it would be always a matter of difficulty to comply with the immediate indent of officers commanding regiments for supply of carriages. Similar difficulty was also felt for procuring boats. The Collector repeatedly pointed out to the Commissioner that as there was no definite knowing when the boats would be released, the people did not like to loan boats. Cultivation also considerably suffered for want of bullocks and carts as they were engaged by the military for a pretty long time. In letter no. 18, dated the 4th February, 1857 preserved in volume no. 58 we find that the Collector Lushington reported to the Commissioner that it was only fair that for the 32nd Regiment Native Infantry at Bausee carts should be procured from the adjoining districts of Santhals. Bausee was on the verge of Santhal district and this request was considered to be natural. Lushington further mentioned that he had a good many petitions from opium cultivators declaring that they had suffered very badly from seizure of the carriages for the 56th Regiment Native Infantry. One of the main duties of Collector, Bhagalpur in this decade appears to have been to keep the Gola at Bausee well supplied for the Regiment. Owing to the bad condition of the road, supply was a problem and the Collector complained in 1857 that unless the road from Bhagalpur cantonment was kept in repairs, regular supply was difficult. The zamindars used to be regularly commissioned to give their quota of supply and from letter no. 53 from the Collector to the Commissioner, dated the 1st April, 1857 it appears that the zamindars used to be fined Rs. 100 or more if they neglected in providing supplies. The Collector in his letter no. 105, dated the 10th June, 1857 had pointed out that the cartmen should be well treated and sufficiently paid and not taken to unreasonable distances from their houses and all this depends on the military officers. It appears that in 1857 there was a Bill in the Legislative Council for amending the law for providing carriages and supplies for troops marching but this Bill was not generally supported by the Collector. The price of elephants varied from Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 and the Collector had to buy elephants occasionally.

Food Prices.—The exigency of 1857 insurrections brought the military in active numbers to Bhagalpur town. There was a hospital attached to the military station and the Collector had to make supplies of foodstuff to the military hospital. It is extremely interesting to find in letter no. 335 from the Collector of Bhagalpur to the Superintending Surgeon giving the prices of a few articles :—

Bread at 10 per rupee, fowl at 8 per rupee, butter at 4 srs. per rupee. In letter no. 217, dated the 9th June, 1856 the Collector had reported to the Officer commanding the 56th Regiment at Bhagalpur the prices of wheat to be 15 srs. per rupee, *arhar* dal at 12 srs. per rupee, table rice at 15 srs. per rupee and *masur* dal at 10 srs. per rupee, sugar at 2 srs. 8 ch. per rupee, milk at 20 srs. per rupee, green tea at 4 rupees per sr., rice at 13 srs. per rupee and firewood at 5 mds. per rupee.

It will be interesting to quote other information regarding the prices of commodities. In letter no. 119, dated 7th July, 1857 the Collector reported to the Commissioner the price list of certain articles for supply to the military. They were as follows :—

			Md. sr. ch.		Rs. a. p.
Wheat	..	..	513 8 13	for	4,372 13 2
Kalaya	..	..	77 5 0	„	134 1 9
Gram	..	..	122 4 0	„	219 3 5
Table rice	..	..	12 32 0	„	36 9 1
Salt	..	..	50 0 0	„	237 8 0
Sugar	..	..	1 0 0	„	5 0 0
Ghee	..	..	13 37 0	„	318 10 10
Tobacco	..	..	6 16 0	„	28 15 1

Treasury.—A number of letters are found in volume no. 58 indicating that in 1857 the idea of a centralised treasury was considered a necessity. In his letter no. 159, dated the 27th August, 1857 the Collector discussed the suggestion of the Board of Revenue on the subject of consolidation of the treasuries. The Collector was of the opinion that the consolidation of the treasuries could also be done at such places where European troops would be in the vicinity and that such places were Dinapore, Hazaribagh, Murshidabad, Calcutta and Dacca. It is mentioned in the letter “recent events had demonstrated that it is only our European troops that we can trust implicitly and that whatever is worth guarding must be entrusted to their care.”

The Collector suggested that there should be a Central Treasury at Patna or Dinapore to cover the districts of Patna, Shahabad,

Saran, Tirhut, Bihar, Monghyr and Bhagalpur with land revenue of Rs. 11,12,869 (Patna), Rs. 14,15,666 (Shahabad), Rs. 18,01,982 (Saran), Rs. 16,65,381 (Tirhut), Rs. 15,44,604 (Bihar), Rs. 7,73,211 (Monghyr) and Rs. 6,30,990 (Bhagalpur).

