

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Historiography is synonymous to history, yet distinct in its own way as a discipline. It has emerged out of history as a pursuit of analysis and finally merges into history as praxis. However, this dialectics continues for understanding the past as coherent and meaningful exercise in historical epistemology. Contemporary scholars respond to immediate concerns in the light of prevailing institutions, ideas and structures. Professor Brij Narain, as an economist and publicist actively responded to the politics in the fields of commerce, economics, agricultural, taxation, demography in the context of British imperialism. He was too close to the happenings yet had a vision to situate these policies in the domain of emerging national aspirations and consciousness. The present attempt is to contextualise the contribution of Professor Brij Narain in economic history of the first half of the 20th Century Punjab in particular and India in general.

I

History is as "an unending dialogue" between the present and the past, a dialogue between the events of the past and progressively emerging future ends. The historian's interpretation of the past, his selection of the significant and relevant, evolves with the progressive emergence of new goals. In fact, history can be written only by those who find and accept "a sense of direction" in history itself. The belief that we have come from somewhere is closely linked with the belief that we are going somewhere. History, therefore, acquires meaning and objectivity only when it establishes a coherent relation between past and future.¹ History is the living past of man. It is the attempt made by man through centuries to reconstruct, describe and interpret his own past. History is collective memory, the store-house of experience through which people develop a sense of their social identity and their future

¹ E.H. Carr, *What is History?*, Penguin Books, Middlesex, 1987, pp. 123, 130, 132.

prospects.² The writing of history is an art, but no doubts that scientific principles are involved in the historian's treatment of evidence and that the presence of this scientific element is what distinguishes history from legend.³ History is a kind of research or inquiry. Since science is finding things out; and in that sense history is a science.⁴ History is meaningless in a static world. History in its essence is change and movement. History is a social process in which individuals are engaged as social beings.⁵ The word history has two generally accepted meanings as it refers to history as event or as record.⁶ History is the past experience of mankind. History is the memory of past experience as it has been presented largely in written records. However, at practical level, history is the product of historians' work in reconstructing the flow of events from the original written traces or sources into narrative account.⁷

Economics seeks to analyse and describe the production, distribution and consumption of wealth.⁸ Furthermore, it describes the consequences of choices made concerning scarce productive resources. Economics is the study of how individuals and societies choose to employ these resources; which goods and services will be produced; how they will be produced and how they will be distributed among the members of society.⁹ Alfred Marshall defines economics as 'a study of men as they live and move and think in the ordinary business of life. It deals with the ever

² John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History : Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, Longman, London, 1984, p. 1.

³ Maheem Jabbar, *Historiography and Writing Post Colonial India*, Routledge, London, 2011, p. 4.

⁴ R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, OUP, London, 1973, pp. 9, 4.

⁵ E.C. Carr, *What is History?* pp. 49, 126.

⁶ John C.B. Webster, *An Introduction to History*, Macmillan, London, 1981, p. 14.

⁷ *Encyclopedia Americana*, Vol. 14, International Edition, Grolier, Connecticut, 1999, pp. 226-27.

⁸ *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. IV, Micropedia Ready Reference, 1997.

⁹ *Britannica Ready Reference Encyclopedia*, Encyclopedia Britannica (India) Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2005.

charging and subtle forces of human nature'.¹⁰ As a theoretical discipline, economics aims at explaining those uniformities in the economic activities of society which are not the result of deliberate design but the produce of interplay of the separate decisions of individuals and groups.¹¹ Economics is the only one of the social sciences which has as yet made a serious contribution to history.¹² Economics lies on the edge of both science and history, since the economist is concerned with present and for the sake of the present with the past.¹³

History being a very comprehensive subject has many aspects such as political, constitutional, diplomatic, military, economic, social, intellectual etc. In the 20th Century, historian and other academicians have placed history on the border line between the Humanities i.e. Literature, Philosophy and the Fine Arts and the Social Sciences i.e. Political Sciences, Economics and Sociology. History as an intellectual discipline has shared important characteristics with both groups of allied disciplines.¹⁴ Moreover, every discipline is dependent on other disciplines. It draws its life from them and to them it owes, consciously or unconsciously, a great part of its chances of progress.¹⁵ History has become more useful to people as it has broadened its scope and gained an eclectic use of new tools. It has learned to take all possible profit from other social studies-Statistics, Sociology, Economics, Psychology, Geography in presenting a complete and exact picture of the past.¹⁶ The historian must learn from the economic, demographic and military specialists.¹⁷

¹⁰ Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, Macmillan, London, 1920, p. 14.

¹¹ *Chamber's Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, International Learning Systems Corp. Ltd., London, 1966.

¹² Geoffrey Barraclough, "History", *Main Trends of Research in the Social and Human Sciences*, Vol. I, Part II, Mouton, The Hague, 1978, p. 300.

¹³ J.R. Hicks, *Classics of Moderns : Collected Essays*, Vol. III, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1983, pp. 4-5.

¹⁴ John C.B. Webster, *Studying History*, Macmillan, Delhi, 1997, p. 13.

¹⁵ Geoffrey Barraclough, "History", *Main Trends of the Social and Human Sciences*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 273.

¹⁶ Allen Nevins, *The Gateway to History*, Vora & Co., Bombay, 1968, p. 31.

¹⁷ E.H. Carr, *What is History?*, p. 172.

Moreover, economic facts impinge upon the historian at every turn and every historian no matter what his particular ideological standpoint may be, is aware of their importance in the human story.¹⁸

Economic History is a common domain of Economics and History. It is broadly concerned with the performance of economies in the past. The issues that are relevant to an economic historian range as widely as an interest in the growth, stagnation or decline of economies; the well-being of individual groups in the economy during the course of economic change; and the interrelationship between economic organization and performance.¹⁹ In fact, Economic History represents a perennial conflict between city and country. Culture has at all times been mainly urban and piety mainly rural.²⁰ As a result, Economic History frequently spills over into the allied fields of social and political history. However, the major issues of Economic History fall into rather two broad categories: (i) the overall growth of the economy over time and the determinants of that growth (or stagnation or decline); and (ii) the distribution of income within that economy in the course of its growth and decline.²¹ Economic History is as old as *The Wealth of Nations* by Adam Smith. Economic History became popular in the time of Condorcet, Auguste Comte, Buckle, Karl Marx and J.B. Bury. There has been a new orientation in our historical outlook from the days of materialistic interpretation of history by Karl Marx.²² By 1914, Economic History had emerged as a sharply defined area of study in several countries including Britain. Economic historians can fairly claim that their subject matter embraces every aspect of economic life in the past.²³ Marxism, by attractions

¹⁸ Geoffrey Barraclough, "History", *Main Trends of the Social and Human Sciences*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 300.

¹⁹ Douglass C. North, "Economic History", *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. VI, (Ed. David L. Sills), The Macmillan Co., London, 1968, p. 468.

²⁰ Bertrand Russell, *Understanding History and Other Essays*, Wisdom Library, New York, 1957, p. 32.

²¹ Douglass C. North, "Economic History", *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. VI, p. 468.

²² B. Sheik Ali, *History : Its Theory and Method*, Macmillan, Madras, 1990, p. 78.

²³ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 142.

and repulsion, had done more to make men think about Economic History and inquire into it than any other teaching.²⁴ D.C. Coleman defines Economic History as "the study of economic aspects of societies in the past; the history of economic use of resources-land, labour and capital or the examination of the past performance of economies."²⁵ Economic History can still claim in a way that no other branch of history does. It still provides not only the good mental training provided by other sorts of history, but also the best means of gaining a deeper understanding of the present and the present problems.²⁶

Economic History is inevitably a social science, applying the methods of Economics, Statistics, Sociology and Demography to the study of the past. It is also an essential component of the study of contemporary society, a bridge in both directions between the present and the past.²⁷ Economic activity is a human activity; its history concerns with the lived economy. There is need to know more closely how people organized their economic lives. Economic theory by itself may not facilitate it. It requires opening conversations with disciplines like Anthropology and Sociology and feminist, cultural and literary studies. Economic History has to relocate itself as 'a human science'.²⁸ Moreover, Economic History itself cannot proceed without using the divergent techniques of both the economist and the historian.²⁹ The central feature of Economic History as an intellectual activity is its indissoluble blend of qualitative and quantitative elements. Economic History should be a required background element in the initial training of all social scientists.³⁰ The

²⁴ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p. 80.

²⁵ D.C. Coleman, "What is Economic History?", *History Today*, Vol. 35, February, 1985, p. 35.

²⁶ T.C. Barker, "What is Economic History?", *History Today*, Vol. 35, February 1985, p. 37.

²⁷ Roderick Floud, "What is Economic History?", *History Today*, Vol. 35, February 1985, pp. 39-40.

²⁸ K.T. Rammohan, "Economic History as Human Science", *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 25, 2005, p. 2863.

²⁹ D.C. Coleman, "What is Economic History?", *History Today*, Vol. 35, February 1985, p. 36.

