

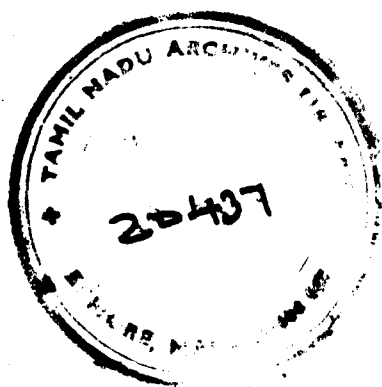
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THE IMPORTANCE OF ARCHIVES FOR NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

THE value of archives for national planning and reconstruction is not sufficiently realized. Most of the states do not possess any organized archives and some that do possess such archives cannot be said to utilise them to the fullest extent possible or necessary. And yet, there can be no doubt that the very object with which the archives are preserved is to make them readily available for assisting administration. Nor can there be any doubt that the archives, recording as they do, all the achievements and aspirations of past governments, contain a mine of information on all sorts of administrative, economic and social schemes for reform. In them are treasured up the most considered views and ideas of the most experienced statesmen, administrators and legislators of the past on a variety of vital matters of public interest. Here are to be found all files containing the reports of the Special Officers, Committees, Heads of Departments, and the remarks, opinions and orders of the Government. Here also are to be found all files containing the comments and criticisms made in the press and on the platform, and the discussions and resolutions of the Legislature. Several of these files are still of interest inasmuch as they relate to matters which are still agitating the minds of men. This is indeed but natural since most of the problems of the present have been inherited from the past.

My own acquaintance with the Madras archives has convinced me that there is practically no current subject of importance upon which some valuable light is not thrown by the archives. Thus, for instance, there is in the Madras archives an abundance of material on the abolition of the Zamindari system, on tenancy reforms, on irrigation schemes, on the separation of the judiciary from the executive, on the reforms in civil and criminal law, on the existence of hitherto untapped minerals like lead, silver, copper, iron, lignite etc., on the development of large and small scale industries, on the revival of fine arts, cottage industries, and on several matters connected with local self-government, public

health, education, medical aid, co-operation, labour conditions, unemployment, famine, etc.

Other archives also, like the Madras archives, are bound to contain much useful material for national reconstruction. And the utility of archives from this standpoint lies not so much in their showing what the reformers of the past actually achieved as in their showing what those reformers endeavoured to do or thought could be done under circumstances more propitious than their own. Many proposals for reform which are still of living interest might have been fully considered in the past, and yet only a few of them might have been implemented, and that too partially, the rest having been postponed for future consideration or better times. Many might have been propounded by statesmen and administrators far in advance of their times. Many, again, might have been scotched or killed for some reason or other; it might have been the interests of the governing classes, it might have been powerful vested interests, or it might have been want of funds or lack of proper facilities. It is up to the archivists to suggest ways by which all this valuable information can be made readily available to our statesmen and administrators.

Wherever the archives are properly organized, the administrators, of course, make use of them for carrying on the day-to-day administration. The degree to which this use is made, however, varies from state to state. In Madras considerable use is made of the archives. The Madras Record Office sends out annually on requisition to the various departments of the Secretariat and other offices about 35,000 records for reference and consultation. It also undertakes about 800 searches on intricate or difficult questions annually. It moreover supplies full notes based on a study of records on all important matters of policy and reform referred to it by the Government. But it does not appear that the same is true in the case of all other archives; and even if it is true, I think that it is possible to make a fuller use of the archives.

This fuller use, however, can be made only if the Governments become fully conscious of the importance of archives. But this is not so easy. In an age of democracy, of intense administrative and legislative activity, it is but natural that our statesmen who constitute the Government should be too much engrossed by the present to think of the past. They have to consider hundreds of changes and reforms demanded by the clamorous public. They are, therefore, apt to hurry through things; they are apt to see the various ills with which the state is beset and are apt to set about immediately to prescribe remedies. If they pause to think, they do so only with a view to ascertaining what their contempo-

raries, whether experts or committees in this or other countries, have to say. In fact, it would appear that in most cases they are not aware of the importance of the archives. All this should be changed. They should not forget that the archives are primarily preserved for their use and that they contain innumerable valuable suggestions for reform and reconstruction.

Administrators likewise sometimes seem to think that the past can have nothing to offer to the present generation which is much more advanced in every way. This assumption, as I have already shown, is utterly erroneous. It does not take into account the fact that every age is capable of producing sincere reformers and good administrators. The present has no more the monopoly of such men than the past or the future. This assumption should therefore be condemned wherever it crops up and a broad general outlook developed by the administrators. They should be anxious to welcome and consider all suggestions for change and reform which the archives have to offer.

Every time, therefore, an important change or reform is contemplated, the Government should make it a point to ask their archivist to furnish all available information bearing upon the subject. The archivist should then collect this information, and incorporate it in a clear, comprehensive note for the use of the Government. Only if the information collected is insufficient should the Government go in for Special Officers or Committees. If this procedure is adopted, a good deal of time, labour and expense can be saved.

Where in view of the great importance of the subject the Government consider it necessary straightaway to appoint a Special Officer, Committee or Commission, they should lay down that such an Officer, Committee or Commission, should obtain all available materials bearing on the subject from the archives through the archivist and give it due weight in formulating proposals. The archivist should trace and collect all the relevant information and submit it in the shape of notes. All this would enable the Government to possess full information before passing final orders.

I am aware that conservative opinion confines the duties of the archivist mainly to the physical and moral defence of the archives and permits him little scope for assisting either historical research or administration. I, however, do not agree in this opinion. I admit that matters like housing, safe custody, preservation, classification and arrangement should occupy much of his attention. But these are not his only duties. I consider that he should devote equal attention to fulfilling the needs of administrators which is the chief object with

which the archives are preserved and looked after. I have shown elsewhere how the administrators left to themselves are not in a position to make proper use of the archives. Their memories are short and their means insufficient for collecting all the required information from the huge collections of archives. The archivist is the only person best acquainted with all the different series of records; he has his catalogues and indexes, which cover a long period of years and show at once what information is required, where it is available and in what series. He is the most competent person to trace, collect, study and furnish readily all the available information, in a proper, digestible form to the administrators. If he does not do this work, no one else will do it. He may require some assistance, but that should be given ungrudgingly. It is because this branch of his duty is neglected in many places that the archives too remain neglected. It may, however, be noted that he can assist the Government in this manner only where the archives have been more or less properly organized.

Nor is this all. The Government of India can go a step further and award research scholarships on important selected subjects to be studied with the aid of archives. The subjects selected pertaining to history, economics or politics should invariably be those that have a direct bearing on current administrative problems such as tenancy reforms, unemployment, labour questions, etc. It should be possible at any given time to suggest more than a score of subjects of this nature seeing that in these days of the welfare state the Governments have to deal with numerous problems of reform and reconstruction. By this method it should be possible to produce within a few years a number of studies of living interest on various administrative, economic and social topics.

The universities too can co-operate in this matter and suggest every year several subjects of current interest for theses for the higher degrees. It is a pity that historical research in India has not yet stepped out of the theatre of wars and diplomacy and taken its place in the building of a welfare state. So long as history remains purely political it loses much of its value, but as soon as it becomes administrative, economic or social it gains at once in importance. And here we may also observe that the days of general history, whether political, economic or social, are passing away; what is wanted at present are detailed studies or monographs on specific topics, movements and ideas that vitally affect the life of the country. And these detailed studies can be brought out best only with the aid of archives.

It is needless to say that if these suggestions are accepted a vast amount of material of the utmost value for national reconstruction can

be resurrected from the archives and made available in a clear, concise and handy form to the statesmen and administrators. The archivists' notes, the studies sponsored by the Government of India and the theses produced by the universities would throw a flood of light on many pressing problems of the day. They would furnish the Government of India and the State Governments with ideas, opinions, suggestions and schemes for reforms. They would, at the same time, by bringing out all past objections, tend to eliminate all wild, impracticable schemes and suggestions. This sobering effect which the archives are likely to produce would perhaps be not a little welcome in these days of boundless enthusiasm.

It is, however, well to remember that, unless it is clearly demonstrated in a sufficiently large number of cases that the archives are of considerable importance in building up a strong, stable and contented State, no Government will pay them as much attention as they deserve. But the moment this is shown, their obscurity will vanish and they will come to play a very useful part in national reconstruction and, in return, receive handsome treatment at the hands of the public and the Governments.

B. S. BALIGA

THE INDIAN POSTAGE STAMPS OF 1854-55¹

TO celebrate the centenary of the first India postage stamps an International Philatelic Exhibition was held in New Delhi during 1954.

In 1853 following the lead of European countries the Government of India was anxious to introduce into India the use of adhesive postage stamps. Since their requirements could not be met by printers in England for two or three years, they asked whether the work could be undertaken at the Surveyor General's offices in Calcutta.

Before 1852 there had been no machinery or staff at the Surveyor General's office for printing the very large number of maps that were compiled and drawn by the staff of highly skilled European and Indian draughtsmen. The more important maps were sent to England to be there engraved or printed by lithography, whilst other maps were printed in Calcutta, either by private commercial firms or at the Government Lithographic Press, which was largely engaged in the printing of forms, but had a small map-printing section. This section was not under the direct orders of the Deputy Surveyor General, and its work was not of a very high order.

At that time the Deputy Surveyor General in charge of all Surveyor General's offices at Calcutta was Captain Henry Thuillier. After repeated efforts he had obtained Government's sanction early in 1852 for the transfer of three presses from the Lithographic Press, and to have others constructed in the Mathematical Instrument Workshop that was under his own direction. This lithographic printing was of the very simplest nature, the maps being drawn on transfer paper in special ink, and then laid down on stone which had been imported from England. A second colour could be printed by a separate operation.

In February 1854 Captain Thuillier reported to Government that he was ready to take up the printing of the postage stamps: "Having received instructions to report on the means at present available for designing and lithographing a large number of postage stamps, I have the honour of submitting for the consideration of Government that, having tried a few experiments in coloured lithography, I believe there

will be no great difficulty in carrying out the wishes of Government, provided I am supplied with an adequate establishment

"The accompanying four specimens of stamps (Half-Anna, One-Anna, Four-Annas, Eight-Annas) have been drawn on transfer paper and struck off in a hurried manner

"If these designs are approved, I propose to get them carefully engraved on the stone, and then multiplied by transfer so as to cover a moderate size stone containing, say, . . . 144 stamps which, being pulled in a royal size press, 300 sheets may be obtained in one day, and on an average one-million [stamps] per mensem. Provided always that the drawings on the stones do not become thick and bad

"The stamps in single colors are the most easily produced. They are also . . . more business-like, and adapted for commercial purposes. The double colors will require immense time and care, and [may] not always prove successful.

"The difficulty of forging stamps in any remunerative quantity will be very great, . . . and . . . cannot . . . be effected out of Calcutta, and not in Calcutta without almost a certainty of detection. I would . . . suggest that all the stamps may be in one color only, each one of course different, or the Eight-Anna stamp only to be in two colors as in the specimen

"The present limited establishment . . . has been altogether inadequate to execute the demands made upon it [for maps] by the several Governments of this Presidency. It was transferred to this department only in April 1852 . . . Insufficient . . . as the means at my disposal are for the calls for maps of the surveys of the present day, . . . the attainment of 30 million of stamps . . . will demand a corresponding increase of both establishment and stock.

"I have therefore estimated . . . for an increase of only 6 presses with a complement of working men, and 2 presses spare, necessary for transfer purposes.

"As . . . such work demands the nicest and most careful watching, . . . I am anxious for an European Assistant of artistical qualities, who is able to engrave on the stone, and otherwise competent to conduct printing work.

"I have heard of such a person now in Calcutta who might be induced to take service on a salary of Rs. 250 per mensem

"In the Superintendent of the Press, Mr. H. M. Smith, the Government possess a most excellent . . . public servant, to whom is due all the credit of the designs.

"The entire establishment now proposed, together with the additional

¹ These notes are taken from the "Miscellaneous Letter-Entry Book" of the Deputy Surveyor General now in the custody of the National Archives of India under the label DDn. 563, old DSG/1 or 14/12, and also from the Surveyor General's Office files of 1916 and 1921. Further information could doubtless be found amongst the correspondence of the Home Department, Government of India, and from letters to and from the Court of Directors, 1853 to 1856. Reports on these stamps from information collected from various sources by Mr. T. K. Tapling, M.P., during a visit to Calcutta in 1889, were read before the Philatelic Society in London in January and March 1891, and published by that Society in 1892 in their report entitled *Postage Stamps of British India and Ceylon*.

stock required, will . . . produce 30 millions of stamps at a cost of about 200 Rupees a million, not inclusive of paper.”²

Government gave prompt approval to the four specimen stamps and also to the increase of establishment: “Suptg. Head Draftsman, Rs. 100—European Draftsman, Rs. 250—European Assistant Draftsman Rs. 50—Press Asst., Rs. 60—2 Draftsmen @ 50, Rs. 100—2 Draftsmen @ 40, Rs. 80—4 Engravers @ 30, Rs. 120—Writer, Rs. 30—6 Printers @ 12, Rs. 72—6 Spongemen @ 6, Rs. 36—18 Pressmen @ 4, Rs. 72—4 Inkmakers @ 4, Rs. 16—2 Duftrees @ 8, Rs. 16—2 Paper Wetters @ 5, Rs. 10—4 Chokidars @ 6, Rs. 24—1 Jemadar, Rs. 12—2 Peons @ 6, Rs. 12— Extension of Office Room, Rs. 75—Total, Rs. 1,135.”³

Particular care was taken to select a suitable water-marked paper on which to print the stamps. The first sample received from Serampore was of “too rough a texture for lithographic printing. . . . If a finer and better description of paper can be supplied it will answer well . . . as a preventive against counterfeit imitations.” But on 9 March Thuillier reported that he had “visited the Stationery and Stamp Offices, and . . . selected a . . . water-mark paper received from England on which the stamps for deed and promissory notes are struck off. This paper is well fitted for lithographic purposes and, being very nearly entirely covered with a good and distinct watermark, will . . . serve for the postage stamps until a more suitable article is expressly made.

“This paper is of a peculiar quality and, independent of the watermark, could not be well imitated. . . . The Superintendent of Stamps informs me that an ample supply of this paper exists in Calcutta, and that a sufficient quantity can be furnished to me at once.”

On 31 March he asks the Superintendent of Stationery for “a case of the stamps paper No. 4, to which size we have arranged our blocks of postage stamps for the present. Be good enough to specify the exact quantity in the box, as it will be necessary for this Department to render an account of every sheet of paper.

“The No. 3 paper . . . is of a different size. I propose therefore arranging our blocks to suit this number in a few days. There being an ample supply of these two papers (150 reams of each) for present purposes, it has not been deemed necessary to employ the small size paper No. 5 for the lower value stamps which are the ones most urgently desired. In a few days, however, we may be able to bring it into use for the higher value stamps.”