It was further suggested that should Rajmahal become a station for troops the centre of a circle should be transferred to that circle. He also suggested Hazaribagh circle for the district of S. E. Frontier Agency with land revenue of Rs. 3,09,756 and suggested that the Central Treasury should be at Chotanagpur or Hazaribagh, entirely dependent on local troops.

Bhagalpur Railway Station.—It is extremely interesting to find letters in volume no. 58 for 1857 regarding the acquisition of lands for the railway station in the town of Bhagalpur. One such letter no. 139 from the Collector to the Senior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William, dated the 22nd October, 1857 giving the specifications of the land required in the town of Bhagalpur for a railway station.

Postal Communication.—In this decade the postal communication was also extending. Letter no. 6, dated the 7th January, 1858 from the Collector to the Postmaster-General of Bengal, Calcutta mentions that there was delay in the receipt of the Calcutta Dak. It mentions that the only Dak received at Bausi, 33 miles distant from Bhagalpur at 4 P.M. on the previous day was delivered the next day at 5.30 P.M. and this gives a rate of somewhat less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile per hour. The Deputy Postmaster-General, Bhagalpur informed the Collector that this lies under the Birbhoom Post Office and in no way subject to his control and that by the Rajmahal route the Calcutta mail might be received during the dry season at least 12 hours earlier without any expense for additional runners. The Collector suggested that Calcutta mail be sent *via* Rajmahal from October to June and *via* Sooree from July to September when the road between Rajmahal and Muhadeva was liable to inundation.

Livestock.—The importance of good breed of livestock was well realised. Localities suitable for breeding sheep and horn cattle were selected where there was a plenty of grass and water. In Phulsam Pargana sheep were bred while Burhait was a very favourable place for breeding horn cattle.

Cash Crops.—Bhagalpur district was particularly mentioned in letter no. 228, dated the 4th September, 1857 by the Collector of Bhagalpur to the Commissioner regarding the cultivation of cotton, indigo, and jute. In this letter it was mentioned that in 1857 about 150 acres was under cotton cultivation and production was valued at 18,000 in rupees. About 7,000 acres was put under

sugar cultivation in 1857 and the value of produce in rupee was 21,00,000. The same letter mentions the area under indigo cultivation to be 53,000 acres and the value of indigo in rupee was 4,77,000. Jute claimed 1,400 acres of land and the value of produce in rupees was 29,400. Tea and mulberry were not cultivated at all in Bhagalpur district.

The history of the district of Bhagalpur for the later decades of the 19th century is practically an administrative history. The administrative machinery was found to be weak in 1857 movement and every attempt was made to make the machinery stronger. The number of Police thanas was increased and the necessity for improving the roads was realised in order to accelerate the movement of the Police and Military during the period of troubles. Much more attention was paid to the Police administration and a real Police State was allowed to emerge out of the troubles and Bhagalpur district was no exception. Very little attention was paid to the economic welfare of the district and many of the indigenous industries were allowed to decline. European planters were inducted and administration was out to help the European planters in every possible way. It is not, however, that the European planters did not do any good to the country side. They improved the roads, showed the benefit of consolidated holdings, better cultivation and improved animal husbandry. When indigo plantations declined most of these planters became gentlemen-farmers or zamindars. Grant's Estate was one of the largest and well-run zamindari although it is a fact that there were frequent agrarian disputes in Grant's Estate. The European planters and zamindars had penetrated into the interior of the district and ran well-run zamindaris and thereby helped the other cultivators. Christian missionaries had also gone into the remote corner of the district and had opened branches of their mission.

During the Swadeshi Movement in the first decade of the 20th century, Bhagalpur was not quite immune. The contact of Bhagalpur with Calcutta was intimate and Calcutta papers had a good circulation in the district.

The young men of Bhagalpur took keen interest in the Swadeshi movement and there was a boycott of British goods particularly cloth.

Some of the papers published in Bihar had also advocated *Swadeshi*. A Hindi Weekly, *Bihar Bandhu*, published from Patna was a great supporter of the Swadeshi Movement and this paper had a good circulation in Bhagalpur. Throughout the Swadeshi agitation days *Bihar Bandhu* advocated that Swadeshi vow alone could lead the country to prosperity. *Bihar Bandhu* had repeatedly written that the only way of removing the unrest was by the withdrawal of the repressive policy.