³⁰ A.W. Coats, "What is Economic History?", *History Today*, Vol. 35, February 1985, p. 43.

economic interpretation illuminates much history. Economic History is the slow heartbeat of social organism, a vast systole and diastole of concentrating wealth and compulsive recirculation.³¹ By the late 1920s, the intellectual autonomy of Economic History had been accepted in Britain. E. Lipson played the leading part in founding the Economic History Society with its learned journal *The Economic History Review*. In 1928, J.H. Clapham was appointed to the first Chair of Economic History in the University of Cambridge. Subsequently, Departments of Economic History were founded in the various British Universities. However, the first Chair of Economic History in North America was established in 1893 with the Englishman W.J. Ashley as its Chairman. Eli Heckscher made a strong plea for an increasing use of economic theory in Economic History. Occasional efforts to systematically apply principles of economic analysis to problems in economic history were highlighted by T.S. Ashton's work on the English Industrial Revolution and W.W. Rostow's efforts to analyse the British economy of the 19th Century.³²

Economic History explains history by economic theory and economic theory by history. The study of the various stages of economic development requires the tool of comparative methods which brings Economics close to History. It underlines the interdependence between the two and also enriches them.³³ Economic History must devote itself to analyzing economic events and their close and inextricable relations and interactions with social, political and cultural events and institutions.³⁴ The teaching of History suffers when too little attention is paid to its economic aspect and economic theory is dreary when it is divorced from its historical background. The 'dismal science' will remain dismal so long as it is taught and

³¹ Will and Ariel Durant, *The Lessons of History*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1968, pp. 52-57.

³² Douglass C. North, "Economic History", *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. VI, p. 468.

³³ V.B. Singh, *Economic History of India, (1857-1956)*, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1975, p. 1.

³⁴ Girish Mishra, *An Economic History of Modern India*, Pragati Publications, Delhi, 1994, p. 3. See also, Tirthankar Roy, *The Economic History of India (1857-1947)*, OUP, New Delhi, 2000, p. 6.

studied in a historical vacuum.³⁵ Economic theory does not grow in *Vacuo*. It is reflection of contemporary events. Economic Theory is rooted in Economic History.³⁶ No economist has emphasized Economic History as much as J.A. Schumpeter. For him, history, statistics and theory go to make economic analysis. Of these fundamental fields, he considers Economic History by far the most important. Without historical facts and adequate amount of historical sense of experience, Economics can not be understood. Therefore, Economic History is the best method to study relationship between economic and non-economic facts and the unity of social sciences.³⁷ Advances in economic theory will lead to reappraisals of the economic past. Like the traditional historian, the present day historian will frequently be guided by his ideological preoccupations in making a choice of issues to be examined thus increasing understanding of the past.³⁸ Economic History is a powerful empirical tool in the hands of economists to understand the dynamism of social groups and phenomena and process for constructing and verifying theories as aid to social policies. An economist has to depend on history to collect and examine the historical data for isolating the economic data, for verifying theoretical models and to have a longer and wider perspective of society.³⁹ Both History and Economics lie embedded in a social framework and both use special tools, those of the economist being more and more difficult to master. Economic interpretation expands the bounds and increases the depth of historical study. The conventional historian is ready to describe the movements of prices; the economist tells him that to understand this movement, he must analyse the supply of bullion, the trend of population, the fluctuations of export-import trade and the activities of manipulators.⁴⁰ Ever since

³⁵ Leo Huberman, *Man's Worldly Goods : The Story of the Wealth of Nations*, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1976, p. VII.

³⁶ V.B. Singh, *Economic History of India (1857-1956)*, p. 18.

³⁷ J.A. Schumpeter, *History of Economic Analysis*, New York, 1954, pp. 12-13.

³⁸ Dougless C. North, "Economic History", *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. VI, pp. 471-72.

³⁹ V.B. Singh, *Economic History of India (1857-1956)*, p. 11.

⁴⁰ Allen Nevins, *The Gateway to History*, p. 343.

the days of Adam Smith, David Ricardo and Karl Marx, historians have been acutely aware of the importance of economic factors. Historian is also aware that if he is to understand man's economic development, he must be equipped with the necessary theoretical and statistical tools.⁴¹ The methodological hallmarks of the new Economic History are its emphasis on measurement and its recognition of the intimate relationship between measurement and theory. Economic History has always had a quantitative orientation.⁴² No historian would try to explain the rise of prices in the 16th Century England without some knowledge of the quantity theory of money; no historian would presume to write about the Slump of 1929 without recourse to the relevant economic theory.⁴³

II

Historiography means either the process of writing history or the study of that process.⁴⁴ It is the history of history or the history of historical writings.⁴⁵ In other words, it is 'the history of historical thought.' It is an independent branch of history in its own right.⁴⁶ It has entered into field very late. Before the 19th Century, there was hardly an attempt to record the history of historical writing.⁴⁷ The practice of historiography now occupies a position where its 'ideological' implications are quite susceptible to examination.⁴⁸ Broadly speaking, it is scientific discipline that studies

⁴¹ Geoffrey Barraclough, "History", *Main Trends of Research in the Social and Human Sciences*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 300-301.

⁴² R.W. Fogel, "The New Economic History : Its Findings and Methods", *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 1966, p. 651.

⁴³ Geoffrey Barraclough, "History", *Main Trends of Research in the Social and Human Sciences*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 300.

⁴⁴ John. H. Arnold, *History: A Very Short Introduction*, OUP, Oxford, 2005, p. 5.

⁴⁵ E. Sreedharan, *A Textbook of Historiography (500 BC to AD 2000)*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2004, p. 2.

⁴⁶ B. Sheik Ali, *History: Its Theory and Method*, p. 179.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁴⁸ Maheem Jabbar, *Historiography and Writing Post Colonial India*, p. 3.

the science of history.⁴⁹ It tells the story of the successive stages of the evolution or development of historical writings. It has come to include the evolution of the ideas and techniques associated with the writing of history and the changing attitudes towards the nature of history itself. Ultimately, it comprises the study of the development in man's sense of the past.⁵⁰ Historiography is realist. In other words, as a theory of knowledge about the past, it is an analogical procedure that aims to inscribe, however imperfectly, a reality that is not itself an imaginary or ideological construction.⁵¹ E.H. Carr has rightly said that 'before you study the historian, study his historical and social environment. The historian, being an individual is also a product of history and of society'.⁵²

The writing of histories is one way of getting rid of the weight of the past. Historical thought transforms it into its own material and transforms it into its object. So, historiography liberates us from history.⁵³ Propounding a theory of history, Agnes Heller describes historiography as *epistheme*: as true knowledge. In other words, the *norm* of historiography has always been true knowledge, although the *criteria* of 'true knowledge' have changed in the science in general and no less in the historical sciences.⁵⁴ Hence, history appears as action. We pass from historiography, which liberates us from life as it is lived to living history, to new history. All through life, the historian is moved by an impulse towards the future, he looks on the past with the eye of the artist and he sees the works of man in this light, both perfect and imperfect, both transient and intransient.⁵⁵ Historiography is and always has been critical. It does not take opinions of witnesses at their face value, but selects from

⁴⁹ *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, Vol. X, Macmillan, New York, 1976, p. 89.

⁵⁰ E. Sreedharan, *A Textbook of Historiography*, p. 2.

⁵¹ Maheem Jabbar, *Historiography and Writing Post Colonial India*, p. 33.

⁵² *E.H. Carr, What is History?*, p. 44.

⁵³ Benedetto Croce, *History As the Story of Liberty*, Allen & Unwin, London, 1962, pp. 43-45.

⁵⁴ Agnes Heller, *A Theory of History*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1982, p. 75 (emphasis original).

⁵⁵ Benedetto Croce, *History as the Story of Liberty*, pp. 50, 53.

them in order to distinguish the authentic from the inauthentic. The norms of historiography hold that there must be a *general principle* of selection. Different historians of different times have opted for different general principles of selection. It is commonly stated that historiography always deals with the past. However, Benedetto Croce and R.G. Collingwood have challenged it in stating that historiography always deals with the present.⁵⁶ It encompasses the study of ideas, which prompted a historian to adopt a particular line of thought.⁵⁷ Historiography is not considered as an extra to the study of history but actually constituting it. The past is the object of the historians' attention and historiography as the way historians attend to it.⁵⁸ Historiography has moved to center-stage as a core element in any historical education. It has provided instances of deep structural enquiry which has brought to the surface important aspects of a particular writer or school of historical writing.⁵⁹ In fact, historiography has contributed to advancement of our knowledge. It is a fine analytical tool and highly sophisticated method of evaluation and interpretation.⁶⁰

Nationalism is a product of a collective imagination constructed through remembrance.⁶¹ Nation has been considered as an 'imagined community' born with the demise of Feudalism and the rise of Capitalism.⁶² Nationalism seeks to exercise the same dominance by reserving to itself the criteria for nominating events and

⁵⁶ Agnes Heller, *A Theory of History*, pp. 79-81.

⁵⁷ B. Sheik Ali, *History : Its Theory and Method*, p. 180.

⁵⁸ Keith Jenkins, *Re-Thinking History*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1991, pp. 7, 14-15.

⁵⁹ Michael Bentley, *Modern Historiography: An Introduction*, Routledge, London, 1999, pp. vii-ix.

⁶⁰ Niharanjan Roy, "Indian Historiography and Marxist Thought", *Marxism and Indology*, (Ed. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya), K.P. Bagchi Co., Calcutta, 1981, p. 31.

⁶¹ Gayatri Chakarvarty Spivak, *Nationalism and the Imagination*, Seagull Books, Calcutta, 2010, p. 40.