The first point of importance, he writes on 1 May, “was the

² DDn. 563(180), DSG. to GG in C., thro' Mr. Halliday, Member of Council.
³ Home Dept. to DSG., 2-3-54.

attainment of a representation of Her Majesty's head. . . . After repeated trials, and the preparation of a great number of designs, a bust drawn on transfer paper and afterwards engraved upon the stone, with the words 'India' at the top . . . and 'Half Anna' at the bottom, was adopted as the standard. . . .

“A sufficient number were laid off upon the stone so as to preserve uniformity, to form a convenient block of one hundred and twenty, three of such blocks filling the sheet of stamp paper.”

The Stamp Office supplied “two small canisters of the prepared vermilion for the Half-Anna stamps”, but it was not a success. “A considerable number of stones were prepared, and after many disappointments and unceasing labor, the stones were charged with the red vermilion English lithographic ink, a very small quantity of which I happened to have by me, and a few hundred sheets . . . were struck off. . . .

“On the small quantity of the English prepared vermilion ink being expended, color of apparently similar quality was obtained from the Stamp Office, but this was found entirely to destroy the impressions on the stone, the proofs coming off thick and smeared, and losing the uniformity of the likeness. . . .

“From the properties of the mineral substance in the vermilion⁴ and from repeated and most careful trials, it is now evident that it will be impossible . . . to produce the Half-Anna stamps in the quantity required in that color.

“All the stones so prepared were cleaned off, and the whole of the materials . . . were made up fresh from the purest ingredients obtained from the Hon'ble Company's Dispensary, and in our own presence, doubts having arisen as to the purity of the transfer ink . . . previously used.

“A careful engraving on copper has been made, . . . and . . . transfers have been obtained which are undoubtedly superior to the former lithographic standard. . . .

“The blocks were again formed on the stones, . . . but in smaller blocks of 96 each, . . . with a view of making them more conveniently saleable in equal rupees, and from the sharpness of the transfer from the copper plate, I fully hoped that success would attend the very anxious endeavours which have now been made for about six weeks, commencing daily at 6 o'clock in the morning.”

The results were bitterly disappointing: “The printing . . . has been tried both early in the morning and late at night . . . all the

⁴ Sulphide of mercury.

current and legitimate business of the office in the mapping way of course giving place. . . . It is evident that lithography in this country, and during the hot season especially, cannot be relied upon, and . . . steps should be taken to procure proper stamps from England."

Attempts were then made to print in blue. Results from cobalt were as bad as those from vermilion, but refined indigo was more promising, whilst black was better still. "The impression in black is distinct and fine. The printing ink composed of simple lamp-black obtained from the best turpentine wick lamps . . . works so well with our maps that we should find no difficulty in proceeding at once with the stamps in this style. . . . The large sheets . . . do not print so well as the small ones. . . .

"I would venture to recommend that the Half-Anna stamps be proceeded with at once in simple black printing, and in single blocks . . . The blue color, if successful, can be reserved for the One-Anna stamp, and to ensure a due contrast if the difference between blue and black is insufficient for night work at the Post Offices, a different shape stamp can easily be adopted."

Further experiments with the Indigo blue were successful, and on 5 May Thuillier reported personally to the Governor-General himself, with a note reporting good progress with the Half-Anna stamps in blue, of which "during the course of yesterday alone, the first day of real progress, by keeping the presses at work double hours, 1447 sheets were struck off, giving nearly a lac and a half of stamps". Arrangements were made for officials of the Stamp Office to take over the stamps at the press about once a week.

On 1 May Thuillier acknowledged orders from Government to submit specimens of Half-Anna and One-Anna in red, blue and black for transmission to England, and "to prosecute the labors now in progress so as to secure such an adequate supply of Half-Anna and One-Anna stamps in blue or black as may admit of the new postal system being put into operation at an early date, in anticipation of a full and regular supply of postage stamps of all classes and values which have been ordered out from England." He further reported that "the printing of the Half-Anna stamps in blue has progressed very satisfactorily indeed. Up to the present date one million and a quarter of labels have been struck off, and by employing our establishment and presses from 6 a.m. until 8 p.m.—two hours intervening for refreshment—I am now able to obtain about 3 lac per diem.

"This number will be increased when additional presses can be procured, and for which due arrangements have been made for getting

them manufactured in Calcutta as speedily as possible. . . .

"I respectfully solicit permission to remunerate the printers and pressmen by payment for the number of extra hours they are actually employed daily, which is equal to a full day's ordinary work . . . Up to the present time the establishment has shewn the utmost activity and goodwill.

"No pains or exertions shall be wanting . . . that the new system may be put in operation at the earliest possible date."

Thuillier took upon himself responsibility for ensuring proper security as the two Stamp Office officials declined to keep to the long working hours involved: "I have been supplied with the water-marked paper in the original boxes as received from England, containing 15 reams. . . . If we return an equal quantity of paper stamped with postage labels every object is attained.

"It will not be practicable to lock up the lithographic stones in chests. They cannot easily be moved from the presses, and much valuable time would be lost thereby. The press room is guarded by a *Jemadar* and four *burkundauzes* day and night, while the room where the paper is kept is locked up on all sides.

"Every person employed on the premises is searched on going out, and . . . from my own constant attendance on the premises, I believe every possible protection is afforded for the safety of the stamps".

The last of the four new presses that had been ordered in March from the Surveyor General's Mathematical Instrument Workshop was delivered on 20 June and, writes Thuillier on 26th: "Additional machines having now been manufactured, I have included . . . additional printers and pressmen, which will enable me to prosecute the printing . . . vigorously, and at the same time attend in a small measure to the Mapping Department, which of late has necessarily fallen into arrears. . . .

"Up to the present date 13½ millions of Half-Anna labels have been struck off and delivered to the Stamp Office. I had hoped to have greatly exceeded this number, but owing to the Ramazan fast of the Mahomedans which commenced on the 27th of May, and has been strictly observed by the greatest proportion of my pressmen and printers, it has been found impossible for the men to work double hours. This restriction will . . . be removed in two days, when we shall proceed with renewed vigor and extended means."

Each sheet, or block, of these Half-Anna stamps comprised 96 stamps, or labels as they were technically called, and on 30 June Thuillier reported that he was "now striking off at the rate of nearly 12,000 blocks, or one million labels per diem, and have delivered upwards of 15 millions.

"I have been instructed that the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council has made a strong appeal to the Honorable Court to send out from England stamps of all values, until the receipt of which the Government may rely on my providing the necessary quantity."

The new presses had been constructed in this very short time by the skill and energy of the Mathematical Instrument maker, Saiyad Mir Mohsin Husain, and writes Thuillier, "The presses are so good and well-adapted to our work, not only for the postage stamps, but for the general mapping business, that I am induced to trouble you with a further requisition for four more of precisely the same size and pattern."

All stamps were scrutinized in the Stamp Office, and Thuillier asked the reasons for their rejection of 20,000 sheets from those delivered on 14 July. 5,000 of these sheets or blocks had been returned for examination, some of them "spoilt . . . owing to the imperfect cutting of the paper into separate blocks," and writes Thuillier on 31st: "The whole of these sheets have been carefully examined, and have gone through several hands in this office. All those which were selected as passable have again passed through my own hands, and although a great many may be said to be serviceable and saleable blocks, still I am anxious to allow none to be distributed that are not really good, and I have therefore condemned the whole with the exception of 58 sheets which appear to me perfectly fit for use"

"The remaining 15,000 I am quite content to accept your opinion of them. . . . These rejections amount to scarcely two of our best days' work."

On 11 August he reported "that the 30 millions of the Half-Anna labels in blue were completed on the 29th, and the last batch delivered to the Stamp Department on the 31st ultimo, and up to the present date the total quantity of this label amounts to 31,743,360 . . . from the 8th of May last, the date on which the presses actually began to work, the two previous months of March and April having been occupied in designing standards and experimenting"

"On my reaching the 30 millions . . . my attention was then directed to the preparation of the One-Anna label and, a fair contrast with the Half-Anna label being essential, I determined on again persevering with the red color"

"By means of our improved materials and constant experiments in preparing the varnish and other necessary ingredients, . . . I am happy . . . to report that the sheets of the One-Anna labels are now printing as . . . steadily as could be wished, and although more time and care are required in the manipulation of this color, I trust an ample supply

will be speedily obtained

"From the 26th ultimo . . . 26,897 blocks, representing 2,582,112 . . . labels in red have been struck off and delivered to the Stamp Department. The number required, . . . not more than 5 millions, will be ready within the present month."

"Of the Half-Anna I am informed that when 35 millions have been completed, no more will be required."

"On the present date we have therefore the following quantity of each label:

Half-Anna blue, 31,743,360 labels, value Rs. 991,980

One-Anna red, 2,582,112 " " " 161,382

"A considerable number have been rejected on account of imperfections in printing, damaged paper, and bad cutting of the treble block sheets into single blocks. This was natural when we take into consideration the extreme haste with which the work has been executed (a considerable portion having been done by candle light), the very . . . inexperienced men we have been obliged to entertain and instruct, and the new machines. . . ."

"A flaw in a single label invalidating the whole block, about 20,000 blocks have . . . been rejected. . . . More time can now be devoted, and consequently better printing secured. The cutting of the sheets I have also provided for in this office, as their appearance suffered by . . . tearing them in the Stamp Department. . . ."

"The cost for permanent and contingent extra establishment during this period, together with the entire contingent expenses for working materials amounts to Rs. 4,266. . . . This . . . exclusive of the cost of stock. . . ."

"Although slight additions have been made to our lithographic presses and stones, still this was equally necessary for the general purpose of this office, and will long continue to form a valuable addition to the Department for the publication of maps. . . ."

"Commencing with but a small establishment, and only 3 presses of the smallest utility, the manufacture of the additional presses and recruiting of the establishment has caused unusual labour and difficulty. . . ."

Supply of vermilion red ran out, and the Stamp Department was reluctant to dip into their reserves, Thuillier reporting that "the printing of the One-Anna postage stamps has . . . met with a stoppage on account of the Superintendent of Stamps intimating his inability to supply any more . . . without the risk of his own department running short. I have . . . tried all the red powders procurable in the bazar . . ."

without success. . . . I believe 10 millions of the One-Anna labels are required, and only six millions have been obtained up to the present. . . .

"The vermilion required for printing . . . in the Stamp Department is received direct from England, and appears to have had all the impurities extracted. . . . A supply . . . may be shortly expected to arrive. I trust . . . therefore no real danger can arrive to the Stamp Department by their sparing the small quantity . . . asked for." The necessary ten pounds were produced.

Work was now started on the Four-Anna stamps in red and blue: "A standard for the 4-Anna label has been engraved, and several experiments made in printing in two colors. . . . These labels have all been protected by the watermark, and only one dozen placed on each sheet, with the double object of facilitating the postal accounts, and rendering the printing easier. . . .

"The difficulties, however, of the double printing are so great that I fear it will not be practicable to produce the 4-Anna stamp in this style in sufficient quantities. The registering . . . of the paper on the stones demands the uninterrupted presence of a European Assistant of experience. . . . Many sheets will have to be rejected, but if Government deem it advisable to pursue this object no endeavours . . . will be wanting . . . to meet the demand."

Thuillier writes on 14 October: "The design of the label as approved . . . is of octagonal shape, the margin in red, and Queen's head in blue. Twelve labels on each sheet of water-marked paper, and each label protected by the watermark, price 3 rupees per sheet.

"I am now striking off these labels at the rate of about one to thousand sheets per diem."

Printing was completed and delivery of the last consignment made on 28 October 1854, bringing up the total to:

Half-Anna labels,	31,958,784,	value Rs.	998,712
One-Anna	„ 7,858,368,	„ „	491,148
Four-Annas	„ 206,040,	„ „	51,510

"The standard copper plates," writes Thuillier on 2-11-54, "have been carefully placed under lock and key, under my own seal and that of the Supervisor of Stamps, and the blocks on the stones have all been cleaned off.

"I shall be prepared to strike off additional quantities of the labels whenever . . . Government . . . require me to do so. . . .

"Every sheet of blank water-marked paper has been duly returned or accounted for to the Stamp Department. . . .

"The current duties of the press in the Mapping Department which

have necessarily been thrown much into arrears will now be resumed."

During December another batch of the 4-Anna labels was struck off, bringing the total of that value to 50,000 sheets, or 600,000 labels or stamps. In the following March a further batch of 50,000 was started, but this time they were printed 24 to each block instead of only 12, thus economising in the water-marked paper, and in printing time. On 2 April 1855 there was "a supply of about 4 months expenditure of the Half-Anna labels, and about 2 months . . . of the One-Anna, in store at the present date. I shall therefore . . . renew the stock of both these values in good time to prevent any inconvenience pending the arrival of the English manufactured labels."

The first supply from England arrived during October 1855. Such Four-Anna stamps as had already been printed with the first colour were finished off with the second colour, and delivered to the Stamp Department on 3 November. Printing in the Surveyor General's office was then closed down.

The final total of stamps accepted by the Stamp Department amounted to 47,732,596, to the value of Rs. 21,80,668. Of these there were about 37 million Half-Anna, blue; $9\frac{3}{4}$ million One-Anna, red; 1 million Four-Anna, red and blue.

All the stones from which these had been printed were cleaned off, and the copper plates on which the standard designs had been engraved were stored at the Surveyor General's Office. There still remained the stones on which the preliminary experiments had been made. Amongst the designs so preserved are those for Two-Anna and Eight-Anna stamps that had not been adopted.

At various times, 1890, 1894 and 1915, coloured prints on any available paper have been taken from these surviving stones and plates, some being marked on reverse with the printed word "SPECIMEN" and others with descriptive notes such as "Facsimile Copy 1894".

In 1916 these 9 stones, 3 copper plates, and 1 steel plate were sent to England and presented by the Government of India to the Royal Philatelic Society.⁵

In 1935 I saw in Calcutta, in the possession of an enthusiastic stamp collector, several complete sheets of these 1854-5 stamps. They must have been printed before November 1855, and presumably obtained through the Post Office shortly after. Only those on the special water-marked paper would be genuine.

R. H. PHILLIMORE

⁵ *vide* Correspondence from S. G.'s letter No. 24 T of 7-1-1916 to Government of India, R. & A. Department to letter of 20-4-1916 from Philatelic Society to R. & A. Department.

