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Short Communication

Spectrum of views of the late Professor Amales Tripathi in history, literature, and philosophy¹

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Abstract

Amales Tripathi was a brilliant teacher at Presidency College and the University of Calcutta. He was academically associated with the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Tripathi's study deals with Bengal during a period in which the great Presidency served as the political, financial, and commercial base of the East India Company. Tripathi touches on many aspects of the trade, shipping, and finances of the Company in Bengal. His initial research work was in economic history, and the doctoral thesis was published as Trade and Finance in Bengal Presidency, 1793-1833. The work remains the standard work on agency houses and private trade under Company rule in Bengal. Professor Tripathi was highly influenced by F. P. Braudel's monumental work The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II (translated from French into English in 1972-73). Even he was also influenced by Holden Furber's John Company at Work, the first in-depth analysis of the English East India Company's Asian activities between 1783 and 1793 and by C. H. Philips's The English East India Company 1789-1834(1940) which was based on Namerian philosophy. Professor Tripathi discarded the over simplifying approach and denunciatory tone.

Key words: Braudel, Namier, Ranke, Thucydides, Herodotus

Amales Tripathi was a brilliant teacher at the Presidency College and the University of Calcutta. He was academically associated with the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Professor Tripathi is a British and American as well as Indian – trained scholar, who is a sectional President of Indian History Congress and Head of the Department of the Presidency College in Calcutta and last but not least the Ashutosh Professor of the University of Calcutta. Tripathi's study deals with Bengal during a period in which that great Presidency served as the political, financial, and commercial base of the East India Company. During these same years the Company's monopolies of the Indian trade and, later, the China trade were terminated by Parliament in London. His initial research work was in economic history, and the doctoral thesis was published

¹ I am highly indebted to my teacher Professor Deba Prosad Choudhury of Jadavpur University Calcutta, for providing my new insights in the understanding the philosophy of history. I am also indebted to Shri Shyamal Das for providing me some important materials in this connection.

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as Trade and Finance in BengalPresidency, 1793-1833. The work remains the standard work on agency houses and private trade under Company rule in Bengal. Utilizing a large body of original source materials in manuscript as well as print, Tripathi touches on many aspects of the trade, shipping, and finances of the Company in Bengal. He takes note of Britain's exports to Bengal; Bengal's shipments to England of cotton goods, raw cotton, silk, indigo, sugar, and newly built ships; Bengal's "country trade" with Singapore, Batavia, and Canton; Calcutta's coastal trade with Madras and Bombay; and the Company's ever-changing pronouncements on the rates, number, and size of non- Company ships permitted to engage in trade with Britain. On the financial side, Tripathi refers to the Company's balance sheets; shipments of bullion to Bengal; terms of loans, interest rates, funding of debts; problems of money supply; and sources of credit. Since Tripathi's monograph may be said to have a central thesis, it is that the campaign to end the Company's monopoly was rooted in political and economic exigencies rather than in any doctrinaire philosophy of free trade. Chief among these exigencies, he argues, was the demand on the part of private individuals (i.e., servants and ex-servants of the Company) and private trading houses for facilities to remit to England their respective savings and profits. So long as the Company dominated the India-Britain trade, it was difficult for these parties to make their remittances in the form of goods. Tripathi's argument is an interesting one, but it cannot be said that he presents it clearly or convincingly. He assumes that his readers will have at their finger- tips a detailed knowledge of the trade and politics of the East India Company both at home in England and in Bengal. Although the volume includes many pages of trade figures, these are presented as raw data, neither converted into quantity measures nor corrected for price changes. Tripathi has attempted no systematic analysis of money supply and money flows. Nor has he placed the Bengal trade in the larger setting of British overseas trade and payments. This thesis aims at analyzing the interconnection between trade and finance in the Bengal Presidency between 1793-1833, a period of transition from monopoly to free trade and of growth of the British Empire in India. Romesh Dutt's Economic History of India under Early British Rule is the only major historical work in this field which covers the same period moved by the Indian middle class ethos at the end of the nineteenth century, breathing deeply of the Gladstonian liberalism in the air, Romesh Dutt looked at Indian history with a utilitarian's and a free trader's bias. He followed the old tradition of Mill and Wilson. Daniel Thorner has rightly reviewed by saying that 'Tripathi's argument is an

interesting one, but it cannot be said that he presents it clearly or convincingly. He assumes that his readers will have at their finger- tips a detailed knowledge of the trade and politics of the East India Company both at home in England and in Bengal. Although the volume includes many pages of trade figures, these are presented as raw data, neither converted into quantity measures nor corrected for price changes. Tripathi has attempted no systematic analysis of money supply and money flows. Nor has he placed the Bengal trade in the larger setting of British overseas trade and payment.²