⁶² Benedict Anderson quoted by Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Past Colonialism*, Routledge, London, 1998, p. 186.

deeds historic. The master saga of nationalist struggles is built around the retelling of certain well-known and memorable events.⁶³ Indian nationalist historiography growing partly in reaction to the pretensions and prejudices of British imperialist historiography on India, was at root concerned with national identity in the pre-colonial period. Nationalist historians and nationalist historiography are terms used in a comparative sense, in contest to the colonial or imperialist attitude of foreign writers-particularly British. In the writing of Indian history, contemporaries such as Dadabhai Naoroji and R.C. Dutt critiqued the British rule with economic perspectives.⁶⁴ No doubt, nationalist history of India was originally a reaction against the British historians of India and later gathered its strength and inspiration from the awakening of Indian consciousness among the Indians.⁶⁵ Dadabhai Naoroji and R.C. Dutt ‘imputed the improveshipment of India to the subordination of its economy to British imperialist economy’. This perspective marked the beginning of economic history in India.⁶⁶ It developed with the growth of nationalism and political consciousness. Both Dadabhai Naoroji and R.C. Dutt followed in the foot steps of William Digby and highlighted the processes of economic exploitation and impoverishment in India.⁶⁷

III

Colonialism means the introduction of capitalist relations of production or capitalist structure into trade, industry, agriculture and banking; the introduction of bourgeois state structure, legal and property relations, but not the development of capitalist

⁶³ Shahid Amin, *Alternative Histories : A View from India*, SEPHIS-CSSSC, Calcutta, 2002, pp. 37-38.

⁶⁴ E. Sridharan, *A Textbook of Historiography*, pp. 431-32.

⁶⁵ R.C. Majumdar, “Nationalist Historians”, *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (Ed. C.H. Philips), OUP, London, 1967, p. 417.

⁶⁶ E. Sridharan, *A Textbook of Historiography*, p. 436. See also, Bipan Chandra, *Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India (1885-1905)*, Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi, 1968, p. 490.

⁶⁷ R.C. Majumdar, “Nationalist Historians”, *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (Ed. C.H. Philips), pp. 423-24.

production or of productive power.⁶⁸ When George Balandier published his "The Colonial Situation", in 1951, colonial empires were at the heart of profound debates and struggles. In the 1950s and 1960s, it was an object of attack but not an object of careful examination. By the 1970s, Colonialism had been banished from the realm of legitimate forms of political organization. The burst of scholarship on colonial societies in the 1980s and 1990s appears paradoxical. During the period of 1951-2001, there is rise, fall and rise of colonial studies.⁶⁹ Colonialism, in the recent historical sense, designates the occupation and ruling of overseas territories, by European powers, aiming at economic, political and military benefits. It is the establishment, exploitation, maintenance, acquisition and expansion of colonies in one territory by people from another territory. It is set of unequal relationships, between the metropole and the colony and between the colonists and the indigenous population.⁷⁰ Colonizing nations generally dominate the resources, labour and markets of the colonial territory. Moreover, Colonialism was a means by which the metropolitan power extended its markets for manufactured goods and by which the colonies, in turn, supplied raw materials to metropolis.⁷¹ The boundaries of Colonialism, like those of many historical eras, are difficult to draw. The history of colonialism goes back to centuries and the story is not yet over. Thus, literature and historical writings of several ages, reflect upon concerns about Colonialism. Imperialism and Colonialism are virtually used interchangeably and refer to the phenomenon which appear when a state rules over distant areas inhabited by peoples ethnically and culturally alien and regards its own economic interests as paramount in regulating the economic life of such areas.⁷²

⁶⁸ Bipan Chandra, *Essays on Colonialism*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 2006, p. 7.

⁶⁹ Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Questions: Theory, Knowledge, History*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2005, pp. 33.

⁷⁰ R. Emerson, "Colonialism", *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. III (Ed. David L. Sills), Macmillan, New York, 1968, pp. 1-3.

⁷¹ Anthony D. King, *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World Economy : Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System*, Routledge, London, 1990, p. 49.

⁷² Holden Furber, "The Theme of Imperialism and Colonialism to Modern Historical Writings on India", *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, (Ed. C.H. Phillips), p. 332.

The history of Western Colonialism and Imperialism is politically, economically and culturally relevant to contemporary issues and therefore, controversial. These terms themselves are no less contested. Imperial is derived from the old French term *imperial* which was derived from the Latin word *imperae* meaning to command, to rule and from the word *imperium* meaning power, mastery and sovereignty. Imperialism can be defined as the domination and rule by a strong state over a subordinate state territory and people that exist beyond the boundaries of the imperial metropole. In the 'age of Modern Imperialism' (1825-1914) disparity of power between Europeans and non-Europeans grew as a result of the Industrial Revolution which provided European empires with steamships and gunboats, repeating rifles and machine guns, railroads, new tropical medicines as well as attractive and seductive manufactured goods.⁷³ Imperialism is the functioning and the development of a national capitalism on a world scale.⁷⁴ Imperialism denotes a relationship: specifically, the relationship of a ruling or controlling power to those under its domination. The development of the imperial mystique usually occurs after the event and this mystique may not necessarily reflect the values actually incorporated in the political structures it helps keep going. In India, the idea of imperialism got fullest expression in the high rhetoric of Lord Curzon.⁷⁵ Imperialism has been placed in a sharper light and made to show its peculiar quality of self-disintegration and self-destruction. The economic aspect of the New Imperialism was the export of regions of lower economic development and the production. The political aspect of the New Imperialism was the maintenance of some form or other of political control in those regions for the protection of the investments.⁷⁶ Throughout history, empires have possessed colonies. Colony word is derived

⁷³ Thomas Benjamin (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Western Colonialism Since 1450*, Vol. I, Thomson Gale, Detroit, 2007, pp. XIV-XVI.

⁷⁴ Michael Beaud, *A History of Capitalism (1500-2000)*, Aakar Books, New Delhi, 2004, p. 163.

⁷⁵ Shamsul Islam, *Chronicles of the Raj: A Study of Literature Reaction to the Imperial Idea towards the End of the Raj*, Macmillan, London, 1979, pp. 1-3.

⁷⁶ Nicholas, J. Spykman, "The Social Background of Asiatic Nationalism", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 32, No. 2, November 1926, p. 411.

directly or indirectly from the Latin word *colere* meaning to cultivate and till the land. The Roman word ‘*colonia*’ means ‘farm’ or ‘settlement’ Colonies are dependent territories and populations that are possessed and ruled by an empire. In the age of Western colonization, it meant not only ruling over other peoples but also sending one’s own people to settle a foreign territory or colony. Colonialism refers to the processes, policies and ideologies used by metropolis to establish, conquer, settle, govern and economically exploit colonies. Furthermore, Colonialism is a set of formal policies, informal practices and ideologies employed by a metropole to retain control of a colony and benefits from control.⁷⁷ Infact, Imperialism became the highest form of Colonialism. Modern Colonialism did more than extract tribute, goods and wealth from the countries that it conquered.⁷⁸ In its broadest sense, Colonialism is ‘a conglomerate of dominant-subservient relations. It contains power relations whose roots are psychological as well as political’. Colonialism represents ‘a set of structure that are imposed upon a nation by another in order to affect international distribution of income and wealth.’⁷⁹ Colonialism is the establishment and maintenance for an extended time, of rule over an alien people that is separate form and subordinate to the ruling power. It signifies direct political control.⁸⁰ Colonies constitute a large part “private markets” for the interests of the national group which control them.⁸¹ The age of Modern Colonialism began with the global expansion of trade and conquest by European powers. The objective and mechanism were essentially economics. The realization of these objectives entailed a restructuring

⁷⁷ David B. Abernethy, *The Dynamics of Global Dommmance: European Overseas Empires (1415-1980)*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2000, Table 202, pp. 22-24. Thomas Benjamin (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Western Colonization Since 1450*, Vol. I, p. XVI.

⁷⁸ Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Post Colonialism*, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁹ Fred M. Gottheil, “On an Economic Theory of Colonialism”, *Journal of Economic Issues*, Vol. II, No. 1, March 1977, p. 85.

⁸⁰ Rupert Emerson, “Colonialism”, *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (Ed. David L. Sills), The Mcmillan Company, New York, 1968, p. 1.

⁸¹ Maurice Dobb, *Political Economy and Capitalism: Some Essays in Economic Transition*, Routledge, London, 1972, pp. 34-35.

of economies of the colonized societies.⁸² In India, the colonial power became the ultimate legal authority; it commanded the monopoly of legitimate force and it enacted a minimum set of common values which it proceeded to enforce.⁸³ George Balandier further elaborates “colonial situation”: domination of an alien majority, asserting racial and cultural superiority over a materially inferior native majority; contact between a machine-oriented civilization with Christian origins, a powerful economy and a rapid rhythm of life and non-Christian civilization that lacks machines and is marked by a backward economy and a slow rhythm of life; and the imposition of the first civilization upon the second.⁸⁴ It restructured the economics of the colony drawing them into a complex relationship with their own, so that there was flow of human and natural resources between colonized and colonial countries. However, in this flow, the profits always flowed back into the so-called ‘mother country’.⁸⁵ The colonial policy was to achieve the free flow of resources without any impediments and for India to form part of a system of international division of labour.⁸⁶ The first basic feature of Colonialism is the complete but complex integration and enmeshing of the colony with the world capitalist system in a *subordinate* or *subservient* position.⁸⁷ Subordination means that the fundamental aspects of the colony’s economy and society are not determined by its own needs or the needs and interests of its dominant social classes but by the needs and interests of the metropolitan economy and its capitalist class. It is the crucial and determining aspect. The second feature of Colonialism is encompassed by the twin notions of

⁸² Tom Bottmore (ed.) *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1985, p. 81.

⁸³ Immanuel Wallerstein, (Ed.) *Social Change: The Colonial Situation*, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1966, p. 2.