REVENUE RECORDS IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE COMPANY

ARCHIVES have been defined as "documents drawn up for the purpose of, or used during, the conduct of affairs of any kind of which they themselves formed a part and subsequently preserved by the persons responsible for the transactions in question or their successors in their own custody for their own reference."¹ Before documents can be read and utilised by historians they have to be collected together at one place for comprehensive treatment by an Archivist. Although in every country historians and antiquaries have always evinced great interest in old records, public opinion was slow in bringing about the establishment of institutions like the National Archives for the benefit of students. In England the writings of scholars such as Dugdale, Madox and Rymer "slowly awakened a general consciousness that in the neglected records of their current courts of law and other public bodies lay a mass of information which might revolutionize historical conceptions based on chronicles, biographies and other narrative accounts," and eventually led to the appointment of the Lords Committee in 1703 "to consider the method of keeping records in offices and how they are kept and to consider the ways to remedy what shall be found to be amiss."²

In India the first serious attempt at a comprehensive treatment of the public records, in particular the revenue records, was made by a Resolution dated 17 March 1820 passed by the Governor-General in Council in the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal. The history and background of this Resolution are traced here.

Before the days of the Company *Qanungo* was the record officer of the pargana, which was an administrative unit. There were two Chief or *Sadar Qanungos*, and a chain of subordinate officers called *Naib* or Deputy *Qanungos* in the districts. The offices, like most offices in the East, became hereditary, and hereditary succession defeated the very object for which they were created. The system was vigorously denounced, as the professional knowledge and privileges of the *Qanungo* had been used to build up a guild which, by collusion with the very men whom the office was instituted to keep in check, viz. the Zamindars, and by purposely keeping Government in the dark, betrayed the confidence that was reposed in them.

The steps taken to remedy the situation were as follows: "After the conclusion of a perpetual settlement of the land revenue in the pro-

vinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, the office of the Kanungo, *sadar* and *mofussil*, was considered unnecessary and consequently abolished. . . . In the words of Marquis Cornwallis, 'The public assessment on the lands is fixed throughout the country. The rights of the landholders and cultivators of the soil, whether founded upon ancient custom or regulations which have originated with the British Government, have been reduced to writing. The Kanungos are no longer necessary to explain rights of the former description, and they are wholly unacquainted with the latter. The Courts of Justice will have their codes of regulations to guide them in their decisions respecting the rights and properties of the people. Suits between individuals, or between Government and its subjects, regarding the revenue, will be decided by the engagements subsisting between the parties; and, if a local custom is required to be ascertained, better evidence regarding it will always be obtainable from inhabitants of the district of respectable character, than could be procured from *mofussil kanungos*, whose official attestations and declarations have long since fallen into contempt and disregard in the eyes of the people, from having been invariably made the cloak to every species of fraud and abuse. These officers, therefore, are not only useless, but their continuance would be prejudicial to the country'.³

"The office of *kanungo* being accordingly abolished throughout the lower provinces, the records of *mofussil naibs*, *gomastahs*⁴ and *mohurrirs*,⁵ were ordered to be delivered over to the Collectors, who were authorised, if necessary, to proceed for the recovery of them in the mode prescribed by section 16, Regulation 3, 1794, and were required to furnish the Board of Revenue with a list of the records so delivered, as well as to be careful in preserving them. The Board of Revenue were likewise directed to require from the *sadar kanungos* and their *naibs* the whole of the records kept in their respective offices; and, after causing a list to be taken, were desired to submit it to Government with their sentiments in what manner these records should be disposed of for the public service. This was done accordingly; and the records are deposited, for occasional reference, under native officers who have immediate charge of them, subject to the superintendence of the Board's Accountant."⁶

By the 21st Regulation of 1793 it was enacted that two officers should be appointed in each district for keeping all records in the local languages which in any respect related to the public revenues, as it was essential to the security of the public revenues as well as of the rights of individuals

³ Minute of May 1793.

⁴ Gomastahs—officers appointed by Zamindars to collect rents etc.

⁵ Muharrir—a clerk, a writer, a scribe.

⁶ Harrington's *Analysis*, Vol. II, pp. 145-46.

¹ *Guide to the Public Records*, Part I, p. 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

that all records relating to them should be carefully preserved, and that every subsequent alteration in any respect affecting the accounts of the settlement either by the transfer, division or union of estates or otherwise should be regularly entered on a public register to be superintended by officers of trust and responsibility. In the selection of the Record Keepers, in most instances, preference was given to the former *Qanungos*, who from the nature of their late employment were presumed to be more generally conversant with revenue matters than others, and who in some of the districts had actually been employed by the Collectors for some time, previous to their regular appointment as Record Keepers. But as some arrangement was necessary before the measure could be put into effect, it was not until 1797 that these officers were actually appointed. Their allowance was fixed at Rs. 30 per month. To defray the expenses of this establishment a fee on the transfer and division of landed estates was imposed.

The position was reviewed in 1817 by the Board of Revenue and it was noticed that too little attention had been paid to the preparation and preservation of proper records in the offices of the several Collectors under their authority, and the interests of Government, and still more of the subjects, were suffering seriously on this account. It was considered that without accurate registers of landed property, and some authentic record of the extent and limits of estates, of the tenures under which land was occupied, and of the rights, interests, and privileges of the various classes of the agricultural community, to which the judicial authorities might refer, as a means of checking the information or evidence produced in individual cases of litigation, civil justice could not be effectually administered to the people. In a letter addressed to the Board of Revenue, embodied in Revenue consultation dated 30 January 1818, the decision to reappoint *Qanungos* was taken: "In the opinion expressed by you, as to the importance of generally effecting the re-establishment of *Canoongoes*, and the reform of the office of *Putwarry*, the Vice-President in Council cordially concurs.

"It appears however on every account expedient to proceed gradually, and it is highly desirable that the arrangement should be conducted under the immediate superintendence of your Board, or of one of your members. Considerable inconvenience would at the same time be experienced from the lengthened absence of one of your members on that duty, by throwing on a single individual the general functions belonging to the Board.

"With these sentiments, the Vice-President in Council has resolved to confine the measure to those Districts in which it is most urgently

required, and over several of which you may with comparative facility exercise a local supervision.

"A regulation will accordingly be passed for the appointment of *Canoongoes* and the reform of the office of *Putwarry* in the Districts of the 24-Parganas, Nuddea, Jessore, Dacca, Jelalpore, and Backergunge.

"Your Board will of course consider and digest the detailed arrangements by which the provisions of the regulation can best be carried into effect.

"It appears advisable that previously to the final confirmation of *Canoongoes* in any of the Districts in question, a member of your Board should proceed to superintend on the spot the arrangements formed by the Collector, but this circumstance need not prevent the simultaneous adoption of the necessary preliminary steps in all those Districts, unless other objections shall occur to that course. In some of the Districts it may be expedient to depute an officer specially for the purpose of carrying the Regulation into effect under your Board's Orders, and the Vice-President in Council will be prepared to concur in any arrangement which may be suggested by you with the object.

"The Vice-President in Council does not understand that any class of persons precisely similar to the *Pergunnah Canoongoes* in Behar exist in the above Districts. In Bengal the *Mofussil Canoongoes* were understood to bear the character of *Gomastahs* to the *Suddar Canoongoes*, and from the long discontinuance of the office, there may possibly be no longer any remains of the Ancient Institution.

"If the above supposition be correct, the course to be pursued must naturally differ in some degree from that followed in Bihar and the re-establishment of *Canoongoes* on an efficient footing will probably be attended with greater difficulty."

Accordingly, by Regulation 1 of 1818 the rules regarding *Qanungos* already in force in Bihar and the more western provinces, as well as the provisions contained in Regulation 12 of 1817 for the reform of the office of the *Putwarry*, were extended to the Districts of 24 Parganas, Nadia, Jessore, Dacca, Jelalpore and Bakarganj.

The changes thus effected were an important step forward. But arrangements had yet to be made for adequate central direction and control of the activities of the *Qanungos* and *Putwarries*. The Court of Directors in their Revenue despatch dated 15 January 1819 instructed the Government of Bengal to consider the expediency of "establishing a General record office at the Presidency, in which should be formed and preserved a digest of all the information collected, and transactions recorded by the *Putwarries* and *Kanungos*", and its attention was

specifically directed to the office formerly established under the Chief *Serishtadar*. In furtherance of this object permanent committees were established both at the Presidency and in the Districts to direct and control the maintenance of these records. The Resolution of the Government of Bengal dated 17 March 1820 by which this was effected runs as follows:—

"The same considerations appear to suggest the expediency of employing Committees in the Superintendence of the several district Record Offices.

"In order to determine the nature and extent of the information to be required from the Mofussil Officers of Account, and the mode in which it is to be recorded and preserved at the Sudder Office of the districts, and at the Presidency, it seems highly desirable that Government should avail itself of the Services of its officers in the Judicial as well as in the Revenue branch, since the objects with which Government desires to possess accurate records of landed tenures and property are chiefly such as have reference to the easy and prompt distribution of Civil Justice, and the security of individual rights.

"For these purposes the Judicial Officers of Government ought best to be able to say what kind of records will be most useful; and by giving them a direct right of interference in securing the preparation and preservation of documents of which their daily use will demonstrate the utility, Government will gain much additional security for the regular execution of the work.

"Independently of these considerations, cases must arise in which Individual Collectors will fail to give the attention necessary for those purposes even supposing the most vigilant supervision on the part of the Boards, and the records of a Collectorship once destroyed or mutilated or the series of them interrupted the loss and inconvenience may be irreparable.

"With the above impressions, His Lordship in Council resolves that in order to secure the regular and systematic preparation and preservation of public records throughout the Country a permanent Committee shall be constituted in each district, consisting ordinarily of the Judge and Collector of the district, with the Zillah and City Register as Secretary, and that at the head stations of the Court of Circuit, the Senior Judge of that Court shall also be member of the Committee.

"In cases in which more than one Collectorship may be included in the jurisdiction of a Single Civil Court, as for instance in the district of *Barilly*, both Collectors will be Members of the district Committee, tho' each will naturally give his attention chiefly to the record of matters

connected with his own Collectorship. In cases in which a Collectorship may include the jurisdiction of more than one Zillah Adawlut, the Collector will be a member of the Several Committees constituted within the sphere of his official Control.

"In both the above cases, some inconvenience will probably be experienced from the circumstance of the Members of the Committee having different ranges of authority, and from their being resident at different stations. This however is only one of the inconveniences that results from the manner in which the Zillah and Collectorships in question are constituted; recent arrangements have in several instances corrected the evil, and His Lordship in Council would hope that for the present at least, the Committees of the districts which are still in the predicament alluded to, will not experience from that cause any material interruption in the execution of their duties.

"The expediency of adopting any special arrangement in such cases will remain for future consideration.

"The several Revenue Boards, and the Judges of Circuit generally, will be expected occasionally to inspect the records of the several districts visited by them, to report on their condition, and to suggest any means which may occur calculated to improve the system followed in regard to them.

"It will remain for future determination whether the Office in which these records are to be kept, and the Establishment employed in keeping them, shall be attached to the Cutcherry of the Collector, or shall form a separate office of registry and record under the immediate management of the Register, as the Ministerial Officer of the Committee.

"It will in either case probably be equally expedient that the Establishment should be distinct from that employed in the current duties of the Collector's office, tho' of course the proceedings both of the Judges and Collectors will in various instances involve matters proper to be brought on the record of the district, and of which therefore the record office ought to receive regular information.

"Of all Papers which may be of sufficient importance to deserve preservation in the district record offices, it will apparently be essential that accurate lists should be deposited in a General Record Office at the Presidency; of many such documents, it will be highly useful that abstracts should be made in English, and transmitted to that Office; and of the most important records it will be proper that authentic copies should be similarly deposited.

"For the Superintendence of this Head Record Office, as well as for the purpose of framing general forms for the Mofussil Records, of pre-

serving as far as practicable regularity and uniformity in the proceedings of the district Committees, and of causing such lists, Copies and Abstracts of the documents recorded in the several district record offices to be

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|---|---|
| 1. Junior Members of the Board of Reve. | transmitted to the Presidency as may appear necessary or useful, His Lordship in Council resolves to constitute a permanent committee at the Presidency consisting of the several officers noted in the margin. |
| 2. 4th Judges of the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut. | |
| 3. Secy. to Govt. in the Judl. Dept. | |
| 4. Secy. to Govt. in the Terrl. Dept. | |
| 5. Superintendent & Remembrancer of Legal Affairs. | |

"In the first instance, the Governor General in Council proposes that Mr. Prinsep shall, as Junior Member, perform the duties of Secretary to the Committee, receiving in the latter Capacity an allowance of Sicca Rupees 300 per mensem.

"Should the duties thus vested in Mr. Prinsep be found to interfere with those of his present office, it will remain to be considered whether any other officer can be found holding a Substantive Appointment and with Sufficient leisure and fit qualifications to execute the duties of Secretary to the Committee, and should it ultimately prove that these duties are too extensive to admit of the office being held conjointly with any other situation the Governor General in Council will be prepared to appoint a distinct Secretary to the Committee, with a suitable allowance.

"The more immediate purpose of the present arrangement is to secure the preparation and preservation of proper records and registers relating to landed property, tenures, and rates of rent; and in the first instance, the labors of the Committees will be directed to the object of ascertaining what records connected with those matters are in existence, and of having proper accounts taken and lists made of them; they will then proceed to consider and suggest the measures to be adopted for preserving the public records (including the construction of proper buildings where they may not already exist and the employment of adequate Establishments), for securing the punctual preparation of them hereafter, and for bringing up arrears.

"The Inquiries of the Presidency Committee on the above heads will embrace the records of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and of the offices of Several Revenue Boards, and those of the Secretaries to Government and of the Revenue Accountant; the Mofussil Committees will direct their enquiries to the records of the Courts and Collectors of the several

"One early object for the consideration of the Committees will be to determine the nature and extent of the information to be required from the Canoongoes and Putwarries; and in considering this object, their attention will naturally be directed in an especial manner to the means of ascertaining the extent and limits of Estates, with a view to the decision of suits relating to disputed boundaries, of defining the rights of the inferior tenantry, and of adjusting differences between landlord and tenant.

"The expediency of using some further measures for compelling the registry of all transfers and assignments of landed property, whether by direct penalties for default, or by holding incomplete all transfers or assignments not duly registered, and denying the assistance of the Courts in maintaining claims founded on such transactions, until the defect of title be supplied, will also be a fit subject of early consideration.

"It will further deserve to be considered whether the operation of the proposed record offices, tho' principally intended for the deposit of documents relating to landed property, may not be so extended as to supersede (sic) those of the Zellah and City Registers, and to this subject also the Presidency Committee will be instructed to direct their attention.

"It would now be premature to state any conclusive opinion in regard to the form in which the Registers and records that it may be determined to prepare shall be framed. The Committee will of course endeavour to preserve as much simplicity of scheme as may be consistent with the objects in view, carefully considering the existing rules relative to the Records directed to be prepared in the Offices of the Collectors and Canoongoes or by the Putwarries, and diligently enquiring into the Causes which have hitherto prevented those rules from being carried into full effect.