Professor Tripathi has argued the fact that Romesh Chandra Dutt's *Economic History* of India was still regarded as an authoritative exposition of the impact of the Company's trade and governance on Indian Economy in the academic circles of India. According to Professor Tripathi, 'Dutt derived its institutional treatment from the prevailing Whig view of history, its moral tone from the self-righteousness of Gladstonian liberalism and its utilitarian bias from the Indian middle class ethos at the end of the nineteenth century.³

Asian trade since the age of reconnaissance has become the busiest research enterprise for some time. Professor Tripathi studied the complex interaction of trade and empire and public and private trade in a sophisticated way when the works of Sukumar Bhattacharya⁴ and K. N. Chaudhury⁵ 5provided a more modern approach. The works of S. Arsaratnam, Om Prakash, Sushil Chaudhury and Indrani Roy may also be mentioned in this context. All these works including Professor Tripathi were highly influenced by F. P. Braudel's monumental work *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (translated from French into English in 1972-73). Even he was also influenced by Holden Furber's *John Company at Work, the Work*, the first in-depth analysis of the English East India Company's Asian activities between 1783 and 1793, and by C. H. Philips's *The English East India Company 1789-1834* (1940) which was modelled on Namerian concept. Professor Tripathi discarded the oversimplified approach and denunciatory tone. He has concluded his thesis by saying that 'one of trickiest problems that have plagued

² Amales Tripathi, *Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency*, 1793-1833, (Orient Longman, 1956), Reviewed by Daniel Thorner, The *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3. May (1958), pp. 502-503.

³ AmalesTripathi, *Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency*, *1793-1833*, (Oxford University Press, 1979), p. iv

^{4.} The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint Stock Company 1600-1640, (Taylor & Francis, 1999)

⁵ Ibid.

Indian Historians is the problem of the 'drain'.⁶ In order to situate the concept of *Drain of Wealth* which according to Namerian thesis may be called the 'plassey plunder', Professor Tripathi has explained in detail in his *Evolution of American Historiography*, *1870-1910* in the backdrop of Brooks Adams' attacks on the British Empire. Professor Tripathi also even did not spare the Marxist authors including E. G. Habsbawm who holds the view over the generation.

While writing The Extremist Challenge: India Between 1890 and 1910,⁷ he has traced the transition from religion to political including the ideological issues. Tripathi in a sophisticated way and excellent prosaic styles had shown the understanding of the reform and radical movements in and out of the Indian National Congress during its first generation. Tripathi's three idols were Bankim Chandra, Vivekananda, and Dayananda, whose effects were thrown upon the extremists. While reviewing the book Robert L. Bock has opined the view that Tripathi's' excellent work for a study of Tilak, Pal, Lajpat Rai, Aurobindo Ghosh, Bankim Chandra, Vivekananda, Dayananda and others in a Hindu nationalist movement of 1890-1910' deserves mention⁸. Professor Tripathi in this book foresees the potent of future crisis endangering Raj and Indian unity in the moderate disillusionment with reforms as well as in Muslim separatism. Private correspondence is analyzed in terms of the partition of Bengal as a traumatic event of the book. Both moderate and extremists participation in boycotts and in swadeshi is traced, as well as the fringe element in terrorism. Economic forces, which are also shown in tables, are involved in the discussion as well as cultural and political history. The various congress party struggles are probed during this formative early period up to the Gandhianera, and Tripathi's narratives ultimately focuses on Aurobindo after the political split of 1907