⁸⁴ Cited in Rupert Emerson, “Colonialism”, *International Encyclopedia of the Social Science*, p. 1.

⁸⁵ Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, p. 4.

⁸⁶ S. Ambirajan, *Classical Political Economy and British Policy in India*, Vikas, New Delhi, 1978, p. 269.

⁸⁷ Bipan Chandra, *Essays on Colonialism*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2000, p. 10. (Emphasis Original)

unequal exchange and internal deactivation of the colonial economy and the articulation of its different disarticulated parts, through the world market and imperialist hegemony with the metropolitan economy. The third feature of colonialism is the drain of wealth or unilateral transfer of social capital to the metropolis through unrequited exports. The fourth feature of Colonialism is foreign political domination or the existence and role of the colonial state which plays a crucial role in the colonial structure. Colonialism not only integrated India into the world capitalist market but also unified its economy internally.⁸⁸ Thus, Colonialism was the midwife that assisted at the birth of European Capitalism.⁸⁹ British Imperialism in India reached its highest stage of self-consciousness and self-satisfaction at the turn of the 19th Century. The illusion of permanence had evolved into a full-blown theory encompassing every aspect of England's relationship to Indian society. British notions of the way in which India was kept in subject shifted from an emphasis on moral force and the influence of the example of British character, to the less ambitious idea that India was held simply by military power.⁹⁰ Colonialism denied history to colonized. It deprived the subjected of their cultural rights and identity.⁹¹ The parameters of the colonial structure are constructed through and determined and maintained by the Colonial State. It does not "reflect" economic power but creates and enforces it. It is not a superstructure erected on the economic base. It helped create the economic base; it is a part of the economic base of Colonialism. It not only enables the ruling classes to extract surplus, it is itself major channel for surplus appropriation. While the capitalist state is the instrument for enforcing the rule and domination of one class over another, the Colonial State is the organized power of the metropolitan ruling class for *dominating the entire colonial society*. In the metropolitan, the state is a relation between the classes, in a colony it is a relation between the foreign ruling class and the colonial people as a whole.

⁸⁸ Bipan Chandra, *Essays on Indian Nationalism*, Har-Anand, New Delhi, 2005, p. 63.

⁸⁹ Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, p. 4.

⁹⁰ Francis G. Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1967, pp. 186, 196.

⁹¹ K.N. Panikkar, *Colonialism, Culture and Resistance*, OUP, New Delhi, 2007, p. 21.

Thus, the Colonial State does not represent any of the indigenous social classes of the colony. It subordinates all of them to the metropolitan capitalist class. It dominates all of them. The economic class position of the landlords and capitalists in a colony is “articulated through and by, the Colonial State”. But they are not part of the ruling class. Their interests are freely sacrificed to the interests of the metropolitan bourgeoisie.⁹²

J.A. Hobson, defined Imperialism as, ‘the endeavour of the great-controller of the industry to broaden the channel for the flow of their surplus wealth, by seeking foreign markets and foreign investments, to take off the goods and capital, they cannot sell or use at home’. Thus the most important factor in the economics of Imperialism, said Hobson, was foreign investment and the great banking houses, which promoted imperialistic policies, from which they gained at the expense of the manufacturing and trading interests.⁹³ The explanation of Imperialism rests entirely on the ‘mode of production’ – the emergence of finance capital, the formation of international monopolies, and the fight for markets which resulted in war and conquest, all had their origins in the mode of production.⁹⁴ Exploitation was characteristic of modern Imperialism. Imperial Britain did not defray the cost of her administration with services raised in India, but derived considerable profit in other forms. India was the ‘brightest jewel in the British Crown’ in more than one sense. All classes of the British people shared in this benefit, some more and others less.⁹⁵

Industrialism and Nationalism, rather than Industrialism and Democracy, were the two forces which exercised domination *de facto* over Western Society. The Industrial Revolution and the contemporary emergence of Nationalism in the Western World were working together to build up Great Powers each of which claimed to be a universe in itself.⁹⁶ William E. Rappard defines nationalism 'as a

⁹² Bipan Chandra, *Essays on Colonialism*, pp. 12-13. (Emphasis Original)

⁹³ J.A. Hobson, *Imperialism : A Study*, Cosimo, New York, 2005, pp. 82-85.

⁹⁴ Brij Narain, *Marxism in Dead*, Rama Krishna and Sons, Lahore, 1939, p. 198.

⁹⁵ Henry Smith Williams, *The Historians' History of the West*, The Outlook Company, New York, 1904, p. 340.

⁹⁶ Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol. I, London, 1934, pp. 9-10.

scheme of moral values in which the nation or the nation state stands supreme. On the one hand, nation is superior to the individual and on the other hand, the nation also superior to humanity.⁹⁷ Indian nationalism is a modern phenomenon. It came into being during the British period as a result of the action and inter-action of numerous subjective and objective forces and factors, which developed, within the Indian society, under the conditions of the British rule and the impact of world forces.⁹⁸ The second half of the 19th Century witnessed the full flowing of national political consciousness and the growth of an organized national movement in India. Nationalism was essentially a result of the British rule in India. The economic, political and social changes brought about the British rule, resulted in the oppression of all classes of people, giving rise to a wide spread dissatisfaction among the masses.⁹⁹ With the growth of nationalism, the demands of the Indian people assumed an increasingly nationalistic character.¹⁰⁰ The process of the growth of Indian nationalism has been complex and many-sided, inspite of India's peculiar social, economic and political structure and religious history, together with

⁹⁷ Quoted by Michael A. Heilperin, *Studies in Economic Nationalism*, Libraries Minard, Paris, 1960, p. 22.

⁹⁸ A.R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Popular Prakashan Bombay, 2000, p. XXXIII. "The concept of nationalism gained its modern significance in European history through a historical process of about 400 years from 15th to 19th Centuries. In spite of such extensive growth, an effective definition of it is still lacking. However, it may be held from the experience of European history that if national consciousness awakened among a particular group of people or in a society is analysed, it reveals that it is the result of cohesion of some elements among those people or in that society: Kamaluddin Ahmad, "Interpreting History of the Rise of Nationalism in India", *International Journal of Social Science and Humanity*, Vol. 4, No. 5, September 2014, pp. 382-384.

⁹⁹ Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India*, pp. 737-738.

¹⁰⁰ Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India (1885-1947)*, Macmillan, Madras, 1983, p. 600. Nationalism is the best theme in Indian Historiography. Indian nationalism has stimulated a variety of historical-models. The first nationalist critique of colonialism was put forth by national leaders like D.B., Naoroji, M.G. Ranade; G.V. Joshi; G.K. Gokhlae and R.C. Dutt. They exposed the exploitation of India and shattered the romantic notion of the benevolent character of the British rule. Their views and ideas influenced the masses to raise voice against the British rule. V.N. Datta, "Interpreting Indian Nationalism" Presidential Address, *Proceedings of the Indian National Congress*, Badhghaya, 1981, pp. 392-893.

its territorial vastness and a teeming population, nationalism occurred in India, which is exemplary as nationalism does not rise amidst such multiplicity of languages and traditions as it rose in India.¹⁰¹ Thus imperialism aimed at exploiting the wage labourer. However, the gravest consequence of imperial rule was psychological. The colonial countries, e.g. India lost its self-respect and identity.¹⁰² The Indian nationalists made popular the notion that the interest of British imperialism lay in keeping the economy of India subordinate to that of the British. They discovered that exploitation of India took place not through the simpler forms of outright plunder, but by more disguised forms like-foreign investment, discriminatory protective tariffs, free trade etc. Jawaharlal Nehru shows a close affinity to Lenin, by explaining that Indian poverty was result of predatory character of British rule and radical tensions were also traced to the British attempts of 'divide and rule'. India, according to Nehru, was a classical case of Imperialism, the very centre of British rule. The exploitation of 400 million Indians constituted the basis of British empire.¹⁰³

When the concept of modern nation states came into being the need for allegiance and loyalty of the people residing in their territories was felt, in order to sustain and perpetuate themselves. This was the beginning of nationalism.¹⁰⁴ In other words, an identification by a people or community, with the boundary of the nation state and its high culture, gave rise to the term nationalism. The advanced British nation, for its own purpose, changed the economic structure of the Indian society, introduced modern education and means of communications, which resulted in the growth of new social classes and the unleashing of new social forces. The social forces came into conflict with British Imperialism and became the basis for the Indian nationalism.¹⁰⁵ Thus the essence of nationalism in India, was the realization

¹⁰¹ A.R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, p. XXXIV.

¹⁰² R.C. Vermani, *British Colonialism in India*, p. 28.

¹⁰³ R.C. Vermani, *British Colonialism in India*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁴ E.H. Carr, *Nationalism and After*, Macmillan, London, 1945, pp. 19.

¹⁰⁵ A.R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, pp. 210-40.

that all the Indian people had a common nationality and it was in their collective interest to resist the colonial rule. The important element of nationalism is the feeling of cultural consciousness and the desire for cultural protection. An effective imperialism presupposes a cultural differential. But the outstanding result of imperial prevention was the disappearance of that differential. The native culture is leveled up and the transformation process creates reaction movements. Significance of Asiatic nationalism could be understood against the social background of a cultural transformation process.¹⁰⁶

The appeal of nationalism rests on the presumption that a government run by one's co-nationals would enact superior policies.¹⁰⁷ Economic nationalism is defined as an ideology that contrasts with economic liberalism in two major ways: (i) it rejects self-interest as the main guideline for organizing the social and economic; and (ii) it rejects the notion that market can maximize the welfare of collective.¹⁰⁸ It relates to a set of national policies which regulate the relations between a country and the rest of the world. In the 17th and 18th Centuries, such policies were reflected under Mercantilism. When the system was dismantled in the early part of the 19th Century, the opposite of the trade was known as "Protectionism". The first use of the term appeared in a work by Leo Pasvoslsky, *Economic Nationalism of the Danubian States* published by the Brookings Institution, Washington in 1928. In the aftermath of the Great Depression, its used became widespread.¹⁰⁹ William E. Rappard argued that economic and political nationalism are closely related to one to the other. Economic policies are animated

¹⁰⁶ Nicholas J. Spykmen, "The Social Background of Asiatic Nationalism", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 32, No. 3, November, 1926, p. 411.