"By the union of the Revenue and Judicial affairs, his Lordship in Council confidently trusts that every thing will be suggested that is necessary for the purposes of both Departments, and as the proposition of the several district Committees will be fully considered by the Committee at the Presidency, the whole scheme will, it may be hoped, be digested and reduced into form, on the most comprehensive and judicious principles.

"His Lordship in Council conceives that it ought ultimately to be made a part of the duties belonging to the Presidency Committee gradually to collect and to digest in the shape of memoirs and reports all information of a general description relative to the nature of landed tenures, the structure of the village institutions and the agricultural economy of various parts of the Country.

"That Committee may likewise probably be very advantageously employed in selecting for publication such documents as it may appear advisable to distribute generally to the Courts and Collectors with the view of placing them in possession of the principles of the system which they are called on to administer, and of the object of the laws which it is their duty to enforce.

"Previously to the adoption of the above arrangements, we had deemed it proper, in consideration of the stated want of Order and Regularity in the preparation and preservation of the records of the several Collectors' Offices, to authorize the Boards to appoint a Registrar to each Collectorship, on a salary of 150 or 200 Rupees per mensem, according as persons possessing the requisite qualifications should offer themselves as candidates.

"The Registrars have, we understand, been hitherto very usefully employed in arranging the records of the several Collectorships to which they belong, but we conceive it will hereafter be expedient to transfer those Officers to the Record Committees. The same principle it may perhaps be expedient to adopt in regard to the Canoongoes and Putwarries at least in the lower provinces, where the Revenue Officers have comparatively little influence and power, and where, consequently, the direct interference of Judicial Officers, belonging to the Committee, is likely to be required to give effect to our view."

The Presidency Committee was authorized to employ such a number of writers as was deemed necessary for copying the papers which they proposed to prepare, and likewise to assign an allowance of Rs. 50 per mensem to such persons as they might employ in the several offices in aiding them to form a digest and index of the Records contained in each.

The above orders were communicated to the Resident at Delhi, the Commissioner on the Nerbudda, the Agent to the Governor-General at Saugor, and the Governments of Fort St. George and Bombay, in order that a system of registry, similar to that suggested by the Committee, but with such modifications as local circumstances suggested, might be adopted in those quarters.

In the Board of Revenue Circular dated 21 April 1820, the following rules for the guidance of the Registrars were issued:

"The records shall be kept in a room or rooms exclusively appropriated to the purpose (if possible), the door of which shall be furnished with two locks, the key of one of which shall be in the possession of the Registrar, and that of the other deposited with one of the Record Keepers.

"It will be the duty of the Registrar to arrange the records, with the assistance of the regular record keepers, forming a regular list of them, and classing them first into Pergunnas, then subdividing them into Estates and years, and to see that the Record Keepers conform, as far as may be practicable, to the rules prescribed in Regulation XXI of 1793.

"He will on no account receive into the record office any documents not authenticated by the official signature of the Collector or his assistant: and he will never permit any copies to be issued without a written order from the Collector to that effect.

"All papers deposited in the record office are to be attested by the signature of the Registrar and one of the Record Keepers; and no copies ordered to be granted are to be presented to the Collector for signature until they have been previously attested by those Officers, whether the copies be for the use of individuals or Canoongoes, Ameens etc.

"The Registrar will keep a daily Register of papers deposited, specifying of what nature they may be, and by whom deposited, also a memorandum of copies issued: these Registers are to be signed daily by the Registrar before closing the office, and submitted for the counter signature of the Collector on the first day of every month.

"All copies for the use of Courts of Justice shall be attested by the Registrar and one of the native record keepers previously to being presented to the Collector for his authentication.

"The Registrar will carefully superintend the record keepers in preparing reports in reply to Precepts from the Courts, Roobukarries' from Collectors and orders from the Board, and in furnishing information to the Collector, and to keep a diary of those proceedings.

"To ascertain by examination and comparison with the records that all engagement Pattahs, Perwannahs, Amuldustucks, Security Bonds, in short all documents of those descriptions, have been drawn out correctly, both in form and detail.

"To be careful that statements of lands proposed for sale and accounts are accurately prepared; and to report to the Collector if he shall have reason to believe that any of the preliminary processes to be observed previously to proceeding to sales, as provided in the Regulations, have been omitted.

"It shall be his further duty to bring to the notice of the Collector any neglect on the part of the English Writers in preparing Indexes of

¹ *Rubakari*, Persian. The written record of a case, stating the particulars and the grounds of the decision drawn up and authenticated by the judge in a Company's Court, on passing sentence.

the correspondence, and in copying the drafts of letters despatched into a Book to be kept for that purpose ; and to report if any of the Officers detain papers in their own possession or fail to deliver into the record office every Nuttee or file of Proceedings, after the matter to which they relate shall have been disposed of."

G. N. CHANDRA

HOW TO FIGHT WHITE ANTS

RECENTLY a large number of inquiries have been received in the National Archives of India seeking information as to how to fight the white ant menace. These inquiries have emanated from heads of archival repositories, libraries and other institutions, who have found the usual remedies, known to them, prove ineffective. Before suggesting certain remedies which have been tried with profit elsewhere and are applicable to conditions in India, it is desirable to know some basic facts regarding life, habits and *modus operandi* of these insects, as such a knowledge is very necessary for an intelligent application of the remedies.

'White ants', the popular English name for termites, is essentially a misnomer. 'White ants' are neither white nor do they belong to the order hymenoptera to which true ants belong. The colour of termites may vary from pale yellow to dark brown. In fact some species in Ceylon are black. Further, the termites belong to the group of insects known as isoptera and their nearest relatives amongst common insects would be cockroaches. Termites can easily be distinguished from ants by the absence of the waist-like portion of the body between the thorax and the abdomen, which is so characteristic of the latter. Perhaps the only point of similarity between ants and termites is that both are social, polymorphic insects. Like ants, termites live in society: each society consists of two parents and their offspring and the two generations live in mutual co-operation in a common abode or shelter. And, again like ants, they show a tendency to division of labour among the members of the colony. The social system of termites is highly developed and its study is of considerable interest. It has been said that termites exemplify man's totalitarian concept of government to which dictatorships tend but which they can, perhaps, never reach. They are amongst the largest insect pests and are found all over the world except in the Arctic and the Antarctic. They antedate human beings by millions of years. Out of over a thousand and a half species, identified by entomologists, India can claim nearly a hundred. Here they are differently known as *ooi*, *ooli*, *dimek*, *saink*, *walawi*, *valati* or *karayan*.

In a termite colony there are, first, the strongly pigmented and mature male and female winged insects, the primary kings and queens. They emerge in swarms usually after the rains, when the weather is hot and humid, and proceed on their sojourns to found new colonies. The wings are cast off during the flight, and the few pairs that survive their natural enemies, such as lizards, birds etc., dig into the ground or wood and start new colonies. The first crop of eggs produces mainly the

workers, and the tending of these first nymphs (insects in pre-adult stage) is done by the royal pair, after which they only take the responsibility of multiplying the colony. Due to practically machine-like laying of eggs, good food and sedentary life, the queen may in the course of time become 2"-4" long, 1" high and 1" broad, about 20,000 times the size of an average worker. Each termite colony is normally the offspring of one queen, which may live up to 10 years. The rate of laying eggs has been observed to be between 30,000 to 80,000 a day. Besides the primary kings and queens, viz., the macropterous forms which take part in colonizing flights, there are the secondary or substitution kings and queens, namely, the brachypterous and the apterous forms. It is significant that in many species, if some mishap occurs to the parent queen, or a part of the colony is separated from the rest, the secondary or substitution queen takes upon itself the function of reproduction and thus perpetuates the colony. In some cases more than one secondary queen may begin to function and growth of the colony may be much more rapid than before.

Apart from the primary and secondary kings and queens, there are in a termite colony the soldiers and workers. The soldiers, male and female, are wingless and sterile, and have vestigial eyes, pigmented heads and a variety of mandibles. Their function is only the defence of the colony in the event of danger from outside enemies. Building of nests, keeping them clean and in good repair, procurement of food, and tending of eggs and nymphs are the duties of the workers. They are the wingless unpigmented 'white ants' with small or no eyes. Their heads may be slightly pigmented. Here again, unlike true ants among which workers are all females, the workers in a termite society belong to either sex. In some species there are no workers, and nymphs of all classes carry on the duties of the workers.

According to their habitat termites can be divided roughly into two main groups: (a) Wood-dwellers, and (b) ground-dwellers. The former group includes dry wood, damp wood and powder post termites. The colonizing pair in this case enters the wood-work of buildings or trees and the entire colony is confined to wood. Contact with earth is not maintained. Colonies of ground dwelling varieties are, on the other hand, always started by royal pairs burrowing into the earth. Even when the nest is away from the ground as in the case of carton nests on branches of trees, contact with earth is secured by means of covered runways.

Ground dwelling species may be divided into three sub-groups.

(1) *Subterranean termites*: They build their nests under the ground and reach their food indirectly by burrowing through the earth

and building covered runways. In India damage to buildings, and consequently to books and manuscripts is mainly due to this type.

(2) *Mound building termites*: These are very well known on account of the 'ant hills' built by them which occasionally grow to fantastic sizes; some of them are 20 feet high and 12 feet in basal diameter. These are built of earth particles cemented together by means of saliva and are almost as hard as cement structures. The humidity inside the mounds is remarkably controlled and maintained at a high level even in arid zones. Indeed they are the air-conditioned sky-scrapers of the termite world.

(3) *Carton nest building termites*: They construct a cellular nest of carton, a compound of earth, wood and faecal matter. A nest of this kind is egg-shaped or round, about the size of a football, encloses a comb like mass of passages and chambers. These may be located in the ground or in wood or in branches of trees.

The more primitive species of termites live in irregular or diffuse nests which have no definite pattern. The wood dwellers, for instance, merely hollow out a series of galleries in logs, decaying wood or trees. The diffuse nests of subterranean termites consist at best of a few hollow chambers with a labyrinth of tunnels and are difficult to trace by digging. Colonies in these diffuse nests are more or less subject to migration when conditions become unfavourable. Concentrated nests are built by the higher species. They stand out from their surroundings by the material used in their construction and also by their design. Mounds and carton nests are examples of this type. A typical subterranean concentrated nest consists of a domed royal chamber more or less in the centre of the nest and a foot or so below the ground connected by a network of galleries with numerous chambers containing fungus gardens. Fungus gardens are used as nurseries and communal rooms. Commonly there is one particularly large fungus chamber adjoining the royal chamber, and also a pair of main ventilating passages running more or less vertically through the nest.

The tiny soft bodied termites are voracious eaters of cellulose, a carbohydrate rich in energy and abundant in wood and plants. Cellulose is very difficult to digest but it is believed that the presence of protozoa in the intestines of the termites helps its assimilation. Those species which are devoid of protozoa obtain their food from humus, fungus and organic soil matter in addition to wood.

Termites have the habit of grooming or licking the bodies of one another and have developed a system of mutual feeding with saliva and body secretions. The fatty substances exuded by the queen are parti-

cularly relished by the workers. In fact trophallaxis is a notable feature in the economy of these insects. Even the eggs fail to hatch unless licked and tended. Cast skins, dead bodies and sickly individuals are devoured. Ejected faeces are eaten again and again till they are devoid of all nutrition.

Like all other insects termites, except for some foraging species that work in the sun, like to feel solid matter around them and work in the dark. They move up any cracks or chinks which are wide enough or can be made wide enough to allow them passage. The galleries of subterranean termites follow the grain of wood, which they secretly, silently and ceaselessly eat away, and often cause serious damage before their presence is detected. A thin outer shell is always left and termites seldom so entirely consume the wood fibres that all structural strength is gone. The maintenance of a high percentage of humidity is most important for their existence. Metal, stone, brick, concrete, and other substances which termites cannot penetrate are bypassed and bridged over by granular earth like shelter tubes. Indian varieties of termites are capable of bridging horizontal gaps of nearly three inches and vertical gaps of much greater extent. They do not, however, like downward slopes, exposed points or edges, bright light, or very dry situations, and have an aversion to metals such as zinc or copper.

The articles most liable to attack by termites are those that contain cellulose. Since wood contains a large percentage of cellulose any article made of wood is specially liable to damage by termites, *e.g.* boats, bridges, conduits, mine props, telegraph, telephone and electric poles, tents, fences, railway ties etc. Most of the materials used in archives and libraries, such as paper, wood pulp products, paste boards, rolls of cloth, fabrics and leather are also highly susceptible. It may be noted that termites are selective feeders and much of the material damaged may not be actually eaten but bored through, or corroded with moisture and body secretions or spoilt by layers of carton like earth.

With these facts about the life of termites before us the question of the detection of termites and the measures to be taken to exterminate them may now be considered.

Only subterranean termites need be considered here since this is the type mainly responsible for damages to buildings in India. The existence of termite infestation can be discovered by a periodical examination of the walls, wooden frames, etc., particularly where there are cracks, hollowed wood and covered runways. Where such direct evidence is absent the existence of infestation may be betrayed by swarming flights. Detection will be greatly facilitated and chances of damage reduced if,

at the time of storing, space for examining shelter tubes and cracks on the walls, roof and the floor is provided. How often due to lack of adequate storage facilities valuable records and books are dumped on the ground, or at the most placed on wooden planks or in wooden boxes in direct contact with floor! Of course, to start with, these are regarded as emergency measures; but we all know that they tend to become semi-permanent, if not permanent, and records remain unattended for years. Pressure on storage space often leads to the placing of more and more files, bundles or books on the top shelves till the ceiling is reached. And it is also a well-known practice to push back the almirahs till they touch the wall to provide for additional space. Such unhygienic storage provides favourable conditions for attack by termites and also makes it difficult to detect them. It is a good principle to ensure that materials, vulnerable to attack by termites, are at least six inches away from the ground, wall and roof. This promotes cleanliness, helps better air circulation and provides for quick detection of shelter tubes.

Where books and documents are stored in almirahs of untreated wood immediate protection can be provided by keeping their legs in vessels containing coaltar creosote in kerosene in the proportion 1:2. This mixture is inflammable, and adequate precautions against flame, electric sparks, etc., should be taken. A strong solution of phenyle in water may also be used. Enamelled trays or stone bowls, six inches or more in diameter, will form good containers. Where almirahs have no legs it should not be difficult to provide suitable supports, preferably of iron. Alternatively, one of the following varnishes could be applied to the surface of almirahs, shelves, etc., on which the documents are kept. (1) Varnish prepared from orthochlorophenol, naphthol and petroleum in the proportion 1:1:40. This is to be freely applied with a brush or a piece of cloth. After the first coating dries up a second application of varnish is desirable before books, etc., are placed. (2) 20% solution of zinc chloride in water. (3) Three successive coatings of hot creosote. Creosote is cheap and very effective but its use on furniture has some disadvantages. It imparts black colour and is rather sticky. Creosote should not be heated directly over a flame but the vessel containing it may be kept in a bigger one containing water.