⁵ Dadabhai Naroji, Poverty and Un- British Rule in India , (Publications Division, 1962); R. C. Dutt, The Economic History of India in the Victorian Age, (K. Paul, Trench & Co.), [1916], 1906, p. XIV; C. J. Hamilton, The Trade Relations Between England and India, 1660-1896, (Thacker , Spink and Co., 1919), pp. 135-148; Holden Furber, John Company at Work, (Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 305-312; N. K. Sinha, ' Drain of Wealth From Bengal Second Half of the Eighteenth Century', The Economic History of Bengal, From Plassey to the permanent Settlement, Vol. 1, (Firma KLM, 1970), pp. 210-222: K. N. Chowdhury, "India's International Economy in the Nineteenth Century: A Historical Study ", Modern Asian Studies 2, (Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 31-50; P. J. Marshall, East Indian Fortunes :The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century, (Clarendon Press, 1976) p. 262fn.

⁷ The Extremist Challenge: India between 1890 AND 1910, (Orient Longmans, 1967).

⁸ The Extremist Challenge: India Between 1890 AND 1910, reviewed by Robert L. Bock, The American Historical Review, Vol. 74, No. 4, April, 1969, pp. 1340-1341

and the accompanying terror with the Muslim League, Morley- Minto reforms and other British responses to the extremist challenge have been traced in detail.

Tripathis' erudite scholarship is reflected in another work Vidyasagar: The Traditional Modernizer.9 The discussion on Vidyasagar is interlinked with the cultural efflorescence that sparked out in 19th century. In 1830 Rammohun Roy allegedly told a missionary, 'I began to think that something similar to the European Renaissance might have taken place here in India'. Since then, the idea of Bengal Renaissance thrilled the emotion and imagination of the Bengalees that the periodic attempts to re-interpret the concept have become something like a secular ritual since then Renaissance has been defined as linguistic modernization, literary efflorescence, Hindu revival-nationalism, social reform, westernization, historic consciousness, Secular Humanism, Brahma Protestant Reformation, Hindu- Brahma synthesis. Though Professor Tripathi says that he rejects the 'so-called Renaissance model¹⁰ the organization of his material, his times, the very questions he asks- all is rooted in the historiography of the Bengal Renaissance. Vidyasagar (1820-1891) is viewed by Tripathi as 'Child Prodigy', 'Teacher and Administrator' champion of 'popular Education and Female Education', Social Reformer, Moderniser of Bengal Literature and 'The Lonely Prometheus'. Tripathi made an important contribution on the very concept of 'Modernity of Tradition' and in the introductory portions of subsequent chapter of Vidyasagar. Most writers have concluded that Renaissance was co-relative to the genesis of modernism in Bengal whereas David Kopf argued in his work¹¹that the modernity of tradition or indigenous was more characteristic of the Bengal Renaissance than the alternative process of Westernization. It was Professor Tripathi, the first Bengali historian who explored the conceptual possibilities of this thesis in a fresh evaluation of nineteenth century history. Tripathi says 'modernity and tradition have usually been placed in a dichotomous relationship ...Actually, these two concepts are not totally divorced, and traditional features persist in a modern society as modern potentialities exist in a traditional one...The co-relation between a social process (modernization)' was an Historical accident. Vidyasagar perceived creative possibilities within the Indian context, only if some corrections were applied from the western experience'.¹² David Kopf while reviewing the book aptly remarked that

⁹ The Extremist Challenge: India Between 1890 AND 1910, reviewed by Robert L. Bock, The American Historical Review, Vol. 74, No. 4, April, (1969), pp. 1340-1341.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. x.

¹¹ David Kopf, British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization, 1773-1835, (University of California Press, 1969).

¹² Tripathi, Vidyasagar, p.12.