On a reference to the report on Native Papers in Bengal volume April-June, 1908 kept in the Archives of the Historical Division in Writers Building, Calcutta it is found that Mr. Lyall, District Magistrate of Bhagalpur in 1908 followed an outstandingly repressive policy and thereby made the people dissatisfied. There was a case of one Girdhari Lal, a Marwari. Mr. Lyall had helped the other side with money to conduct his case and he dared to disregard the order of the High Court to stay proceeding in the case. Some of the Calcutta papers and particularly the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* wrote scathingly on this matter. On the 27th April, 1908 *Amrita Bazar Patrika* had published an article on Lyall and the motion made in the Calcutta High Court for the transfer of one Rasbihari Mandal's case from Bhagalpur. There was also a Sultanganj Swadeshi case in which Mr. Lyall had figured. Sir Andrew Frazer, Lt. Governor of Bengal, had visited Bhagalpur immediately after the Sultanganj case and had praised Lyall at a public meeting for the vigorous steps taken by him. In Rasbihari Mandal's case, Lyall's use of unparliamentary language towards Justices Fletcher and Mitra in his explanation came in for severe criticism in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on the 23rd April, 1908. There was another article in the same paper on the same subject on the 29th April, 1908. In an indirect manner Lyall made a contribution to the mounting dissatisfaction of the people and indirectly the growth of nationalist idea and an allergy to British domination.

The Students' Movement was taking its roots in various parts of Bihar in the first two decades of the 20th century. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of the Indian Republic and others took a lot of interest in organising the Students' Movement. Bhagalpur was a great centre for these activities and some of the annual sessions were held in Bhagalpur district. It is also to be mentioned that Bhagalpur was the scene of the early activities of the Muslim League and the question of separate electorate for the Muslims had created a good deal of excitement in Bhagalpur. A Bihari Conference was held at Bhagalpur in April, 1909. Bhagalpur was in a way being prepared for the last phase of Freedom Movement.

Among other important events mention may be made of the great Bihar Earthquake in 1934. The district of Bhagalpur so far as the portion to the south of the river Ganga is concerned was not much affected. The portion of Bhagalpur district to the north of Ganga river consisting of Supaul and Madhipura subdivisions was affected more and the effects of the Earthquake were more prominent throughout North Bihar.

As the two outlying subdivisions of Madhipura and Supaul were difficult to reach owing to the rivers and frequent floods and want of railways it was increasingly felt that there should be a separate district consisting of Madhipura and Supaul subdivisions.

A sub-district was formed first in 1944 with an Additional District Magistrate with headquarters at Saharsa. The Additional District Magistrate had a nominal subordination of the Collector of Bhagalpur for revenue matters only. The sub-district was converted into a full-fledged district on 1st April 1954 with Saharsa as the headquarters. With the creation of a separate district this area has been very much improved.

FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN BHAGALPUR DISTRICT.

A new phase of the movement for freedom was set in the country from near about 1918. Bhagalpur was also much affected. In December, 1918 a number of arrests were made at Bhagalpur on the charge of conspiracy. A young man, named Anath Bandhu Chaudhury was arrested under section 12 A of Defence of India Act. He stated that he was an agent of the Bolpur Conspiracy party in Bengal and his mission was to distribute leaflets relating to "Swadhin Bharat Movement". Dr. Rabindranath Tagore protested at his arrest and the young boy was shifted to Bengal.

The Rowlatt Act and the sad occurrences of firing at Jalianawala Bag had their effect in Bhagalpur district also. Widely attended meetings, *hartals*, and picketings took place in different parts of the district. The students were prominent in these moves.

In 1922 an Industrial Exhibition was held at Bhagalpur where the Congress Party flag was hung. The European District Magistrate objected to this and on the intervention of the Commissioner of the Division, Mr. B.C. Sen, I.C.S., the Congress Party flag was not taken out but the Union flag was fixed higher. This incident was the talk of the day and Mr. B. C. Sen, I.C.S. was taken to task by the Government. A tremendous nationalist feeling was the result.

The Bhagalpur Central Jail was commonly used for lodging a larger number of political prisoners who were being arrested all over the province because of joining Non-Cooperation Movement at the bid of Gandhiji. The fact of very harsh treatment to the political prisoners leaked out. Jail rules were modified to harass the political prisoners all the more.