¹⁰⁷ Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism*, OUP New York, 2000, p. 30.

¹⁰⁸ David Levi-Faur, "Friedrich List and the Political Economy of the Nation-State", *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 1997, pp. 154-78.

¹⁰⁹ Michael A. Heilpern, *Studies in Economic Nationalism*, p. 17. G.G. Hodson testified it by saying that any texts using the expression economic nationalism is posterior to 1930: *Economic Nationalism*, H.W. Wilson Co., New York, 1933.

by the spirit of nationalism.¹¹⁰ Economic nationalism constitutes “all those national policies which tend to make the economic intercourse between residents of a country and people living beyond its boundaries more difficult than is economic intercourse among living within the country”. It involves the notion of isolating, though not necessarily isolating a country from the rest of the world. It involves the nation of country’s seeking more “autonomy” in its economic life than it would have in a well-knit system of economic internationalism.¹¹¹ Economic nationalism as an ideology underscores three important components: its emphasis on the state as predominant actor, its bias towards industry over agriculture and its anti-trade bias.¹¹² It advocates the policy of national self-sufficiency.¹¹³ During the phase 1880-1905, economic nationalism as an ideology crystallized on the problematic of poverty. The essence of British economic imperialism was situated in the subordination of Indian economy to the British interests.¹¹⁴ The colonial policy was structured ‘to achieve free flow of resources without any impediments and for India to form part of system of international division of labour’.¹¹⁵ Economic nationalists directed their attention primarily to the poverty of mass of the Indian people. It was held that ‘poverty was growing as a result of British rule’. Two major concerns were the drain and de-industrialization.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, the main interests of the British being economic, the political structure was meant to ensure economic

¹¹⁰ William E. Rappard, *Authority and the Individual*, Cambridge, Massarchute, 1937, pp. 77-80.

¹¹¹ Michael A. Heilpern, *Studies in Economic Nationalism*, pp. 24-27.

¹¹² R. Gilpin and J.M. Gilpin, *The Political Economy of International Relations*, PUP, Princeton, 1987, pp. 31-34, 46-50.

¹¹³ Michael A. Heilperin, *Studies in Economic Nationalism*, p. 18.

¹¹⁴ Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India: Economic Policies of Indian National Leadership (1880-1905)*, People’s Publishing House, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 746-47.

¹¹⁵ S. Ambirajan, *Classical Political Economy and British Policy in India*, Vikas, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 269-70.

¹¹⁶ Irfan Habib, *Indian Economy (1858-1914)*, Tulika, New Delhi, 2006, pp. 148-49.

advantages. Economic nationalism combines different facets of nationalism with the implementation of economic policies; it serves as an ideology that influences the economy through protectionist policies.¹¹⁷

IV

Brij Narain was born in 1889, in a middle class family in West Punjab. He was the son of a well-known Urdu poet and short story writer. He did his M.A. History from Punjab University, Lahore and M.A. Economics from Calcutta University in 1911. He was the student of Prof. Manohar Lal at the University of Calcutta.¹¹⁸ E.H. Carr has aptly remarked: “before you study history, study the historian; before you study the historian, study his social and intellectual environment. Each historian is product of his age”.¹¹⁹ The purpose of historian is to study elucidate and demonstrate the historical past. He is bound to have had a purpose in mind when he enters his studies. Historians cannot exist in a vacuum. They live in the society of men and influence it whether they like it or not.¹²⁰ In order to understand the history one must understand the historian and the age in which he lives, for herein lies the immediate objective of studying history.¹²¹ History is ‘critical thinking of the past’, in the ‘totality of human experience’.¹²² History has become a meeting ground for various disciplines. As historians draw much from other social sciences such as Sociology, Economics and Political Science, the protagonists of these disciplines move to history for substantiating their formulations in the light of the past experience. Prof. Brij Narain was such an economist who had his roots in historical data, who could

¹¹⁷ C.A. Folster, *The New Rise of Economic Nationalism in Transatlantic Trade Relations*, M.A. Thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2009, p. 7.

¹¹⁸ J. Krishnamurthy (Ed.), *Towards Development Economics*, p. 53.

¹¹⁹ E.H. Carr, *What is History?*, p. 45.

¹²⁰ G.R. Elton, *The Practice of History*, Collins-Fontana, Glasgow, 1978, p. 120.

¹²¹ John C.B. Webster, *An Introduction to History*, p. 26.

¹²² Peter Gray and G.J. Cavanaugh, “General Introduction: A Definition of History”, *Historians at Work*, Vol. I, Harper & Row, New York, 1953, p. 37. Marc Bloch, *The Historian’s Craft*, p. 27.

see the present in the light the past. Prof. Brij Narain was a brilliant teacher and a prolific writer. He taught Economics in S.D. College, Lahore, before Independence. His important works on Economics are:

- (i) Essays on Indian Economic Problems (1919);
- (ii) Essays on Indian Economic Problems (1922);
- (iii) The Population of India (1925);
- (iv) Indian Economic Life: Past and Present (1929);
- (v) India in Crisis (1934);
- (vi) Tendencies in Recent Economic Thought (1935);
- (vii) Indian before Crisis (1935);
- (viii) Kirsana De Dukhre (1936);
- (ix) Indian Socialism (1937)
- (x) India before and since the Crisis (1939);
- (xi) Marxism is Dead (1939);
- (xii) Charkha Marxism, Indian Socialism (1941);
- (xiii) Principles of Economics (1940);
- (xiv) Indian Economic Problems, Pre-War, War and Post War (1944);
- (xv) Curve Fitting for the Students of Economics (1944);
- (xvi) Money and Banking (1946); and
- (xvii) Economic Structure of Free India (1946).¹²³

During the early 20th Century, Prof. Brij Narain, witnessed the entire development in the Punjab and minutely took notice of each move of the colonial leaders.¹²⁴ Prof. Brij Narain was of the opinion that the laws of economics can be, equally applicable to industrially advanced and economically backward countries.¹²⁵ Many historians and even economists are not familiar with the name of Prof. Brij Narain. It is noteworthy that, Prof. Brij Narain was member of number of committees and boards. He also presided over many peasants and socialist workers' conferences.¹²⁶ In the early 1930s, Socialist-minded leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan, Minno Masani, Achynt Patwardhan and Ashok Mehta lodged in Nasik Jail decided to form a Congress Socialist Party within the Indian National Congress

¹²³ T.N. Hajela, *History of the Economic Thought*, Ane Books, New Delhi, 2008, p. 951.

¹²⁴ Sukhdev Singh Sohal, "Professor Brij Narain on the Agrarian Economy of the Punjab (1919-1947)", *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Aligarh, December, 1994.

¹²⁵ T.N. Hajela, *History of the Economic Thought*, pp. 951-52.

¹²⁶ *The Tribune*, 1 June 1935, p. 9.

wedded to Marxism. A group of the left wing Congressmen disillusioned with the policy of Congress met in July 1933 for organizing Socialists. On May 17, 1934, the Congress Socialist Party was established at Patna. In the Punjab, the leaders such as Professor Brij Narain, Jeevan Lal Kapur and Lala Feroz Chand formed the Punjab Socialist Party.¹²⁷ He was a regular contributor to *The Tribune* in the 1930's and 1940's taking cognizance of the colonial policies.¹²⁸ Apart from economic problems, he has contributed a lot on contemporary issues. He was an intellectual and an institution in himself. He visited many countries in the course of his career and was highly influenced by the policies adopted by Russia, Japan and China. He always argued that if these nations can progress why can't India? He was a great humanitarian. His columns in *The Tribune* are proof of the same. Besides, newspapers he contributed in *The Quarterly Review; The Indian Review; The Modern Review; The Hindustan Review; The Economic Journal* and many German Magazines. His writings prove that he had quest for learning and addressing the issues. Prof. Brij Narain analytically commented upon the diverse facets of economy, like wages and prices, population, trade, industry, agriculture, monetary policy, transportation, production, distribution, consumption patterns, savings, bankings etc. He had shown deep concern for Indian economy broadly but remains close to Punjab as he had special concern for the province. Prof. Brij Narain's vast literature on colonial economy is a treasure worth possessing and probing. In fact, as a contemporary writer, he had seen and evaluated the British policies and the ramifications.¹²⁹ Professor Bipan Chandra, in his General Presidential Address to the *Punjab History Conference*, Patiala (1981) dwelt extensively on the Punjab. He referred the Punjab economy, peasant mobilization and impediments to its progress. Among the several scholars who contributed to this task and acknowledged "excellent work" and "our debt to one of Punjab's great scholars, Prof. Brij

¹²⁷ Haridev Sharma, (Ed.), *Selected Works of Acharya Narendra Dev*, Vol. I, Radiant Publishers, New Delhi, 1988, pp. xxviii-xix.