'Vidyasagar was a product of Sanskrit College; knew Sanskrit, Bengali, English, and spent a lifetime updating Hindu traditions to conform to modern values. In fact, as Tripathi ably demonstrates, this Pundit-who spent years searching out obscure Sanskrit texts to justify the emancipation of Hindu women- was a far more effective modernizer than most Anglicized intelligentsia'.¹³

His ideas about the philosophy of history are found in his Presidential Address delivered in the session of Indian History Congress. According to him 'Clio, like Cleopatra, has a trick or two of her own to preserve her eternal youth. "Age cannot wither her or custom stale." An unwoven web she may wear, but what prevents her from changing her fashions and colours with the times?' He intelligently mixed up Marx, Croce and Vico's designs. He also thought Braudel followed as well as deviated from Marx, Bloch and Lucien Febvre. His 'dialectic of time span', especially 'la longue duree', his novel view of a three-tier capitalism, replacement of 'class by the concept of 'hierarchy', emphasis on the influence of superstructure on -infraeconomy made him more attractive for a moment while. Ladurie's stress mentalite, as well as population and climate, added variety to our jaded taste. For real structuralism, however, we go shopping at Foucault, Derrida and Company. 'Discourse' and 'deconstruction' seem to be the 'in-thing this winter. He was a firm believer of Ranke's Positivism for which he remarked in his presidential address 'Ranke's positivism and political history. The watchword was - 'The past as it actually was.' Go to the archives, ferret out facts, choose the right ones, add them together and the facts would tell what was good for you to know about the past. Professor Tripathi also thought that 'The modern age in Indian historiography began in such an atmosphere. My teacher, Hemchandra Raichaudhuri, the greatest authority on ancient Indian history, and my mentor, Jadunath Sarkar, the greatest in medieval, swore by Ranke's positivism'. Ranke's positivism was, first, a romantic reaction to eighteenth century universalism and secondly, an emerging Teutonic nation-state's protest to Latin domination, embodied in the Napoleonic empire. He used history to discredit the French revolutionary ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity i.e. the new political, social and economic system being built by the French bourgeoisie. German liberalism failed at Frankfurt, but even if it had succeeded, Ranke would have hailed the Prussian monarchy, which, by the way, gave him lavish patronage throughout life. Living in the ambience of Hegel, Ranke unhesitatingly saw his Idea to be

¹³ Amales Tripathi, Vidyasagar, The Traditional Modernizer, reviewed by David Kopf, The Journal of Asian Studies, May, Vol. 36, No. 3, 1977, p. 577.

manifest in the Wilhelmina state. He would support both Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian wars, for war, to him, was the mother of peace. Similarly, authoritarianism was the key to socio-economic development and German hegemony, the model of higher culture. He would refrain from giving any moral judgement, for "every epoch is immediate to God". Every event moved according to God's plan and the great persons of history (Carlyle's Heroes) carried it out. About Ranke, Acton commented, "talks of transactions and occurrences where he should have talked of turpitudes and crime". Professor Tripathi made a comparative study in Ranke's 'Prussia loom ' in H. C. Rai Chaudhuri's concept of building up of a state, particularly, in the case of Magadha. Hemchandra's Magadha, Kautilya and Chandragupta have been compared with the Hegelian concept.

Professor Tripathi's masterpiece like *Swadhinata Sangrame Bharater Jatiya Congress* (1885-1947)¹⁴ though written in Bengali, has been translated by his son Amitava Tripathi in English.¹⁵

The translator, Amitava Tripathi, however, calls it a 'modified version of the Bengali original'¹⁶for the English edition does not contain the extensive allusions to Bangla literary texts. The book is a rich historical study of the Congress Party in colossal erudition; Tripathi covers nearly every detail of the Party from its formative year's right up to Indian independence, and does so judiciously and quite analytically.

The book comprises four sections neatly arranged in chronological order: 'The First Phase (1885–1907): From the Founding of the Congress to the Extremist-Moderate Split'; 'The Second Phase (1907–1930): From the Morley-Minto Reforms to the Salt March'; 'The Third Phase (1930–1943): From the Round Table Conferences to the Quit India Movement'; and 'The Fourth Phase (1943–1947): From Wavell to Mountbatten – The Road to Independence and Partition'. Tightly written, highly accessible and admirably clear, this book is an important contribution to the existing discourse on Indian nationalism and should be of interest to students and researchers of History and South Asian Studies alike.

Tripathi provides a refreshing challenge to the three conventional historiographical approaches in the field: that of the Cambridge School, the Subaltern School and the

¹⁴ Swadhinata Sangrame Bharater Jatiya Congress, 1885-1947, (Ananda Publishers Private Limited, 2012).