The above varnishes should be applied all round, and squeezed into cracks and joints as far as possible, since it is in such inaccessible places that wood remains untreated and consequently still liable to termite attack. Such treatment should be repeated periodically.

We have till now considered the measures that should be adopted

to prevent termites from attacking almirahs, shelves, etc., containing records. We shall now consider what measures should be taken to annihilate termite colonies.

Normally subterranean termites gain entrance to buildings from colonies removed from the premises, and since the workers can extend subterranean galleries over comparatively long distances, it is often impossible to trace the insects to outside sources. The runways, used by the termites in a building, should be traced back as far as possible. Cracks in walls should be opened up. All disintegrated mortar, debris, wood, etc., should be removed. Since cavities thus formed lead to the nest through inaccessible tunnels, fine poisonous dust should be blown into the cavities and the connecting tunnels by means of a dust gun or simply poured in by a spoon. The treated cavities should then be filled in with cement. The poisonous dust that is blown in would adhere to the bodies of the termites as they move to and fro, and because of their habit of grooming or licking, the entire colony is soon poisoned. To secure best results, the poison used should be finely powdered, kept dry and well-dispersed. White arsenic, Paris green, sodium fluosilicate or 5% DDT in Fuller's earth are recommended for the purpose. While arsenic is quick in action and would annihilate a termite colony in 1-2 months, it is a stomach poison to human beings and should be used with the greatest care. Sodium fluosilicate is slow acting but less dangerous to handle. The area around the building should be carefully examined and cleared of decaying wood, debris, dead roots, etc. Where concentrated nests are located they can be destroyed by poisons. A number of holes some 18" deep may be bored over the area covered by the nests and then a few ounces of petrol, carbondisulphide, coal tar creosote in kerosene, orthodichlorobenzene or diphenylamine may be poured through them. After the liquid fumigants have been poured the holes should be sealed with wet earth to conserve the vapour for as long a period as possible. Diffuse nests of subterranean termites may be dealt with when the exit holes are located at the time of swarming flights.

The possibility of stopping termite damage by means of soil poisons has been successfully explored in the U.S.A. Quite a few chemicals have been used for the purpose with success. Only two of these may be mentioned here since they can be easily procured in India and there is little danger involved in their handling.

(1) Coal tar creosote may be used alone; but when diluted with light fuel oil in the proportion 1:2 it penetrates into the soil better. Its odour indoors remains unpleasant for not more than three weeks. The mixture, however, is irritant to the skin and eyes and should be handled

with care. (2) 5% solution of DDT in kerosene or diesel oil is also an effective soil poison. Roughly $1\frac{1}{2}$ table spoonfulls of DDT per pint of kerosene, or 21.8 parts of DDT to 414 of kerosene by weight are required to make a 5% solution. Oil solutions of DDT should not be allowed to come in contact with the skin as they might cause serious injuries unless immediately washed off. As regards the mode of applying these soil poisons, trenches eight to twelve inches wide and one foot deep should be dug all along the foundation walls and also around chimneys, pipes etc. Such a trench is sufficient where foundations have shallow footings or where there are no cracks. Where cracks have developed, and in case of basements deeper trenches are suggested. Cracks should be carefully sealed with coal tar pitch. For every ten feet of trench 2 gallons of one of the above chemicals should be poured in with the help of a hose or any other safe device. Six inches of soil should then be replaced and another two gallons of solution should again be poured in and covered up with earth. This treatment is enough in the case of shallow trenches. In the case of deeper trenches the process should be repeated till the entire depth is filled in. Where the foundation footings are deep, the purpose of a deep trench may also be served by a shallow trench and a number of bar holes.

Till now we have considered measures to eradicate termites and chemically protect buildings susceptible to their attack. But their results are not enduring. Dust poisons may annihilate the infesting colony but do not bar the arrival of fresh lots of workers or the starting of a new colony. Application of soil poisons is effective for a few years and can at best be regarded as a temporary relief. Permanent relief can be obtained only by constructing termite proof buildings. It is important to note that buildings could be made termite proof for ever with only a small additional cost. Archives and libraries should be designed and constructed to ensure this. It may be stressed that it is not so much the construction materials but the way they are used that determines the susceptibility of a building to termite attack. It is not necessary to go into the structural details of a termite proof building; it is enough to mention a few guiding principles. The floors should be of concrete and so designed as not to develop cracks. They should be properly and firmly joined to the walls. A moisture proof impenetrable barrier should be incorporated all along the internal and external walls at about 1 foot above the floor level. In U.S.A. the use of metallic termite shield is gaining favour. Engineers in India rely on 3"-4" thick continuous layer of concrete which acts as a satisfactory barrier. Points of entry of pipes, chimneys etc., into the earth, have to be properly protected. In no case

should there be wood in contact with the ground. For instance, door sills, flooring joists, planks, steps, etc. should be separated from the rougher concrete foundations by at least 1" thick layer of dense concrete without cracks or joints.

In short the underlying idea is that the design of the building should make it impossible for termites to work their way to the wood by isolating the superstructure from the ground by an impenetrable barrier. To incorporate the necessary modifications in already constructed buildings may be very expensive and in many cases out of question. However, it is pertinent to observe that where such physical isolation is effected in a building infested with termites, the subterranean insects in the wood-work of the building, no matter how numerous they are, soon dry up and die because of their inability to obtain moisture from the earth. It is not possible to lay down any hard and fast rules, but an appreciation of the principles already given will suggest what main steps are necessary in particular cases. For instance, attack through walls with poor grades of mortar may be stopped by coating them with Portland cement on either side. Wooden blocks or supports which are so commonly found plugged into the walls should be taken out and replaced with those of metal or treated wood. Timber in contact with the ground may be first removed and then isolated by a suitable layer of cement underneath. Sometimes, as in case of pillars etc., it is possible to shorten the timber and provide a pier of concrete to isolate the earth from the timber. Ends of beams entering concrete or masonry should not be sealed but provided with cement coves so as to allow 1" air space on all sides. Settlement or contraction joints in a concrete floor often show cracks and allow passage to termites. They may be first widened to a V depression and then filled with cement or coaltar pitch.

R. C. GUPTA

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"HAQUIQAT-I-HAL-I-DEH SUBAH DELHI"
OR
FACTS ABOUT VILLAGES IN DELHI PROVINCE

DURING explorations for historical material in the East Punjab, six large bundles of papers bearing the general title given above were salvaged from the District Headquarters at Karnal. They have been repaired, arranged and rebound into volumes, varying in size from 10" x 12" to 16" x 22", and in all they cover over 7,000 pages. They are in *nastalik* and *shikasta* Persian, and they bear the signatures of the British officers of the day, thus testifying to the authenticity of the records.

The papers deal with about 400 villages of the province of Delhi and extend over the period from 1828 to the end of the century. The bulk of the information contained in them was collected for purposes of revenue settlement when British authority was first established in the region; but they contain also a lot of invaluable information regarding the history and antiquity of these villages, and their social and economic life. The thoroughness with which the data regarding the political, social and economic conditions of the villages has been gathered reminds us of the well-known Domesday Survey of Norman England. The papers are of value particularly for the study of the socio-economic conditions of the region prior to the establishment of British rule therein and also for the study of the first steps at settlement that were taken. A brief outline of the contents of each of these six volumes is given below to indicate their nature and importance.

Volume I (R/3)

The volume contains papers relating to surveys conducted in Panipat, Karnal and Kanur *Parganas* during the years 1829-32. It is a mine of information on all matters relating to land and land revenue administration and throws a flood of light on the economic condition of the areas. Information in respect of the different villages surveyed is available *inter alia* on the following points: condition of lands: jungle, barren, fallow, irrigated or non-irrigated, types of soil, and crops grown in them; quantity and value of seeds sown per *bigha*, average produce from the best, worst and average lands, land measures in vogue, number of *bighas* cultivated with a single plough and estimated annual expenses of such cultivation; land values; systems of land tenure: *minhai* or *mu'aafi*,¹

¹ Rent free lands.

khairat (*khyrat*),² and *batai* or *kankut*³ lands, *jagiri* or service lands, and *malguzari* or lands paying revenue; assessments: abstracts of demands, receipts and balances for the previous five years according to *patwari*⁴ accounts, *siwai*⁵ collections, *Zamindari rasms* (*rasooms*),⁶ deductions from *malguzars* towards allowances payable to *patwaris*, police officers and others, cesses in respect of schools, etc.; cattle: livestock figures in respect of each village, including those of *paikasht* cultivators⁷; population: census of houses and of persons according to sex, community, and economic status, zamindars, hereditary cultivators, agricultural labourers, new settlers, *paikasht* cultivators, traders, petty labourers etc.

Volume II (R/5)

The volume contains papers relating to a number of villages in Sonapat, Kanur and Panipat *Parganas* for the years 1829-32. The information contained in it is, in general, similar in nature to that of Volume I (R/3) described above.

Volume III (R/1)

The volume covers the period from 1836-1903. It contains valuable information about places of historical interest, genealogical tables of notable families, administrative changes, and other miscellaneous matters of local importance. The following list of items will give an idea of the nature of the material found in it.

(1) Public representations and memorials against the continued use of Persian in official correspondence, a language little understood by the masses, and Government notification dated 29 July 1836, replacing Persian by Urdu as the official language of the region.

(2) Copy of a will of Sir James Skinner, Colonel commanding a corps of Irregular Horse, produced before the local court, in which he made provision for the payment of a life pension to three of his Indian companions who had served him with fidelity and devotion.

(3) Account of a visit to Karnal by J. Thomason, Lt. Governor of North-Western Provinces, on 11 January 1845. He observed that the region was mostly deserted and that the lands remained uncultivated. The people exhibited little inclination towards agriculture. There was

² Lands given as charitable endowments.

³ The system of collecting state share in kind, dividing the produce on the threshing floor.

⁴ Village accountant.

⁵ Additional cess or impost.

⁶ Customary payments.

⁷ Non-resident cultivators.

poverty all-round and theft was rampant. He suggested certain measures for the development of agriculture.

(4) Lists of rebels, both civil and military, who joined the banner of Emperor Bahadur Shah during the Mutiny and circulars issued for their apprehension.

(5) Order of Capt. William Micknel, Collector, Thanesar District, notifying the assumption of the government of India by the Crown, and issuing an adequate supply of cartridges to every *Kotwali* and *Tahsil* to meet any emergency, which indicates that conditions were still abnormal.

(6) A list of villages in Karnal District drawn up in 1849 giving details of revenue assessment and land tenures and the names of zamindars, *patwaris*, etc.

(7) Lists of *Rais* and landlords of Karnal, Panipat, Barthal, Kahar, Kaithal, Delhi, Kunjpura, Dahouza, Samkada and Biana with particulars of their relations with Government, honours and titles conferred on them, etc.

(8) Genealogical lists and historical accounts of the ancient rulers of the region compiled under orders of Government in 1849. The volume also contains the "vamshavali" of Chandravamshi Rajputs who ruled over Karnal and Hariana territories known as Panchala Desh⁹; a copy of a *sanad* of Madhav Rao Sindia granting a *Jagir* in Karnal *Pargana*; and a genealogical table and family history of Nawab Najabat Khan.¹⁰

(9) A copy of the will of Nawab Muhammad Isahaq Khan¹¹ and connected papers throwing light on Government's relations with local princes in such matters as adoption, etc.

(10) A descriptive list of prominent buildings and historical monuments in the region, which would be of great interest to students of history and archaeology.

Volume IV (R/2)

The volume roughly covers the period 1843-80. The papers mainly relate to the history and antiquities of the various villages and towns, with

⁹ Genealogy.

⁹ The genealogical table in the volume bears this heading. But it may be noted that according to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India* (1924) and Nundo Lal Dey's *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* (1927), Panchala Desh did not include this region: South Panchala extended from the southern bank of the Ganges to the river Charmanvati or Chambal, and North Panchala extended from the Ganges to the Himalaya.

¹⁰ A Rohilla Pathan, who, as a Captain of the Mughal Imperial forces, founded the state of Kunjpura, near Karnal. He was killed while defending the stronghold on behalf of Abdalies against a sudden attack by the Maratha General Sada Sheo in 1760.

¹¹ A member of the family of the titular nawabs of Karnal, also known as *Mandals*, founded by Lord Lake in 1804. He was one of the original assignees of the *Jagir* on *Istamarari* or perpetual tenure.

particular reference to buildings of historical significance in the region. Information is available particularly in respect of the *tahsils* of Gohla, Badhwa, Kolokal, Kamokhala, Pahawa, Kaithal, Habari, Poundari and Ram Teheli, and the towns of Karnal, Panipat, Sonapat and Kalingar. The thoroughness with which the investigation was carried out is seen from one of the questionnaires which sought information about all places over 200 years old: the *parganas* of which they were deemed parts, the founders of the towns and their genealogical history, temples and tanks, with the names of persons who built them, and the names of priests or other persons in charge at the time, references to books wherein the towns are mentioned, etc. Particular mention may be made of the collection of local legends regarding the five Pandavas from Panipat, Sonapat and Thanesar, and of a sketch plan for the restoration and preservation of an old mosque known as Mastgarh at Shahabad.

Volume V (R/4)

The volume contains useful information on a number of miscellaneous subjects, an idea of which may be had from the following:

(1) A list of the names of keepers of the Dargha of Qabinder Sahib of Panipat.

(2) A list of inns and rest houses in Karnal District, with details regarding location, owner, etc.

(3) A register of files relating to *Nazool*¹² in Thanesar District.

(4) Lists of *mu'aafi* lands in Panipat District and in the *tahsils* of Gharaunda and Karnal, with details regarding owners, etc.

(5) Historical accounts of Sonapat and Panipat Districts upto the years 1846 and 1847 respectively, giving lists of villages, area, population, cesses collected, etc.

(6) A list of villages of Babkar *Pargana*, giving details of the products of each village and the share of Government.

(7) A map indicating the boundaries of the villages in Sonapat *Tahsil*.

(8) Descriptive accounts of the villages Charsemer, Nabari, Deeppur and Basodahar.

(9) A list of *Mansabdars* of Panipat District.

Volume VI (R/6)

The volume contains descriptive notes of 234 villages situated in the region adjoining Delhi. They are drawn in the form of separate accounts

¹² Usually meaning land or buildings within or adjoining the sites of towns or villages, the property which the government inherited from former rulers or obtained by escheat.

of individual villages, furnishing details about the period they came into existence, the people who originally settled there, the persons who wielded political control over them at different periods, the system of land tenure and assessment in force, etc. The account given of one of these villages named Darar is reproduced below to indicate the nature of the collection.