¹²⁸ *The Tribune*, 27 July 1934; 25 16, March 1937 February 1946.

¹²⁹ Sukhdev Singh Sohal, "Professor Brij Narain on the Agrarian Economy of the Punjab (1919-1947)", *Indian History Congress*, Aligarh, 1994, pp. 687-88.

Narain.”¹³⁰ S.D. College, Ambala has constructed a Hall in the memory of Late Prof. Brij Narain. It is highly appreciable that one of his students (K.B. Sharma) has sieved the archives of Economic history and literature and sifted the adorable attributes of legendary economist, academician, litterateur, great professionals widely travelled and patriot Late Prof. Brij Narain who had thorough sway over economic turf of pre-partition India.¹³¹ On 25 March 2006, the SD College, Ambala held Fifth Alumni Meet of its Association in the College premises. A portrait of Professor Brij Narain presented by Mr. K.B. Sharma was unveiled by two former Principals Dr. R.D. Vig and Dr. C.R. Nagpal.¹³² Prof. Brij Narain falls in line of original thinkers in Economics in India. In fact, he wanted to lay the foundation of modern India. He was the first Indian economist who made original contribution to the development of science of Economics.¹³³ In 1957, some of his students and well-wishers proposed a Memorial Fund. Pandit Mohan Lal, Finance Minister, Punjab wrote highly and nostalgically about the contribution and personality of Professor Brij Narain.¹³⁴ His colleagues, fellow economists, activists kept the memory of Professor Brij Narain in a number of ways. The Panjab University, Chandigarh has instituted Professor Brij Narain Memorial Lecture thus inviting scholars primarily of Economics and also of social sciences articulating their views on the concerns Professor Brij Narain often voiced in his writings. Following is selective list:¹³⁵

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| 1963 | : | B.K. Maden, "The Role of Monetary Policy in a Developing Economy" |
| 1966 | : | Ashok Mehta, "The Economic Revolution of Our Time" |
| 1997 | : | K.S. Chalapati Raj Atulan Guha", Ownership Pattern of the Indian Corporate Sectors: Implications for Corporate Governance". |

¹³⁰ Bipan Chandra, "Presidential Address", *The Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference*, Patiala, March 13-15, 1981, 7, 9.

¹³¹ S.D. College, Ambala Cantt (30.6.2014).

¹³² *The Tribune*, 26 March 2006.

¹³³ T.N. Hajela, *History of Economic Thought*, p.956.

¹³⁴ *The Tribune*, Ambala, 14, 16 August, 1957.

¹³⁵ *The Tribune*, 7 September, 2002. www.bharatsandesh.com (accessed on 21 August 2014). www.amazon.com (accessed on 22 August, 2014)

- 2002 : V.R.Panchmukhi, "Social Science Research and ICSSR".
2010 : Isher Judge Ahluwalia "Challenges of Social Development
in Punjab".

In fact in 1961, D.R. Gadgil delivered three lectures in the memory of Professor Brij Narain on the theme "Towards a Cooperative Commonwealth" where in he rejected competitive philosophy and psychology for the information of a programme of concrete logical action.¹³⁶ He followed the spirit of Professor Brij Narain who defined Economics as a study of mankind in the ordinary business of life.¹³⁷

As an internationally, acclaimed economist, he has written several articles in support of the view that Pakistan would be fully capable, of being economically feasible and self-sufficient.¹³⁸ He had decided to remain in Pakistan and even the most diehard Muslim leaguers were convinced that he was a man without any prejudice. Ishtiaq Ahmad provides a graphic picture narrated by Som Anand who migrated from Lahore. It was said that Mr. M.A. Jinnah asked Professor Brij Narain to stay on and he had fully made up his mind to devote to serving Pakistan. He sincerely believed that Mr. M.A. Jinnah wanted to create a democratic state wherein non-Muslims would have equal rights. A mob arrived in the area he lived on Nicholson Road, Lahore. They were burning and pillaging abandoned Hindu and Muslim houses. Professor Brij Narain went up to them and advised them not to do so as it was now Pakistan Property. His arguments convinced the first lot who moved away. Soon after, some other more Ruffians arrived and began pillaging and burning. Again he went upto them and presented the same arguments. But one of them shouted, "he is Kafir (infidel), Kill him". The mob fell upon him and Pakistan's most ardent Hindu champion was lynched mercilessly on August 14, 1947.¹³⁹ His murder

¹³⁶ www.cabdirect.org (accessed on 22 August, 2014)

¹³⁷ T.N. Hajela, *History of Economic Thought*, p. 951.

¹³⁸ www.persecution.in (Accessed on 22 August 2014). Ishtaq Ahmed, See also. Ahmed Salim, *Lahore in 1947*, Sang-e-Meel, Lahore, 2002, p. 132.

¹³⁹ Ishtiaq Ahmad, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed*, Rupa Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2011, pp. 410-411.

was a terrible shock to those Hindus and Sikhs who had decided to remain in Pakistan. Such Punjabis moved out of Lahore towards India.¹⁴⁰

Since, the topic of the research is related to the economic development of India in general and the Punjab in particular under colonial rule, much have been written in this direction and many writings of Indian and foreign authors, highlight the economic policies of the colonial rulers, which directly or indirectly, influenced the development of India. The economic thinking in modern India could be traced back to the latter half of the 19th Century which synchronized with the rise of national movement against British colonialism.¹⁴¹ The Indian writers, who have written on economic problems are Dadabhai Naoroji, M.G. Ranade, G.V. Joshi, G. Subramanian Iyer, R.C. Dutt, R.P. Dutt, D.R. Gadgil and many others, who were intellectuals and politically active and were well versed in contemporary, economic writings and analysis. These Indian economists blamed colonial policies for India's poverty and stagnation, whereas the colonial rulers, saw the rapidly increasing population, as a major negative factor which retarded India's economic growth. They had a sense of history and firm grasp over historical facts which led them to make *fundamental* contributions to Indian economic thinking. Historians like Bipan Chandra, Amiya Kumar Bagchi, Imran Ali, Rajat K. Ray, B.N. Ganguli, Mridula Mukherjee, Aditya Mukherjee, Himadri Banerjee, Dharma Kumar and M.M. Islam, etc. have drawn inferences from the records and try to highlight the policies affecting, the growth and decline of trade, transport, agriculture industry and various other economic aspects. A contemporary writer of colonial period, could be a source of great help and can provide first hand information or insight. Recently, historians have brought into limelight Prof. Brij Narain's contribution on economic history. His vast knowledge and writings on various economic issues got recognition only after

¹⁴⁰ Ahmed Salim, *Lahore in 1947*, p. 131. www.apnaorg.com (Accessed on 22 August 2014).

¹⁴¹ V.B. Singh, *Economic History of India (1857-1957)*, p. 13.

the 1980's, when Prof. Bipan Chandra acknowledged his work and felt indebted to his scholarly writings.¹⁴²

V

SURVEY OF EXISTING LITERATURE

Economics and History constitute important components of social sciences. Both are complimentary to each other. Economic activities provide base to human society upon which social and historical formations are structured. Both disciplines are rich in literature. The present attempt is to highlight significant trends and pattern in economic history bearing impact on the proposed theme.

Both economists and historians have contributed in the study of Imperialism and Colonialism social and political formations. Bhabatosh Datta's *The Evolution of Economic Thinking in India* traced the origins of economic ideas in diverse forms.¹⁴³ In the early 1960s, with the writings of Morris D. Morris, a major resurgence of the colonial position regarding the Indian experience of colonialism occurred in academia. It resurfaced with the publication of voluminous *Cambridge Economic History of India Vol. II* edited by Dharma Kumar in the 1980s. Historians like Bipan Chandra, Tapan Raychaudhary, Irfan Habib provided scholarly rebuttals.¹⁴⁴ The Indian Economic Association in 1973 sponsored a series of studies on the evolution of economic thought in India since the 19th Century.¹⁴⁵ B.N. Ganguli, *Indian Economic Thought: Nineteenth Century Perspectives* concentrates on the economic ideas of representative Indians such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, G.V. Joshi, Dadabhai

¹⁴² Bipan Chandra, "Presidential Address", pp. 7-8. V.B. Singh (Ed.), *Economic History of India (1857-1957)*, p. 14. (Emphasis Original)

¹⁴³ Bhabatosh Datta, *The Evolution of Economic Thinking in India*, Federation Hall Society, Calcutta, 1961.

¹⁴⁴ Aditya Mukherjee, "The Return of the Colonial in Indian Economic History: The Last Phase of Colonialism in India", *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Delhi, 2007, p. 505. See also, *Indian Economy in the Nineteenth Century: A Symposium*, IESHR, Delhi, 1969, Irfan Habib, *Essay in Indian History: Towards a Marxist Perception*, Tulika, New Delhi, 1995.

¹⁴⁵ Ranjit Sau, *Economy, Class, Society*, Universities Press, Madras, 1986, p.5.