Bhagalpur district had made a great response to all the different phases of the Non-Cooperation Movement guided by Gandhiji. Seth Jamna Lal Bajaj had visited several places in Bhagalpur district in January, 1923. People had liberally contributed to the Congress Party at the instance of Bajaj. The Swaraj Party in the district of Bhagalpur was well established.

A Hindu-Muslim riot occurred at Bhagalpur in September-October, 1924 and a section of interested persons were fanning communal unrest. The Muslim League activities were also

spreading within the district. The unfortunate communal tension was somewhat controlled by the intervention of Sri Rajendra Prasad and other leaders of Bihar.

In January, 1927 Shri Sachin Bakshi was arrested at Bhagalpur on the charge of being a leader of the Revolutionary Movement. This shows that Bhagalpur was also caught by revolutionary doctrines.

When in February, 1930 the Congress Working Committee at Ahmedabad authorised Gandhiji to launch a Civil Disobedience Movement there was a great unrest in the district. In 1930 about 770 persons of this district were enrolled as volunteers for Satyagrah Movement sponsored by Gandhiji for breaking the monopoly on Salt and Salt tax. Widespread *hartals* were held when Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru and other leaders were arrested and convicted for Salt Satyagrah. Feelings ran high and became explosive.

Bihpur became the storm centre and the district authorities were out to crush the Movement at Bihpur. A batch of volunteers picketing the excise shops were severely beaten and the party flag was burnt by the Magistrate and Police on the 1st June, 1930. The Police took possession of the Congress Office, Khadi Depot and Charkha Sangh. Ruthless suppression was the order of the day and many of the local leaders in Bhagalpur district were belaboured and their properties looted. But with all the repression the Satyagraha Movement continued till it was called off because of Gandhi-Irwin pact. The intensity of the movement was apparent in the fact that British goods were considerably boycotted and in a number of villages in Colgong and Sultanganj tenants had stopped payment of the Chaukidari tax in 1930. Report ending 26th September, 1930 mentions that 1,650 persons had been arrested for taking part in Satyagraha Movement.

Simultaneously the Kisan Movement at the instance of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati and others was exciting the agriculturists against the load of grievances against the Zamindars and the administration. The low prices of agricultural produce were highlighted. The moboratory of Sahajanand and others fired imagination of the peasants who were being organised practically for the first time. Kisan Sabhas were organised throughout the district side by side with the Congress offices. A large number of Kisan Sabhais were arrested under various sections. There was a concentrated agitation by the tenants against the Grant's Estate in 1936 followed by large-scale arrests.

The Bihar Provincial Muslim Azad Political Conference was held at Sonhaura, P.-S. Colgong in the district of Bhagalpur in July, 1940 under the presidentship of Mr. Saiyad Abdullah Brelvi. The conference condemned Muslim League activities.

The All-India 1942 Movement following the arrests of Gandhiji and others in the month of August had a tremendous impact on the district. The students were again in the forefront. Huge processions of students protesting against the arrests were taken out in spite of restrictions and ban for public processions and meeting for three days continuously from 9th to 11th of August. Demonstrations were held throughout the district and Government courts and offices were the targets.

The Congress Party flags were hoisted on a number of Government buildings. It almost appeared that there was a negation of administration. On the 12th of August, various places in the district saw processions and hoisting of the Congress flags on various Government institutions. There were violent demonstrations at many Post Offices, Police Stations and Railway Stations and some of these were forcibly occupied. Fire was opened at Naugachhia followed by firing at various places. According to the Commissioner's report the Police had opened fire on a violent crowd attacking the Railway goods shed at Bhagalpur. A crowd of some six thousand persons overpowered the police party and snatched away the weapons. In spite of ban a meeting was held at Lajpat Park in Bhagalpur on the 15th August, 1942. Firing was resorted to by the police after Lathi charge failed to disperse the crowd. The District Magistrate went to the place with armed force but did not open fire, "owing to darkness and the position in which he was placed".

The District Magistrate and S.P. had to retire with the force and according to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur division the incident had an extremely bad effect on the morale of the Military Police. The Commissioner had reported that their position in Bhagalpur was extremely precarious till a troop of the South Staffords came to Bhagalpur on the 19th August. It may be mentioned here that the meeting on the 15th August was preceded by a huge procession on the 14th August with the dead body of a man who was killed by firing at Naugachhia.

The schools and colleges were closed down on the 16th August by order of the Government. On the 16th August a crowd had entered into B. & N. W. Railway goods shed at Bhagalpur and killed some persons. Firing was opened on the crowd. On the 16th and 17th August the excited mob had forcibly occupied different Railway Stations, Police Stations, Sabour Agriculture College, Nathnagar Silk Institute, etc., and by this time all the channels of communication from Bhagalpur had been effectively cut off.