"The village is in existence since long and came to be settled by Rajputs of Chohan branch. When the Sikhs came into power the village was occupied by Gajpat Singh of Jind. After him Sardar Sahib Singh of Ladwa assumed its control sheerly by dint of sword. He wrested it from Mohammad Rashid, who was employed by Sardar Gajpat Singh to guard the fort. When the territory of Ladwa was taken over by the British the village was brought under their authority. There is a big canal on the east-west side of the village. Every type of land and all varieties of crops are to be found in the village. There are wells for drinking and irrigation purposes. Previously the revenue was collected by the method of *batai*.¹³ After its occupation by the British the expenses of repairing roads, etc. are borne by the landlords of the village. In 1849 Mr. Dinard, in charge of revenue administration, proposed to alter the existing system of revenue collection and instead introduced the method of periodical assessment since 1853-54. This new system was given effect to by the Deputy Commissioner afterwards."

V. S. SURI

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE RUSSELL CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO HYDERABAD 1783-1852 *

Selections from the correspondence of Henry Russell, Resident in Hyderabad, with his father, Sir Henry Russell, Chief Justice of Bengal

(1) Sir Henry Russell to his son Henry Russell, 13 November 1808

HAS heard of his son's marriage to Jane Amelia Casamaijor.

"Dear Harry,

I have been so much distressed at your uncommunicated Contract of Marriage, that I have not known what to do, to say, or to think upon the Subject. I therefore determined to do nothing, to say nothing, and would to God I could have thought nothing, but at length I find I can be silent no longer.

I have born sickness and sorrow, I hope, with becoming fortitude and resignation, but your neglect of me, in one of the most important concerns of your Life, I have scarcely known how to endure, and I fear I have not born it well. Your Marriage in itself has vexed and disappointed me very much, but the manner of it has mortified me much more. We have for some years lived together like Brothers: all parental authority has been merged in friendship and Confidence. Why then did you withdraw from me all Confidence, and refuse to trust me on an occasion so important both to your happiness and mine; knowing, as you must know, that there is no person in the World so interested in your Welfare as I am, and that your Happiness is one of the chief foundations of your Father's, why did you expose me to the degrading mortification of hearing from every mouth but your own, that you was going to be married; and, though urged by me on the Subject, why was you silent till you could tell me that e'er my answer could arrive it would be of no avail, and that the Marriage would be solemnized before I could either give or withhold my Consent. This surely is treatment which a Father, less kind than I have been, ought not to have met with. I think that on Reflection you can never justify or excuse it to yourself, and I fear that to my last hour I shall never recollect it without pain. As to the disappointment of my ambition, that disturbs me very little; for affection has humbled me, and almost cured me of ambition: besides at no time of my Life was I so devoted to it, as to sacrifice to it the happiness

¹³ The system of collecting state share in kind.

* The first instalment of this article appeared in *The Indian Archives*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, January-June 1954, pp. 59-66.

of myself or of my Child. Neither, wounded as my feelings are, will I suffer them to produce others still more agonizing, by discarding you. I have lost a darling Daughter, and cannot afford to throw away a beloved Son: the Tears with which I write this convince me that I cannot. All resistance is now in vain. I must submit. I cannot, I will not, destroy your happiness; nay I would not disturb it for a moment. Therefore, my Son, I forgive you; and assure yourself, my dear Harry, that the same Love which compels me to forgive you at all, compels me also to forgive you from my Heart. I will from this moment indulge no displeasure against you. I pray to God to bless you both: may You live long and happily together. Of your Wife I hear every thing that is favorable, and I believe she is *almost* all I could wish. If she make you a good wife, and promotes your domestic happiness, I must love her, for you know by experience that whoever is kind to any one of my Children finds an easy access to my heart Give my Love to your Wife and accept, my Children, the Blessing of

Your affectionate Father"

(2) *Henry Russell to his father, Poona, 2 March 1811*

Has handed over the Poona Residency to Mountstuart Elphinstone. Here follow several letters written *en route* to Hyderabad, to the Residency of which, Henry Russell has been appointed.

(3) *Henry Russell to his father, Seroor, 40 miles E.N.E. from Poona, 4 March 1811*

Left Poona 2 March 1811.

" . . . As to the Country I have passed through, nothing can be more melancholy than the Appearance of it. Deserted Villages, unfrequented Roads, and the Traces of former cultivation, make the Scene more painful than it otherwise would be by shewing what it has once been, and aggravating the Look of the present Misery by the Contrast of former Blessings . . ."

(4) *Henry Russell to his father, Camp at Khair on the Godavery, 87 miles S.E. from Jaulna and 183 N.W. from Hyderabad, 3 April 1811*

" . . . The whole of the Nizam's Country I have yet passed through is falling rapidly to decay. The soil though very rich is uncultivated and overrun with Jungle and not more than one village out of three has any Inhabitants in it. I never saw a country for which nature has done so much, and Man so little. The Paishwah's Country even now is better than the Nizam's and it is improving . . ."

(5) The two letters which follow from Sir Henry Russell to his wife Anne Russell are inserted because they describe his journey from Calcutta and his reception at Hyderabad.

Hyderabad, 11 February 1813

"My Dearest Anne,

You will be delighted to receive a Letter from me dated from this place. How much more delighted should I be, could I find language to describe those feelings, which have been called forth, by the Reception I have met with here; or rather I should begin with my Conduct hither, all the way, from Masulipatam to Hyderabad. But I must make you accompany me all the way during my Voyage and Journey, so if you please we will start from the Court House at Calcutta. On getting in to my palanquin, I was surprised to find my own guard there drawn out, without any orders from me, to salute me as I passed. When I stepped on board the Boat at Champaul Ghaut, to go on board the Yacht which was to convey me to Masulipatam, I was saluted by seventeen Guns from Fort William, and should have been saluted in the same way, by the Yacht, when I got on board, but there were there some very large magnificent pier Glasses for the Resident at Hyderabad which might have been broken by the discharge of the Guns. I therefore desired to dispense with that Compliment . . . My Companions were Engineer Russell and Holroyd, who were returning to Hyderabad; the former had come from there to see Calcutta; the latter, to see his sister, who is married to Captain Court, Marine Surveyor General, who lives in Calcutta. Robert Saunders and Aylmer accompanied me; Bob pour s'amuser, and Aylmer in quest of an appointment at the Residency, which I hope Harry will be able to give him. There were besides Major Dickens, who is lately arrived from England . . . Captain Everard on a visit to his Brother Lt. Coll. Everard who commands the 34th and Mr. Sotheby . . . So you see our party made eight, namely Sir H. R., Engineer Russell, Holroyd, Bob Saunders, Aylmer, Major Dickens, Capt. Everard and Sotheby. The Captain of the Yacht, an officer of the Bombay Marine, made nine, and a merrier set were never got together. There was not a frown seen the whole voyage, and the Captain declared when he got to Masulipatam, that if he always had such passengers, he should never wish to go on shore. We weighed anchor at Calcutta at one o'clock in the day of the 5th of January, and anchored in Masulipatam Bay at seven o'clock in the evening of Friday the 15th. This was a long passage, but after we left the River which we did in the morning

of the 7th we met with Calms and contrary Winds. Soon after we anchored in the Roads of Masulipatam, a Boat came off to us from the Master Attendant to know what ship we were, and at two o'clock in the Morning another came with a Letter to say that he, and Charles, who was waiting for me at Masulipatam would come off to us at day light. They accordingly came, and after an absence of ten years I had the Transport of pressing that Dear Boy to my Heart. He is not at all altered in Face. He is grown very tall, and when dressed looks extremely like a Gentleman, but what is best of all, he is one of the most amiable Creatures in the World. His delight is to make others happy, and his manners are uncommonly mild. About eight o'clock the Tide serving for us to go over the Bar, we went on then in the Commanding Officer's Boat. Sir George Barlow (within whose Government Masulipatam is) having given orders that I should be received with every mark of Respect, all the officers of the place, civil and military, met me on my landing. The Troops were drawn out, and the Fort fired seventeen Guns. I walked through the Fort, and then was driven by Holroyd, in a Curricule, which Harry had sent down for me, to the House of the Collector, about two miles from the Fort, to breakfast. The Collector's name is Russell. He is a brother of our old Friend Claud, who you know is a son of Sir Hugh Inglis's Friend Russell. I stayed at his house, Saturday and Sunday, to give time for the Baggage to be got on shore, and our people to be prepared for the March, which from thence to Hyderabad was the March of a prince; Harry had so prepared every thing both for Comfort and State. But I must apply to Charles for ye Detail, for he was Commander in Chief and his statement is as follows.

One Company of Grenadiers with three officers...as my Body Guard: the officers always breakfasted and dined with us: a Jemadar and thirty of ye Resident's escort as Sentries, a Havildar and twelve Troopers to attend my Carriage. Mr. Currie the Dr. of Ye Residency.

The followers were:—

Bearers	... 80	Fishermen	... 5	Khansamah	... 1
Coolies	... 70	Elephant men	... 63	Khidmatgars	... 10
Swordmen	... 25	Camel men	... 12	Cooks	... 2
Hircarrahs	... 34	Bullock men	... 12	Chobdars	... 6
Furrashes	... 30	Water Carriers	... 14	Tindals	... 2
Maitres	... 3	Smiths	... 3	Kulashees	... 12
Musalchees	... 28	Carpenters	... 2	Bullisman	... 1
Chubamen	... 4	Cobblers	... 2	Foulman	... 1
Falconers	... 10	Tailors	... 2	Farrier	... 1

To these must be added the servants of our party. I brought only five—Jemadar, Jaumdie, Khidmutgar Cook, Taylor, Washerman.

In all I suppose the followers amounted to 500. We had besides 30 Elephants, 18 Camels, and 100 Bullocks. With this party we left Masulipatam at day light on Monday the 18th of January and marched only eight miles; one always makes the first march short, least any thing should be left behind. Our other marches were 10, 12, or 14 miles a day...we always got to our Ground to Breakfast. In the front of the Centre of the Camp was the large Tent in which we all breakfasted and dined, with the Union Flag hoisted in the front of it, and two Sentries at the Door. Immediately behind that was my tent, which was very large, with an excellent Bed in it.....

At 150 miles distant from Hyderabad we met the first supply of Grapes and Vegetables from the Resident, and which was repeated every day, and in such abundance as to be sufficient not only for us but for all our Servants. Was not this princely? In what part of the world but this could such a thing be done... On the 26th we entered the Nizam's Dominions, and were met by two Native Officers with about 150 Horse each, and two or three Elephants. They drew up as they approached our Camp, and saluted, and after breakfast they came to our Tent, and presented to me their Nuzzers; and I put on (the) Turban of each of them a Jewel. . . . (Meets his son after a separation of six years).

Harry was accompanied by 3000 Cavalry and 500 Infantry, who had been sent, on the part of the Nizam, to receive me on his Frontier, and accompany me to the Capital...Harry stayed with me two days, and then returned to Hyderabad to prepare for my reception...(Describes the splendour of the reception of the Chief Justice by his son the Resident).

At the appointed place we met the Resident, accompanied by his Staff, the Commanding Officer of the Subsidiary Force, many other officers of a Regt. of the Company's Cavalry. The Cavalry drew up in Line, the Resident with his Suit advanced towards me about one hundred yards on their Right. He was very elegantly dressed. He had on a General's Hat with Ostrich Feathers, a plain blue coat with rich gold Epauletts, and a Sash ornamented with gold, a very handsome sword, and he was mounted on the handsomest Bay Arabian Charger I ever saw in my Life, most elegantly caparisoned, with scarlet richly embroidered with Gilt. When he came near me, he took off his Hat very gracefully indeed, as if he was meeting a Great Man whom he had never seen before in his life. I returned his Salute as well as my Nerves would let... (Much detail of this description omitted).

I forgot to tell you that among the Troops, that received me at the Residency, was the first Battalion of a new raised Corps called the *Russells*, in Compliment to the Resident. It is to consist of two Battalions of 800 men each. Holroyd is Adjutant of the first Battalion, and I believe Aylmer will be Adjutant of the second. The Colours for the first Battalion we brought with us from Calcutta, and Harry is to present them to the Corps in a few days, with a very neat speech I dare say, the occasion admits of it. One Flag is the Nizam's Green, with the Arabic words 'Ullah o Ukbar' in the Centre, surrounded by Stars. The meaning of these words is 'God is Great'.... The other Flag is our Union, with the words 'Russell No. 1' in the Centre surrounded by a wreath of Laurel. The Colour of the 2nd Battalion will be the same, only 'Russell No. 2'... ..To complete the History of the Resident's State I must mention his Carriages and Stud. He has a Barouche, a Chariot, two Curricles and a Buggy. He always drives four horses. His Stud consists of about forty Horses all of them very fine Arabs, and his own Riding Horses, particularly his Chargers, the finest I ever saw in my life, and he rides most elegantly, so does Charles... The Resident's grand Charger, on which he met me is called Emperor..."

(6) *Henry Russell to his wife, 16 March 1813*

Describes how he was received by the Nizam's minister. "...on my intimating a wish to retire, a Tray of splendid Jewels, and others of gold Cloths and Shawls, were produced. The Minister put into my Hat three very rich ornaments, round my neck two Collars, one of Diamonds, the other of pearls, round my arms a pair of armlets, and round my wrists two pairs of Bracelets. He also gave presents to Aylmer, Saunders, and the two Captains of my Guard. We then walked off loaded with all this finery: but remember you are to have none of it, for I keep an account of all the presents I give, and of all that I receive, and the Balance, which will be in my favor will be carried to the account of the Company..."

(7) *Henry Russell to his father, 1813*

"My dearest Father,

I will write below what I said on delivering the Colours. I have been lounging on the Couch, and have only this instant got up.

'It can seldom happen to any Man, to present a Corps with its Colours on an occasion personally so interesting to himself as this is to me. The Office is gratifying to me in every Way, and I could not have

been called upon to perform it under happier Auspices. As a publick Man, I consider the Establishment of a Corps, constituted and commanded as this is, to be an Object of Importance to our National Interests; and as a private man, I must always feel an affectionate solicitude in the Prosperity of the Russells; a Name to which I owe, not only the Enjoyment of Blessings myself, but the Power of imparting them to others. I beg you will assure your Men, that I shall constantly watch over their Interests with the utmost Care, and that I commit my Name to them, not only with Confidence, but with Pride. I am sure that you will do it Honour, and I hope that it will bring you Success."

(8) *Henry Russell to his father, 23 January 1814*

"...I saw with Pride and Delight all the Marks of Respect which were paid to you on your leaving Calcutta. The Addresses were both good, I thought, especially that from the Natives, which was very well done indeed. We all admired it here extremely, and are curious to know by whom it was written. I have asked the question of George Saunders, but I think, myself, that though it may have been originally sketched by a Native, it must have been finished by a European Pen. Your answers were both admirable, as I knew they would be, for you always do these Things better than anybody else. I liked the answer to the Natives best. It was a Subject which admitted both of more Novelty and more Feeling. In answering an Address from a Body of European Gentlemen, it is difficult to say anything which has not been said before..."