Naoroji, M.G. Ranade, R.C. Dutt, G.K. Gokhale to trace their links to the wider trends of economic thought and events. He situates Imperialism and Colonialism in historical context.¹⁴⁶ Bhabatosh Datta, *Indian Economic Thought : Twentieth Century Perspectives (1900-1950)* has extended the domain of economic thought in the 20th Century. He has acknowledged Brij Narian's contribution in fields of demography, money and finance.¹⁴⁷ T.N. Hajela, *History of Economic Thought* has included Brij Narain in his chapter on Modern Economic in India. He considers him one of the original thinkers.¹⁴⁸

In the field of economic history, Bipan Chandra's *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India: Economic Policies of Indian National Leadership (1880-1905)* is a pioneering study and a classic in a way in the fields of economic thought in the age of Imperialism. It is a doctoral work submitted in the University of Delhi in 1963. It covers the ideas of all prominent Indian Nationalists including the high priest Dadabhai Naroji who delineated the contours of economic foundations of the British empire. Bipan Chandra has provided a scholarly template on Indian political economy and economic nationalism.¹⁴⁹ S. Bhattacharya, *Financial Foundations of the British Raj* concentrates on the men and ideas in the post-Mutiny period of Reconstruction of Indian Public Finance during 1858-1872. India under the Crown in the post 1857 witnessed intensity of British colonial penetration in the fields of finance and currency.¹⁵⁰ S. Ambirajan, *Classical Political Economy and British Policy in India* has provided economic perspectives on the development of British Empire

¹⁴⁶ B.M. Ganguli, *Indian Economic Thought: Nineteenth Century Perspectives*, Tata McGraw Hill, New Delhi, 1997, pp. viii Chapter I.

¹⁴⁷ Bhabatosh Datta, *Indian Economic Thought: Twentieth Century Perspectives (1900-1950)*, Tata McGraw Hill, New Delhi, 1978, pp. 37, 163-164

¹⁴⁸ T.M. Hajela, *History of Economic Thought*, pp. 951-56.

¹⁴⁹ Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India: Economic Policies of Indian National Leadership (1880-1905)*, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1982 (First Published 1966), pp. 709-60.

¹⁵⁰ S. Bhattacharya, *Financial Foundations of the British Raj*, IIAS, Shimla, 1971, Chapters I and II.

in India. He has concentrated on the famine policy, land taxation, taxation economic development in the age of Imperialism. The gulf between the classical political economy and reality of the Empire became wide as the economic assumptions were situated in a developed locale of Europe. It is a significant contribution in field of ideas bearing economic relevance to history.¹⁵¹ Economists such as B.N. Ganguli and Krishna Bharadwaj have revisited the classical political economy in the context of India.¹⁵² Bipan Chandra, *Essays on Colonialism*, focuses on Colonialism as a social formation, British and Indian views of Development. It concentrates on the economic thought of M.G. Ranade.¹⁵³

Economy History has been established as a significant branch of History and Economics bringing scholars of both the disciplines on one platform with singular convictions. It is being taught a subject in the colleges and universities in India. The survey of contributors shed light on its growth and significance. Important contributors include, V.B. Singh,¹⁵⁴ Dhires Bhattacharya,¹⁵⁵ H. Bhattacharya,¹⁵⁶ G. Kaushal,¹⁵⁷ Sunil Kumar Sen,¹⁵⁸ Dharma Kumar,¹⁵⁹ Dietmar

¹⁵¹ S. Ambirajan, *Classical Political Economy and British Policy in India*, Vikas, New Delhi, 1978, Chpater IX.

¹⁵² B.N. Ganguli, *Some Aspects of Classical Political Economy in the Nineteenth Century Indian Perspective: R.C. Dutt Lectures on Political Economy 1977*, Orient Longman, Calcutta, 1979. Krishna Bhardwaj, *Classical Political Economy and Rise of Dominance of Supply and Demand Theories: R.C. Dutt Lectures on Political Economy*, 1976, Universities Press, Madras, 1976.

¹⁵³ Bipan Chandra, *Essays on Colonialism*, pp. 157-237.

¹⁵⁴ V.B. Singh (Ed.), *Economic History of India (1857-1956)*, Allied Publishers, Bombay, 1965.

¹⁵⁵ H. Bhattacharya, *Aspects of Indian Economic History (1750-1950)*, Progressive Publishers, Calcutta, 1966.

¹⁵⁶ Dhires Bhattacharya, *A Concise History of the Indian Economy (1750-1950)*, Prentice Hall, New Delhi, 1972.

¹⁵⁷ G. Kaushal, *Economics History of India (1757-1966)*, Kalyani Publishers, New Delhi, 1979.

¹⁵⁸ Sunil Kumar Sen, *An Economic History of Modern India (1848-1939)*, Progressive Publishers, Calcutta, 1981.

¹⁵⁹ Dharma Kumar, *The Cambridge Economic History of India (1757-1970)*, Vol. II, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 1982.

Rothermund,¹⁶⁰ B.R. Tomlinson,¹⁶¹ Girish Mishra,¹⁶² Tirthankar Roy¹⁶³ and Irfan Habib.¹⁶⁴

Imperialism subordinated India as a colony to the interests of metropolis i.e. Britain Professor Brij Narain studied Indian economy in the context of Europe in specific and the world in general. Policies of *lesser-faire* also referred to Imperialism of Free Trade and Globalization influenced the economic historians Nabendu Sen, *India in the International Economy: Some Aspects of Trade and Finance (1858-1913)* concentrates on the great expansion of the international economy began in the second half of 19th Century in India. It deals with the evolution of the financial system and currency standard, the trends in the balance of payments and the behavior of the terms of trade and export volume.¹⁶⁵ G. Balachandran (Ed.), *India and the World Economy (1850-1950)*, attempts to situate the British Empire and India as a colony in the world perspective as the external sector of the Indian economy remains a historical black box.¹⁶⁶ The world economy perspective has been further developed by Tirthankar Roy in *India in the World Economy from Antiquity to the Present*. India is set in the Global History with having its axis in regional specificity rather than conception of the world.¹⁶⁷ The world history has been encapsulated under the rubric of Globalization. Baldev Raj Nayar, *Globalization and Politics in India*

¹⁶⁰ Dietmar Rothermund, *An Economic History of India From Pre Colonial Times to 1986*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1988.

¹⁶¹ B.R. Tomlinson, *The Economy of Modern India (1860-1970)*, CUP, New Delhi, 1993.

¹⁶² Girish Mishra, *An Economic History of Modern India*, Pargati Publications, Delhi, 1994.

¹⁶³ Tirthankar Roy, *The Economic History of India (1857-1947)*, OUP, New Delhi, 2000.

¹⁶⁴ Irfan Habib, *The Indian Economy (1858-1914)*, Tulika, New Delhi, 2006.

¹⁶⁵ Nabendu Sen, *India in the International Economy: Some Aspects of Trade and Finance (1858-1913)*, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 1992, pp. 1-2, 134-43.

¹⁶⁶ G. Balachandran (Ed.) *India and the World Economy (1850-1950)*, OUP, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 2, 29-31.

¹⁶⁷ Tirthankar Roy, *India in the World Economy from Antiquity to the Present*, OUP, Cambridge, 2012, pp. 1-3.

discusses economy and geopolitics in the light of history and contemporary politics. Jeffrey G. Williamson and Angus Maddison deliberate upon the historical March of imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries.¹⁶⁸ Shireen Moosvi's *Capitalism, Colonialism and Globalization: Studies in Economic Change* focus on economic consequences of capitalism, colonialism and globalization through the help of practicing Historians and Economists. It is an attempt to see Imperialism afresh with wither conceptual tools.¹⁶⁹

Imperialism and Colonialism have been studied extensively at the India level with a focus on economic trends. A.K. Bagchi's *Private Investment in India (1900-1939)* delineates the British imperial policy and spread of modern industry in India.¹⁷⁰ K.M. Chaudhari and Clive Dewey (Eds.), *Economy and Society: Essays in Indian Economic and Social History*, focuses on agrarian structure, agricultural development, trade and finance, industry and labour and demography.¹⁷¹ Raymond W. Goldsmith's *The Financial Development of India (1860-1977)* dwells on money, banking, finance, prices and capital formation. The work has been extended upto 1977.¹⁷² Dietmar Rothermund's *Government Landlord and Peasant in India: Agrarian Relations under British Rule (1865-1935)* is an important study in the field of agrarian structure. He argues that the British agrarian legislation was entirely political and not at all designed with a view to economic development.¹⁷³ He has also worked on the Great Depression of 1929 in the context of India. The authority of colonial rulers in rural India was eroded in the years of Depression. Brij Narain

¹⁶⁸ Baldev Raj Nayyar, (Ed.) *Globalization and Politics in India*, OUP, New Delhi, 2007, Chapter III-IV.

¹⁶⁹ Shireen Moosvi (Ed.), *Capitalism, Colonialism and Globalization, Studies in Economic Change*, Tulika, New Delhi, 2011, pp. IX-XIV.

¹⁷⁰ A.K. Bagchi, *Private Investments in India (1900-1939)*, CUP, London, 1972, pp. 420-44.

¹⁷¹ K.N. Chaudhari and Clive Dewey (Eds.) *Economy and Society: Essays in Indian Economic and Social History*, OUP, Bombay, 1979.

¹⁷² Raymond W. Goldsmith, *The Financial Development of India (1860-1977)*, OUP, Delhi, 1983, pp. 59-65, 132-37.