On the 17th August there were firings on the crowd at B. & N. W. Railway Station at Bhagalpur and Nathnagar followed by firing on a procession at Champnagar at 10 p.m. in the night.

Naturally there were a number of deaths and injuries on the large number of people. No Government servants could come out without an armed escort.

The situation of North Bhagalpur moved in the same pattern. For about a month there was practically very little of administration. According to official report up to 30th November, 1942 the total number of arrests in Bhagalpur district mounted to 1,573 out of which 1,080 persons were sent to jail.

Ruthless steps were taken and heavy punitive taxes and fines were imposed on the people in various areas. Some villages in Madhepura P.-S., Bangaon P.-S., Murliganj P.-S., Sonbarsa P.-S. and Kishanganj P.-S. (now in Saharsa district) were sought out for such steps.

In Banka subdivision also very heavy taxes and fines were imposed in various pockets. Bihpur, Sultanganj and Naugachhia were in the brunt.

Although seemingly suppressed by the repressive measures the movement for freedom that had taken deep roots did not subside. The people of Bhagalpur closely followed the All-India and such provincial matters which were momentous in their effect like the escape of Jayprakash Narain and others from the Hazaribagh Jail on the 9th November, 1942, etc. As mentioned before quite a number of workers had gone underground and Siaram Singh, a local leader of Bhagalpur district and a few others almost became a legend known as Siaram Dal. It is understood that they were out to collect money, arms, etc.; and were organising the people although they were underground. Secret instructions were being issued and meetings and *hartals* were regularly held for many important events. Thus when Gandhiji wanted to go on fast from the 10th February, 1943 as a protest against Government excesses the deep resentment of the people of Bhagalpur was expressed in meetings and *hartals* at different places on the 17th and 19th February, 1943. To commemorate the anniversary of the revolution of August, 1942 there were widespread celebrations on the 9th August, 1944.

From June, 1945 the political events of All-India character moved very fast and Bhagalpur people also closely followed them. The declaration on the 19th September, 1945 by Lord Wavel and the British Prime Minister, Mr Attlee indicating the steps to be taken for solution of the Indian problem and expressing the hope that after the elections of the Central and Provincial Legislatures, ministerial responsibility will be accepted by political leaders was hailed with delight in Bhagalpur district.

The next phase was an election campaign throughout Bhagalpur district on behalf of the Congress Movement. The enthusiasm was, however damped by communal disturbances. In 1946 along

with many other districts in Bihar, Bhagalpur was also the scene of widespread communal tension and disturbances. Riots started in Bhagalpur town on the 20th October from where it spread to the Banka subdivision. The riots were communal and the Muslims suffered heavier casualties. One of the worst occurrences had taken place at village Lakhanpur part of which lies in Bhagalpur district and the other part in Monghyr district. To wreak vengeance on a few misguided Muslims for tampering with some Hindu girls, a mob of Hindus had invaded the village and had massacred quite a number of Muslim women and children. Sporadic killings became the order of the day almost throughout the district. The contagion spread to Banka subdivision as well. Troops were promptly sent to quell the disturbances. The Magistracy with armed police and with the help of the Military could control the situation with great difficulty but not before there had been considerable casualty and arson. This communal riot in Bihar had its repercussion later in the Punjab and elsewhere. Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Lord Wavell had rushed to Patna and visited certain affected areas:

Events moved very fast and Lord Mountbatten succeeding Lord Wavel on the 14th March, 1947 laboured hard to accelerate a solution. His plans were accepted by the All-India Congress Committee and the Indian Independence Bill was introduced into the British Parliament and passed quickly in the month of July, 1947. According to this Act from August 15, 1947 two Indian Dominions were set up in India to be known respectively as India and Pakistan.

15th August, 1947 the Independence Day was celebrated with great pomp in Bhagalpur district. Before a large crowd on this day the Union Jack was lowered and the National Flag was hoisted by the Commissioner of Bhagalpur Division at Sandy's compound. But in the midst of all these rejoicings many people of Bhagalpur district had shared Gandhiji's sorrow because India had been truncated. By this time the Congress Ministry had already been formed in Patna and with the popular Ministry at Patna a new phase was entered into.*

*A bibliography has been given as an appendix which may be useful for further study.