¹⁵ Amales Tripathi and Amitava Tripathi, *Indian National Congress and the Struggle for Freedom 1885–1947*, (Oxford University Press, 2014), p. xxv.

¹⁶ Ibid. p. xxv.

Leftists. The subtlety of his argumentation is premised on detailed empirical evidence, and oftentimes economic statistics, without ever falling prey to economic determinism. That said, it is perhaps a little surprising to find that a book which had set out to provide an 'analytical and not a descriptive history'¹⁷ only comprises, as Rudrangshu Mukherjee succinctly insists in the Foreword, Tripathi's positive assessment of the Congress and the Indian national movement. In view of Gandhi's leadership of the Congress from 1920 to 1947, Tripathi asserts, ¹⁸ 'Gandhi is the nucleus of this study'.¹⁹ However, his claim was that 'Gandhi was free from the restrictive and often inhuman strictures of orthodoxy'²⁰ might not necessarily be agreeable. This immediately reminds of the Ambedkarite critique of Gandhi, which does not attract much of Tripathi's attention. The omission of any detailed analysis of Ambedkar's masterpiece, What Congress and Gandhi Have Done to the untouchable (1945), in this context, is glaring. Finally, a book of this volume and richness should have come with a subject index and not only a name index as at present.

His analytical history of the Congress with a focus on Mahatma Gandhi has much to teach students of contemporary Indian politics. He was himself always prepared to learn from the younger generation of scholars whose works are cited throughout his book. An astute interpreter of trade and finance, he was keenly attentive to the economic context of political movements. He showed how "pertinent" the Great Depression was "in explaining the circumstances leading to the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930-1931".

Yet Amales Tripathi was at his best in unravelling for his readers the ideology of Indian nationalism, which he believed was "completely misread" by the so-called Cambridge school because of "its lack of understanding of Indian culture" and by the subaltern collective with its tendency to "trivialize" elite culture. His was a compelling critique of the trends in South Asian historiography that seemed dominant in the 1980s. He would have been happy to note that in the second decade of the twenty-first century the history of economic and political ideas is back in vogue. Historians of anti-colonial nationalism today have a much more nuanced approach that Amales Tripathi would have found congenial.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. xiii.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. xiii.

¹⁹ Amales Tripathi, Indian National Congress and the Struggle for Freedom 1885–1947, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), reviewed by Avishek Ray, Political Studies Review, 14 (2), pp. 309-310.

²⁰ Ibid

Professor Tripathi's analytical narrative unfolds in four phases. The first phase lasted from the foundation of the Congress to the extremist challenge of 1907. Following Herbert Butterfield rather than Lewis Namier, Tripathi shows how the early Indian nationalists were more "carriers of ideas" than "repositories of vested interests". He firmly rejects the contention that nationalist thought was articulated through "an inauthentic mode of orientalist discourse". He deftly brings to light the many contending strands of *swadeshi* philosophy, including the ways in which Prafulla Chandra Ray and Nil Ratan Sircar embraced the prospect of large-scale industrialization. Even though the Congress appeared to be in complete disarray after the Surat split, Morley did not rule out the possibility that it might, like the phoenix, rise from the ashes.

And rise it did under the magnetic and charismatic leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Tripathi's second phase extends from the Morley-Minto reforms to the salt march of 1930. We find in this book a finely etched portrait of Gandhi's personality with its many contradictory traits. The author does not hide his admiration for the Mahatma. Yet he is invariably balanced and fair in evaluating Gandhi's rivals and critics. This chapter contains a detailed description of the Berlin-based conspiracies during World War I. It also offers deep insights into the political thought and actions of Gandhi's Muslim compatriots, such as Muhammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Abul Kalam Azad, M.A. Ansari and Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Tripathi correctly notes that the deployment of Muslim symbolism in the *Khilafat* and non-cooperation movement recalled the Swadeshi resort to Hindu symbolism.