"The Terms in which the Government spoke of your publick Services in their Dispatch to the Directors were very handsome and proper, and must put some additional Weight in the Scale. Nothing can be more unanimous and stronger than the Tributes you have received, and I shall look anxiously to hear what Impression they make at Home. You will be quite right I think to hold Yourself very high; and to let Ministers clearly see, that if they have your assistance at all, it must be as a Peer. There is nothing but a Title that they can give you; and in Parliament I think you would be a powerful speaker on their side. In Calcutta, if your Value was felt while you were there, it will be still more felt now that you have gone away. George Saunders tells me he hears that you are missed in Court already; and by what I see of Sir Edward East in the Papers, he seems to want both Strength and Confidence. He is tedious and undecided, and no man can expect others to trust him when he shows that he does not trust himself. In his long

Charge to the Grand Jury, at the first Sessions after he went upon the Bench, I was surprised to see that no mention whatever was made of his Predecessor. In so long a Piece I should have thought that at least a few Lines might have been given to a Subject which stood so obviously before him, and that while he was thanking his Majesty so much for extending the Benefit of our Laws to India, he might have said something of the Hand by which the Laws had been so long and so well administered..."

(The Pindari menace is increasing) "... But my own Opinion is (and the Experience of every day confirms it) that much more vigorous and comprehensive Measures than any which appear to be contemplated at Calcutta, ought to be adopted against this formidable and growing Evil..."

(9) *Henry Russell to his father, 26 August 1814*

In this important letter will be found evidence of the Resident's connection with the first Palmer Company in Hyderabad. "... A Number of Disputes and Changes have taken place among us at Hyderabad since you left India. Palmer's and the Engineer's Concern is dissolved. Charles and I have withdrawn our Money. The Engineer is going home immediately, and Palmer has established a new and separate concern of his own. For some time I had had Reason to be dissatisfied with the Manner in which the Influence which the Concern derived from the Countenance I gave it was applied, especially by the head Native Servant in their Employ. A Complaint was made to me last January, that a Person who had offered a large rough Diamond for Sale, had been confined by him in order to force him to take a less Sum for the Stone, although the Price he originally asked was so remarkably small as to leave little Doubt of its being stolen Property, and almost at the same Time I discovered that he had practised such scandalous Extortion in a Case between the Minister and a Banker of Benares, which I had in my official Capacity referred to the House for Arbitration, that I could not possibly overlook it. I communicated the Circumstances in the first Instance to Palmer, being persuaded that he would view them in the same light I did. I found however that the Man was countenanced and supported by him, and that the Acts became his by Adoption; and therefore I told him that I could no longer leave in the Hands either of the House or its Agents the Exercise of an Influence which was universally considered to proceed from me; that I would myself exercise my Influence on their behalf in such Cases as I thought proper;

and that I insisted on the office of the Concern being removed to some Place beyond the Limits of the Residency. This was immediately done, and Matters at first went on smoothly; but Palmer, who is a man of a crooked though an acute Mind, and who could not believe that I would sacrifice so advantageous a Method of employing my Money for no Stronger Reason than a principle of Duty, began to suspect that I had some underhand Object, and that my real Design was to ruin him. This Suspicion, groundless and even absurd as it was, continued to gain strength in his Mind; a personal Coolness soon took place between us, and we have very seldom met since; though I have heard he avowed he was convinced I was hostile to him, and that he frequently expressed warm Resentment, and behaved in many Instances with great Violence. My Intention, when I originally complained to Palmer of the Conduct of his Servants was not to interfere at all with the Foundation of any of the essential Parts of the Establishment, and to leave it entirely to itself in its general concerns. Neither Charles nor I meant at first to withdraw our Money, but as the Engineer withdrew his, mine was necessarily withdrawn with it; and Charles then resolved to withdraw his too. Palmer still retains I believe some of Currie's Money, and he has been joined by John Palmer of Calcutta. His new Concern is not so lucrative as the old one; but such as it is, it is carried on quietly at his own House, and there is an End I hope of all Dispute and Altercation. The Engineer has behaved like a Scoundrel, and has betrayed in every Respect a Character totally different from that which had ever appeared in him before. On his last Return from Calcutta, there was a Violence in his Temper and Language, and a Coarseness in his general Manner, which was extremely disgusting. He gave me Offence on several Occasions, and it was with great Indignation I thought I saw, that the Change in his Conduct, especially towards me, proceeded, partly from a Notion which had gone abroad that I had lost my chief Strength when you and Lord Minto went home, and that it was probable I should be removed by Lord Moira to make Way for some Friend of his own. No personal Difference however had taken place between us when the Disputes about the Concern began, and he appeared in all essential Points to behave on that Occasion as he ought. He assigned to me as his Reason for withdrawing, partly that he thought the Concern insecure in its new Situation, and partly that he disapproved of the Violence of Palmer's Conduct too much to hold any further Connexion with him. At first I believe he was sincere; but he was gradually drawn over to Palmer's Feelings and Opinions, and his Vanity taking Alarm at the Notion that his Consequence was lessened, and that he did not possess that Influence

with me to which he thought himself entitled, he gave a Loose to his Resentment, and behaved as those Men generally do who have no steady Principles to regulate their Mind when their Passions are disturbed. To me he behaved outwardly as he had been accustomed to do, and I had no Suspicion of the real Conduct he was pursuing, until I was warned by my Friends not to trust him, and was given to understand that he was in the Habit of speaking disrespectfully of me in publick Parties, and had frequently betrayed the Confidence which I and those connected with me had placed in him. You will be disgusted to hear that he has openly talked before Strangers of various little circumstances relating to your Views and mine, and to our domestic concerns, as well as of other Matters of much more Delicacy and Importance. I do not intend to come to any open Rupture with him, for we shall probably be only a few Days together, and contempt very much predominates over every other Feeling that I have towards him. He must have seen however by my Manner, and must be conscious from his own Sensations, what I think of him, and he must suspect that I have let you into the Truth of his Character and Conduct; but I shall not tell him what I have written to you, in order that you may be entirely free not to receive him at all, or to receive him in any Way you may think fit, on his Arrival in England. If you should resolve not to receive him at all, he will know perfectly well what your Reasons are, and it will be quite sufficient, I imagine, for you to intimate to him that you had heard from me what his Conduct had been for some Months before he left Hyderabad. I believe him to be as mean a Scoundrel as any on the Face of the Earth, and will never again repose Trust in any Man, whom I find to be like him, totally devoid of all Religious and Political Principles. He is an Instance of a Man who is bad more from weakness than Design, more because he has no Principles at all than because he has positively bad ones. He means to go Home in the very first Ship in which he can procure a Passage, and has written to Madras, I believe, to endeavour to get one in the *Asia*, which is expected to sail almost immediately.

"Even if these Disputes had not happened, I should probably have found myself obliged to withdraw my Money from the Concern; for I discovered that it was very much talked of, and that a Notion prevailed, especially at Madras, that I was in reality the Head Partner, and that it was altogether supported and maintained by me. My withdrawing will certainly affect the Period of my Stay in India; but it will most likely shorten rather than lengthen it. To make so large a Fortune as that on which I formerly calculated, I should now be obliged to remain here many more years than it would be worth my while to sacrifice to

any Purpose of mere Fortune; and if I limit my Views to a Moderate one, say 60,000 Pounds, I shall probably be able to retire a Year or two sooner than I originally intended. The whole of my Money will be repaid to me out of the Concern in the Course of two or three Months, and then I shall be able to tell accurately how much I am now worth, which at present I cannot do. I think that I must have altogether near 40,000 Pounds. I shall however send you an exact Account as soon as I possibly can, with a statement of the Rate at which it is likely, with Interest and Savings, to increase from year to year; and I shall then be guided exclusively by Your Advice, as to the Time of returning to England. Much will depend on what you find the Expense of living to be, on the Change that the Peace may make in the Value of Money, and on what Your Opinion may ultimately be as to a joint Purchase of Land between you and Charles and me. To be invested in Land, 60,000 Pounds seems to be a very small Sum; but the 3000 a Year, or near that, which it would produce if laid out in the Funds, would surely be enough for me. I am not expensive in my own Person, and have not the least Desire to live in any Respect beyond the ordinary Style of a private Gentleman who keeps his Carriage. As long as I continue Single 3000 a Year will surely be ample enough for that; and there is not much likelihood of my being married, unless it be to a Woman who will bring an Increase to my Fortune. The Season of marrying for Love is past with me; and I should now think something of a Fortune one at least among the necessary Qualifications of a Wife. On all Points relating to the Subject of this Letter I have communicated most freely and confidentially with Charles, so that to whichever of us Your Letters are addressed, you may write with equal Unreserve about them all. The withdrawing of our Money from the Concern has of course affected his Fortune just as it has done mine. He talks now of going home whenever I do, and I think his succeeding to the Residency is the only thing that would induce him to remain longer in India. Whether we are likely to accomplish that Object, is very doubtful; if we do, it will probably be more by the Execution of your Influence at Home, than by anything that can be done by us in this Country. It would be a vast Point to carry if possible. Even although Charles were to remain only two or three Years in the Situation, it would give an honourable Close to his Career, besides making a substantial addition to his Fortune.

"I have not discovered any Reason to suppose that the Engineer, among the other Subjects to which he has given such a Licence to his Tongue, has said anything of the Presents which were exchanged while you were here. But as that is a Point which might be perverted by

with me to which he thought himself entitled, he gave a Loose to his Resentment, and behaved as those Men generally do who have no steady Principles to regulate their Mind when their Passions are disturbed. To me he behaved outwardly as he had been accustomed to do, and I had no Suspicion of the real Conduct he was pursuing, until I was warned by my Friends not to trust him, and was given to understand that he was in the Habit of speaking disrespectfully of me in publick Parties, and had frequently betrayed the Confidence which I and those connected with me had placed in him. You will be disgusted to hear that he has openly talked before Strangers of various little circumstances relating to your Views and mine, and to our domestic concerns, as well as of other Matters of much more Delicacy and Importance. I do not intend to come to any open Rupture with him, for we shall probably be only a few Days together, and contempt very much predominates over every other Feeling that I have towards him. He must have seen however by my Manner, and must be conscious from his own Sensations, what I think of him, and he must suspect that I have let you into the Truth of his Character and Conduct; but I shall not tell him what I have written to you, in order that you may be entirely free not to receive him at all, or to receive him in any Way you may think fit, on his Arrival in England. If you should resolve not to receive him at all, he will know perfectly well what your Reasons are, and it will be quite sufficient, I imagine, for you to intimate to him that you had heard from me what his Conduct had been for some Months before he left Hyderabad. I believe him to be as mean a Scoundrel as any on the Face of the Earth, and will never again repose Trust in any Man, whom I find to be like him, totally devoid of all Religious and Political Principles. He is an Instance of a Man who is bad more from weakness than Design, more because he has no Principles at all than because he has positively bad ones. He means to go Home in the very first Ship in which he can procure a Passage, and has written to Madras, I believe, to endeavour to get one in the *Asia*, which is expected to sail almost immediately.

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the Malice and Ingenuity of your Enemies or Mine, I have thought it best to place it at once beyond the Reach of Misrepresentation; and therefore, as soon as all the Articles were disposed of, and Charles and I were able to make out the Amount, we included the Value of two Strings of Pearls, as well as of all the other Articles, except the two Rings, and I carried the Balance, which amounted I think to about 17,000 Hyderabad Rupees, to the Credit of the Company in my public accounts, as 'the Sum by which the Value of the Presents received by you exceeded that of those given by you,' according to the Intimation contained in my Dispatch to Lord Minto, of which I sent you a Copy at the Time. No Entry was necessary beyond this Item, but a particular Account, of which I will send you a Copy, has been made out, and recorded in the proper Book at the Residency. For the Value of the Rings I omitted to give Credit, because they never compose a part of mere formal Presents, but are reserved for occasions of peculiar Compliment, and given only as Tokens of personal Regard and Respect. You could not have rejected them without giving just Offence to the Ministers, and I could not have sold them with the other Articles without obvious Indelicacy. I have in the first Instance paid the amount of the Balance into the Treasury, and shall repay myself out of the Money which the Engineer has of yours, to the Amount I believe of about 23,000 Rupees. The rest of that Money I shall add to that which you already have under my Care. . . ."

(10) *Charles Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 5 September 1814*

Inserted here because it relates to his connection with the Palmer Company.

"... These Disputes, by withdrawing Henry's and my Fortune from such a lucrative Mode of Employment, have of course very much circumscribed our Views. To make any Thing near the Sum that we looked to, when you were here, we must stay a much longer Period in India than we then proposed. This we are neither of us, I think, much disposed to do, and, limiting our Views at all, it is probable that they will now become so much more moderate that the Time of our staying here will rather be shortened than protracted. Henry talks generally of about £60,000—I shall be satisfied with what I may have when he goes Home, whatever it may be. At present I cannot make a Prospective Estimate of my Fortune with any tolerable accuracy. As soon as I extricate all my Property from Palmer's hands, which will probably be by the End of the Year, I shall know exactly what I am worth, which I do not know

now. I look to its then being about 35 or 36,000 £. I shall be able to make an accurate Calculation of my yearly Accumulations, which I will send to you, and you will be able to judge, what it will be most prudent for us to do. Indeed both Henry and I shall be very much guided by Your Opinions and Wishes. If he determines to go Home, when he has £60,000 and if that should be about the Beginning of 1818, I think I should be tempted, if I could succeed to the Residency, to remain till the Beginning of 1820, partly to improve my Fortune, but more for the sake of closing my Life in India with some Credit, at the Head of the Line, which I have always pursued. But I have no Expectations that could be effected here. I think my Claims to the Residency at Hyderabad are very strong. But then Claims, however strong, are always overlooked, unless backed by a very powerful Interest; and I have to surmount the Obstacle of being a military Man into the Bargain. I must, therefore, rely upon you if anything is to be ever done on this Point. You know exactly what sort of English Recommendations are of any avail. The strongest Letters, that private Friends give, are neglected. Nothing probably would make me Resident at Hyderabad, an office for which there will be such a strong Competition, short of a specific Appointment to it by the Court of Directors, or a particular Request that I should succeed to this particular Office by one of the principal Ministers."