¹⁷³ Dietmar Rothermund, *Government Landlord and Peasant in India: Agrarian Relations under British Rule (1865-1935)*, Frenz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1978, pp. 189-92.

contributed on the crisis. However, his work remains absent in the present study.¹⁷⁴ Clive Dewey (Ed.) in *Arrested Development in India: The Historical Dimension* argues that there developed in India and Britain a parasitical symbiosis. Consequently, the silver in India was extracted causing deflation. With the rise in prices, deflation started in the late 19th Century. Inflation surged during the World War II. All these factors led to “arrested development” in India.¹⁷⁵ Sumit Guha’s (Ed.) *Growth, Stagnation or Decline?: Agricultural Productivity in British India*, reopens the earlier question of accuracy of colonial statistics and its relevance to study Indian economy thus treading on the nationalist critique of colonialism.¹⁷⁶ David Ludden (Ed.) *Agricultural Production and South Asian History* focuses on dynamics of growth, process of commercialization and formations of social power in the context of agrarian conditions against the Raj.¹⁷⁷ A.K. Bagchi’s *Colonialism and Indian Economy*, is a seminal work on the historicity of colonialism when its constant usages tends to rob it off its kernel of subordination and exploitation. It takes on the economic and social consequences of colonial rule in India.¹⁷⁸ Professor Aditya Mukherjee has noticed “the return of the colonial in India Economic History”. He has questioned the resurgence of the colonial trend in the writing of economic history of the colonial period especially the works of Tirthankar Roy. The 19th Century colonial officials and some of the intellectuals put up a spirited defence of Colonialism. The Cambridge School denied Indian nationalism. In such writings, the adverse consequences of Colonialism are underplayed Aditya Mukherjee’s critique graphically exposes the Colonialism and its ravages.¹⁷⁹ In fact, in the

¹⁷⁴ Dietmar Rothermund, *India in the Great Depression (1929-1939)*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 6-7.

¹⁷⁵ Clive Dewey (Ed.), *Arrested Development in India : The Historical Dimension*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1988, pp. 4-11.

¹⁷⁶ Sumit Guha (Ed.), *Growth, Stagnation or Decline? Agricultural Productivity in British India*, OUP, Delhi, 1992, pp. 1-48.

¹⁷⁷ David Ludden (Ed.) *Agricultural Production and South Asian History*, OUP, New Delhi, 1994, pp. 8-10.

¹⁷⁸ A.K. Bagchi, *Colonialism and Indian Economy*, pp. xv-xlv.

¹⁷⁹ Aditya Mukherjee, “The Return of the Colonialism in Indian Economic History: The Last Phase of Colonialism in India”, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Delhi, 2007, pp. 496-538.

economic history, Colonialism has become contested concept. Earlier, Irfan Habib noticed attempt to study colonial economy without perceiving colonialism by Dharma Kumar in her work *The Cambridge Economic History of India (1757-1977)*, Vol. II Irfan Habib in his critique exposed it.¹⁸⁰

Professor Brij Narain situated colonial India in context of Imperialism. His economic studies were primarily carried on the contemporary and historical data. He was equally concerned with the region, the Punjab and operation of economic policies and consequences thereof. Historians of the colonial Punjab have worked on agrarian economy, structure, peasantry, famines, indebtedness, social formation and demography. Himadri Banerjee's *Agrarian Society of the Punjab (1849-1901)* delineates the processes of colonization, commercialization, land revenue, rural credit, indebtedness, artisans, tenants and peasantry. There was 'an immense complexity of the agrarian changes yet defying fundamental structural change in the organization of the peasant economy'.¹⁸¹ Master Hari Singh's *Agrarian Scene in British Punjab*, Vol. I is a synoptic work delineating the broad contours of the colonial economy and vassitudes the peasantry and tenant faced in the Punjab. He has relied on the works of Brij Narain.¹⁸² Imran Ali's *The Punjab under Imperialism (1885-1947)*, concentrates on the canal colonies as 'a new agrarian frontier'. It focuses on the growth and under-development in the Punjab thus locating the 'paradox' and 'myth' of Punjab prosperity. He provides political and social causation for such under-development. However, the author relies on the colonial archive and remains silent on the contribution of Brij Narain.¹⁸³ M.M. Islam, *Irrigation, Agriculture and the Raj: Punjab (1887-1947)*, extends the question of irrigation to agriculture. In fact, irrigation became mainstay of agriculture in the Punjab and the region achieved a higher rate of increase in the field of both cash and food crop production. The Punjab witnessed an emergence of Hydraulic Regime. He has

¹⁸⁰ Irfan Habib, *Essays in Indian History: Towards a Marxist Perception*, pp. 336-366.

¹⁸¹ Himadri Bannerjee, *Agrarian Society of the Punjab (1849-1947)*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 201-11.

¹⁸² Hari Singh, *Agrarian Scene in British Punjab*, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1983.

¹⁸³ Imran Ali, *The Punjab Under Imperialism (1885-1947)*, OUP, Delhi, 1988, pp. 237-44.

acknowledged the works of Brij Narain.¹⁸⁴ Navtej Singh's *Starvation and Colonialism: A Study of Famines in the Nineteenth Century British Punjab (1858-1901)*, is an important work on impoverishment and deprivation thus exposing exploitative mechanism of Colonialism.¹⁸⁵ Sukhwant Singh, *Technological Breakthrough and Peasant Enterprise: Peasant Proprietors in the Punjab (1849-1901)*, focuses on the process of transformation of the peasantry as a productive force. Technology harnessed the agricultural resources for greater use. He has relied on the work of Brij Narain.¹⁸⁶ His other works spans the entire colonial period in the context of agricultural growth under colonial constraints.¹⁸⁷ Mridula Mukherjee's *Colonializing Agriculture: The Myth of Punjab Exceptionalism* is a seminal work exposing the myth of Punjab being 'a model province' as propounded in the colonial historiography. She has discussed peasantry as tax payer, debtor, market players and class. She concludes that Punjab and Eastern India treaded the same path rather than being polar opposites. It was due to intensive colonial exploitation. She has extensively used the works of Brij Narain.¹⁸⁸ Sukhdev Singh Sohal's *The Making of the Middle Classes in the Punjab (1849-1947)* delineates the contours of Colonialism and its operations in the social formation especially the middle classes in the fields of education, agriculture and industry. He has taken number of insights from Brij Narain not only as an economist but also as a social scientist.¹⁸⁹ He further extended the concerns of Professor Brij Narain in *Credit, Rural Debt and the Punjab Peasantry (1849-1947)*. He worked on the processes of indebtedness, Economic

¹⁸⁴ M.M. Islam, *Irrigation, Agriculture and the Raj: Punjab (1887-1947)*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1997, pp. 13-21.

¹⁸⁵ Navtej Singh, *Starvation and Colonialism: A Study of Famines in the Nineteenth Century British Punjab (1858-1901)*, National Book Organization, New Delhi, 1966, pp. 202-05.

¹⁸⁶ Sukhwant Singh, *Technological Breakthrough and Peasant Enterprise: Peasant Proprietors in the Punjab (1849-1901)*, Manpreet Prakashan, Delhi, 2002, pp. 167-74.

¹⁸⁷ Sukhwant Singh, *Agricultural Growth Under Colonial Constraints*, Manpreet Prakashan, Delhi, 2000.

¹⁸⁸ Mridula Mukherjee, *Colonializing Agriculture: The Myth of Punjab Exceptionalism*, Sage, New Delhi, 2005, pp. 170-189.

¹⁸⁹ Sukhdev Singh Sohal, *The Making of the Middle Classes in the Punjab (1849-1947)*, ABS Publications, Jalandhar, 2006, Ch. X.

Depression (1929), peasant differentiation and dispossession. He further focused on the nationalist critique of Brij Narain.¹⁹⁰ He acknowledged Professor Brij Narain's special interest on the agrarian economy of the Punjab. Brij Narain delineated the processes of economic differentiation. Brij Narain defended socialism with expressed reservations.¹⁹¹ S.D. Gajrani in his doctoral thesis has referred to Prof. Brij Narain's works in the context of agrarian problems and the role of the peasantry.¹⁹² Having realized the importance of Brij Narain's writings, the students of West Punjab seriously undertook his writings and suggested many progressive reforms in the agrarian economy of infant Pakistan. However, they too could not reap the desired results from his economic literature.¹⁹³ While appreciating his works, the European scholars took greater cognizance of Brij Narain's thoughts and made advantageous improvements in their writings while reviewing his essays and publishing his articles in their journals and magazines.¹⁹⁴

SOURCE MATERIAL AND METHODOLOGY

In the colonial and national archives, there is a plenty of source material both in unpublished and published form. Professor Brij Narain's writings in the form of books, reports, articles in the newspapers constitute the primary data which is corroborated with contemporary records, reports, documents and other published works. The works and insights of economic historians and economists are taken as guiding posts. However, the main attempt is to substantiate fundamental assumptions and formulations regarding the theory and praxis of Colonialism in India. The idea is

¹⁹⁰ Sukhdev Singh, *Credit, Rural Debt and the Punjab Peasantry (1849-1947)*, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 2012.

¹⁹¹ Sukhdev Singh, "Professor Brij Narain on the Agrarian Economy of the Punjab (1919-1947)", *Indian History Congress*, Aligarh, 1994, pp. 687-92.

¹⁹² S.D. Gajrani, *Some Aspects of Agrarian Problems and Role of Peasantry in Freedom Struggle in the Punjab (1920-28)*, Ph.D. Thesis, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, 1981.

¹⁹³ Navid Hamid, Dispossession and Differentiation of the Peasantry in the Punjab during Colonial, Rule, *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, October 1982.

¹⁹⁴ List attached in Bibliography.

to integrate economic techniques and methods in a historiographic perspective in the light of Colonial, Cambridge, Marxist and Nationalist historiography.

Professor Brij Narain's work displayed high standards in data collection and careful analysis. His writings form a useful collection of notes by a trained observer on economic questions of importance in connection with the future of India. He was the first Indian economist who made original contribution to the development of science of economics. In this context, the study of Professor Brij Narain's writings becomes important and imperative as well.*