Tripathi sees economic reasons as the main impetus behind the civil disobedience movement. His third phase stretches from 1930 to the Quit India movement of 1942 and the Bengal famine of 1943. He contests the charge that the unholy nexus between Congress and big business can be traced back to Gandhi. "Gandhi allowed Birla and Sarabhai to dictate to him," Tripathi argues, "no more than Subhas Bose was to later allow Japan and Germany to control his policies." This chapter supplies a brilliant analysis of the Gandhi-Nehru-Bose relationship. Tripathi finds Bose's Haripura address of 1938 to be more left-leaning than Nehru's Lucknow address of 1936. He shows how Gandhi and Bose came close in their ideology from 1942 onwards and highlights the radical nature of Gandhi's draft resolution on Quit India. Gandhi was prepared to negotiate with Japan and take the risk of violence to end India's colonial serfdom. The communist betrayal of the nationalist cause comes in for a devastating critique. Literary sources embellish the book throughout, but nowhere in more poignant a manner than in the discussion of the Bengal famine. Amales Tripathi's personal relation and interaction with his colleague is reflected in the Foreword of Rudrangshu Mukherjee, 'I cherish the affection he showered upon me even though he was fully aware that on many issues to do with the writing and interpretation of history my views differed sharply from those he held'.²¹

Amales Tripathi was a legendary student in his time and a legendary teacher he was also phenomenally erudite. Tapan Raychaudhury says, 'he has never known a Pandit like Amales Babu'. Generation of students who attended his lectures were captivated by the learning that he brought to his teaching, especially his use of literature. When teaching Indian Nationalism ,Bankim Chandra and Rabindranath would come effortlessly into his 'analysis and when teaching industrial revolution his exposition would be lit up by references to Blake and Dickens', as Rudrangshu said in his introductory note.²²There is no doubt that he was a sensitive reader of literature was his passion of love which are found in his another work *Swadhinatar Mukh*, written in Bengali. Besides Dickens, he has also referred to Elliot in the context Indian independence. His immersion in historical writing was evident in a collection of Essays titled *Ithas O Oitihasik*.²³ Here he explicated and discussed the ideas and their implications of Historians dating back to Herodotus and Thucydedis and he then moved to the historical ideas of Fernand Braudel.

The book *Indian National Congress and the Struggle for Freedom 1885–1947* does not purport to project a comprehensive picture of a hundred years Indian history. If historians like Lefebvre or Soboul have been unable to present a comprehensive history of a mere decade of a French Revolution, surely be hubris to do full justice to all the other players while essentially writing a history of the congress party- as Rudrangshu has concluded in his introductory note. Whereas, Sumit Sarkar has paid his centenary tribute in this way 'Distinguished teacher and one of the best-known historians of modern India.²⁴

Professor Amalesh Tripathi was not only confined to economic history, Indian and American Historiography but was very much busy in writing the nationalist movement of Bengal (which may be called the Age of Extremism) that remains the corpus of the national movement and Bengal's intellectual and cultural history. His

²¹ Ibid. p, 14.

²² Ibid. p, 14.

²³ Paschimbanga Rajya Pustak Parshad, 1960.

²⁴ 'Professor Amales Tripathi (1921-1997)', Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, (Indian History Congress) Vol. 58, 1997, p. 986.

work Freedom Struggle²⁵ (written in collaboration with Bipan Chandra and Barun De.) can have a taste of his treatment of the national movement and a valuable survey in Bengali nationalist politics. His essay on Vidyasagar rejects the existing historiography on Bengal renaissance. But Professor Tripathi before entering into the domain of historical research he went to the Columbia University as a full-bright scholar and did his A. M. degree under Richard Hofstadter and a brilliant production titled Evolution of American History (World Press) has come to our hand. It was professor Tripathi who acquainted the readers with the philosophy of history. The credit of Tripathi is that he analysed his works in the context of the philosophical outlook of Thucydides, Herodotus, Namier, Ranke, Toyenbee, Braudel, Laduri in one hand and Bankimchadra, Dayanada and Vivekananda on the other. Tripathi did not forget to utilise the archival sources of both home and abroad and the vernacular literature written in Bengali and Sanskrit in writing his books. Another striking feature of Tripathi's writings and works is that he has situated Blake, Dickens frequently. He actually intertwined philosophy, history and literature in a common platform. This short communication may be treated as a token of respect and centenary tribute to Professor Amales Tripathi, a full-bright scholar and Ashutosh Professor of the Department of History, University of Calcutta.

²⁵ National Book Trust, 1972.