(11) *Henry Russell to his father Gollupollum, 25 miles north from Masulipatam, 22 September 1814*

"... I received a voluminous Dispatch from Adam a few days ago, containing the Governor General's Instructions for the Investigation of the Disputes between the Nizam's and the Paishwah's Governments, and appointing me to conduct them. These Disputes relate to what are called the Paishwah's "Choute Claims", that is, his Demands, both in Arrear and Continuance, of a Portion, fluctuating in its Amount, of the Revenues of the Nizam's Territories, which was exacted by the Marhatas, in the early Days of their Power, as a Consideration for their abstaining from indiscriminate Plunder. These Claims have, for a long Course of Years, been a Subject of Dispute; and sometimes of War, between the two Governments; and by the Treaties which we concluded with the Nizam in 1800 and the Paishwah in 1802, we undertook the Office of Arbitration. The question ought to have been decided long ago; but each successive Governour seems to have been alarmed at its Intricacy and Extent, and to have availed himself of any Pretext he could to transfer it to his successor. Elphinstone's first Assistant,

Captain Close, is to be sent to Hyderabad, with some Agents on the part of the Paishwah, and I am to superintend and direct the Discussions between them and the Nizam's Ministers, and to make a Report on the Substance and Result of them to the Supreme Government. . ."

(12) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 7 December 1814*

On his return from Masulipatam to Hyderabad he was attacked by a gang of robbers.

"... Twenty-two of the Gang have since been taken, and ordered to be executed; five at Hyderabad, and the rest at the different Places on the Road, which are most infested by Thieves. . ."

Is dissatisfied with Currie. . . "Currie, although he has too much Scotch Discretion to take an active or an open Part in anything, has continued his Connexion with Palmer throughout, and is still a Partner in his Concern."

Refers to inefficient officers in the Nepalese war.

"... The Days of the Clives, and Lawrences, and Cootes and Goddards have gone by."

(13) *Henry Russell to his father, 21 April 1815*

"... Sir William Rumbold, whom you must have seen in Calcutta, is just now my Guest at the Residency. He came here to consult me about lodging his Money in the new House which William Palmer has established, and at my Recommendation he has determined to join it as a sleeping Partner. He will continue in Calcutta, and Palmer will conduct all the Concerns of the House here. I send you a Copy of a Letter of Recommendation which he brought me from Lord Moira. I like him very much. He is mild, gentlemanlike, and sensible, and improves upon you the more you see of him. He brought Lady Rumbold and his Children to Masulipatam but she was so unwell there, and the weather was so hot that he was obliged to leave her, and come on without her. He is staying with George Russell at Gollupollam, where I was last year. . ."

Encloses letter from Lord Moira to Henry Russell, camp at Kurnaul, 5 January 1815

"Sir,

Let me beg leave to introduce to you Sir William Rumbold, in whose welfare I take a lively interest. It is a liberty I would not use, were

I not certain that you would find him a most acceptable acquaintance. To good sense and essential worth he adds those polished manners, and those habits of good Society, which must always render him agreeable. His object in visiting Hyderabad is to inform himself minutely respecting the state of the House of Palmer & Co., in which he is invited to become a Partner. It will be an obligation to me, if you will give him any insight, which it may be in your power to communicate, with regard to a Matter that may influence his fortune so importantly: and you may depend on his observing the strictest secrecy on any Points which you may confidentially communicate.

I have the honour, Sir, to be etc., etc.
(Signed) Moira."

Encloses reply from Resident to Lord Moira, Hyderabad, 8 April 1815

"My Lord,

Sir William Rumbold arrived at Hyderabad yesterday and I have had the honour to receive from him your Lordship's Letter of the 5 January. I beg your Lordship to be assured of my shewing him every attention, and affording him every sort of advice and assistance in my power, although I am too much indebted to your Lordship for giving me so agreeable an acquaintance, and have too much real pleasure in executing your Lordship's Commands to be entitled to claim any Merit on that Account.

I have already had a good deal of confidential conversation with Sir William Rumbold on the object of his Visit to Hyderabad, and have not only given him my opinion very fully, but have also put him in possession of all the Information I could to enable him to form an Opinion of his own regarding the nature of Messrs. Palmer & Co.'s Establishment. I believe he has resolved to accept the Invitation which has been given him to become a Partner in the House, and I have indeed encouraged him to do so, having no doubt of his finding their Transactions equally advantageous and secure.

Your Lordship has probably heard that Lady Rumbold was obliged by the Delicate State of her Health, and the severe heat of the weather to relinquish her intention of accompanying Sir William on his Journey to Hyderabad, and prudently resolved to remain at Masulipatam until his return.

I have etc. etc.
(Signed) H. Russell."

(14) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 26 July 1815*

"... We have a hunting Party tomorrow Morning. The Spot on which my Tents are pitched is a very beautiful one; the Country is now as green and fresh as a Gentleman's Park in England; and the Weather quite as cool as I ever wish it to be. We have Plenty of Game of all Kinds, from royal Tygers down to Hares. . .

"Our Government seems to be opening its Eyes, and to be finding out, at last, that a System of mere Defence will not answer. If we do not attack the Pindarries, they will certainly attack us. But the Directors I suppose will be frightened at the Expense, and will bring forward a Volume of musty Arguments, the real English of which will be, that they had rather lose India upon cheap Terms, than consent to pay money for keeping it. . ."

(15) *Henry Russell to his father, 30 July 1815*

"... Palmer's Concern is prosperous, and he professes to be grateful to me for the Support I have given him. We never at any Time had much personal Intercourse but we are upon very good Terms, and I am one of the Constituents of the House . . . I now think however that I shall not remit the whole of your Money to you as I originally intended. Of the two Lacs with Bunmallee Dass, I have already received and remitted to you 1,04,970 leaving a Balance of 95,030 still in his Hands. I think that I shall leave that Balance with him, and even complete it, out of the Interest which will be due at the End of the Year, to the round Sum of a Lac. The rest of the Interest, as well as the amount of your Pension which I will henceforward draw from George Saunders, I propose to lodge with Palmer's House, in the same Way in which they receive Money from all their Constituents, until it amounts to a Lac of Rupees, or even more if you should wish it. They allow 12 per Cent Interest, and I consider the Credit of the House to be unexceptionable. Sir W. Rumbold has become a Partner, by my Advice, and with the concurrence of Lord Moira; and the Establishment has been publicly sanctioned by Government, in consequence of an Application which I made for that Purpose. The Money being lodged with them, as from a Constituent, can be recalled at any Time; and if there be any Favour, it is conferred and not received by us. The Partners expressed themselves indebted to me for becoming a Constituent, and lodging money with them . . ."

(16) *Charles Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 30 July 1815*

Inserted here because it relates to the new Palmer Company.

"... All our Differences with Palmer have subsided. There is little Intercourse between Us, and indeed there never was much. But he expresses himself perfectly satisfied with his present Establishment, and the Support it receives, and on one or two Occasions he has shewn an Eagerness to comply with all Henry's Wishes. Henry and Palmer never held any personal Communication on Business. He and I, throughout the whole of the Altercation, continued to preserve Appearances, and all Matters, therefore, go on more smoothly through me. But he calls on Henry occasionally and they meet in Society and are always very civil and courteous to each other. The only Evil, therefore, that has resulted, or is likely to result, is the Diminution of our expected Fortunes. I am modest in my Desires, and I have no Rank to maintain, so that is a Matter of comparative unimportance to me. But it affects Henry more . . . Your Fortune too has unfortunately been affected by the same Causes as ours. While Henry's Health was precarious and while Matters here were in a troubled State he became anxious to send what he could of yours off, and he did send a great Proportion. But we were talking the Matter over the other Evening, and he seems to be now disposed to keep a Lac of Rupees of yours in Bunmwallee Dass's Hands; and to place the Interest, arising from this Sum, in Palmer's House, till it amount to another Lac. Fortunately Henry's Health is so much improved that there is little Probability of its forcing him Hence; so that he will now stay till you tell him that his Fortune is large enough. I shall do the same, though I shall relinquish the Scheme of joining you in 19 or 20 with great Reluctance. Your opinion of the Engineer's Conduct is exactly the same as mine. It proceeded more from Weakness than Vice. There is no Harm to be feared from him . . ."

(17) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 25 May 1816*

"... The Court of Directors, in their universal spirit of Retrenchment, have fallen foul of the Residencies at last. Our personal Salaries are left as they were, but the Allowance for our Expenses is reduced from 5193 to 3000 Sicca Rupees a Month. The Salary of the Post Master is entirely done away, by which Charles loses 350 Rupees a Month, the Duty being directed to be done gratuitously by one of the Assistants; and with the Exception of Hyderabad, which is allowed two, the Number of Assistants at all the other Residencies is ordered to be reduced to one.

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The Reduction of our Allowances we shall all severely feel. Neither Jenkins nor Elphinstone nor I ever lived within the former Limits; and how we shall be able to make both Ends meet upon the new Scale, I cannot yet conceive. Elphinstone told me, that upon an Average, he has always spent, in addition to his publick Allowance, 1500 Rupees a Month of his personal Salary which is upward of half; and Claret he says is now out of the question. I am reducing my Establishment as much as I can, and am resolved, if I can possibly help it, not to break in upon my personal Salary. But, although I have no sort of obligation to boil my own Tripe, or black my own Shoes, I must have a Pint of Claret for myself, and a Bottle for my Friend . . . ”

(18) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 14 August 1816*

Encloses a letter from Lord Moira thanking him for his report on Hyderabad affairs.

“ . . . I had a very civil answer from Lord Moira dated the 6th of June. He says ‘Had not peculiar occupation for which I am sure of Your Allowance, interrupted me, so much Time would not have lapsed in my thanking you for the highly satisfactory knowledge you have given me respecting Individuals at Hyderabad. In the State of Society which an Indian Court presents, the Views, Inclinations or Prejudices of leading Men are everything. There is such little conception of the Interest of a State, and there would be so scanty a regard to it if it were comprehended, that the Character of the prominent Individuals must form the main Ground of one’s Play in managing any political object. You really have put me so much in possession of material Clues, that I shall henceforth understand many bearings of Intelligence from your quarter, which might otherwise have escaped me. I have further to express my Obligations for the Portraits of the Personages most prominent on your Theatre. They must give a tolerable Notion of the Figure. The Deficiency of such a Representation once caused me no little Amusement when I perused the Description of myself secretly transmitted by a Vakeel to his Sovereign . . . ’

“Nothing particular has lately occurred in Hyderabad Politicks. The Nizam has taken to excessive drinking again, and is troublesome and absurd in his Conduct; but while he only talks and threatens I shall leave him to himself. He will find me I hope a Match for him if ever he attempts to reduce his Theory to Practice. His Sons still continue in Golconda . . . I am very busy reading Italian, with an Italian Priest who has come from Madras, and will stay with me until towards the End of the Year . . . ”

(19) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 8 October 1816*

“My dearest Father,

I hope that I shall be the first to announce to you the important step I have taken, although it is one which will cause you great Concern and Disappointment. I have contracted a Second Marriage, under circumstances of which you cannot approve, and which I fear you never may forgive. The Lady’s Name is Clotilde Mottet. She is a Frenchwoman and a Catholic, and was born and bred at Pondicherry. I think it just to confess these great objections against her family; but it is also just, and it is due both to her and to myself to state such Considerations as there are to qualify and soften them. Her Family is confessedly the first French Family in India: it is ancient, and under the old Monarchy it was noble, on both her Father’s and her Mother’s side. Her Father has always borne a character of the highest Respectability, and has enjoyed the Confidence both of our Government and of his own. During the Administration of Lord Cornwallis he was Governour of Chandernagore, and since Pondicherry has been held by us, the Superintendence of the Local jurisdiction has been entrusted entirely to him. He has just now received a Pension from the French Government, on which he talks of retiring to France, but as he is near 72, and is very infirm, he may probably resolve on passing the short remainder of his Life in India. With regard to the young Lady herself, her Age is 22. She is rather above the Middle Height, and has a slender graceful Figure; her Complexion is Fair, and she is pretty, without being handsome. She has been living here for two years, and we have been attached to one another for near a Twelvemonth; so that I know perhaps as much of her as a Man almost ever knows of a Woman before he marries her. She is mild and quiet in her manners, reserved with strangers, but cheerful and playful with those she knows; and she is very gentle and affectionate in her Disposition. She is quick in her Capacity, I think, and very desirous of cultivating and improving her Mind. The living with me, and with those who are about me, will encourage her in the Wish I have always seen in her to be an English Woman; and if I were as fully satisfied in all other Respects as I am that she will make me happy, I should feel none of the Distress which I now experience at forming such a Connexion. She has two Brothers and three Sisters. Her elder Brother is an Officer in the King’s Guard at Paris, and is one of the few who adhered to the King after Buonaparte’s Return from Elba. The younger arrived in India from France about six Months ago: he is now at Hyderabad, and I mean to place him in the Russell Brigade. Of her Sisters, the elder is

unmarried, notwithstanding some good offers she has received ; being, as I understand, a very fine and elegant Woman. The Second is married to Major Doveton, whom you remember on Lord Wellesley's Staff, and who now commands a Regiment of Cavalry with this Force. It is with this Sister that she has been living at Hyderabad. The other Sister, who is the only one that is younger than her, is unmarried and lives with her Father and Mother.

You must not imagine, from the Coolness and Distinctness with which I write that I do not feel all that I ought to do on such an Occasion. From long looking at the Objections against the Step I have taken, my mind has become familiar with them ; and having come to a Decision to set them aside, I owe it to my own Tranquility to exercise all the Firmness I can command, and to struggle as well as I am able against the Reproaches and Privations which await me. The Displeasure which you must feel I acknowledge to be perfectly just ; and no Consideration, short of that of Fondness for a Woman, could have tempted me to incur it. I shall submit to it without a Murmur, being conscious that I have sinned against you, though in other Respects I may still think myself worthy to be called your son. My Marriage will hardly affect the Amount of My Fortune, or require me, on that Account, to stay longer in India than I otherwise should have done. But when I find that you are estranged, and that your Door will be shut against me, I shall have lost one of the strongest Inducements I had to return to England, and shall probably therefore remain more years at Hyderabad, and mass a larger Fortune, than I have hitherto intended. But although I shall never assail you with Importunity, or complain of any Asperity with which you may treat me, I shall always be eager to return upon the first Appearance of your being softened towards me. If any Consideration for the Frailty of our Nature, or any Allowance you may be disposed to make for the Warmth of my Affections ; if any good you may remember of me, or any Praise you may hear of my Wife, should induce you to pardon my Error, and restore me to your Favour, I shall return to you with a Heart as full as ever of Gratitude and Fondness, and shall shew you, I hope, that I have ever loved and revered you as you deserve ; and that the Point in which I have offended you, is the only one in which I am capable of doing so. I have now but one Request to make of you. Whatever your final Determination may be, let it be communicated to me through Charles. He has always been my Friend and Comforter in every Distress. He will soften the Blow that I must suffer ; and if you justly know the Value I set upon your Affection, you will not think it necessary to aggravate the Pain I shall suffer at losing it. I shall continue

to write to you as usual, until you desire me to do so no longer. But my Sisters will make Allowance for the Embarrassment I am under, and will not I hope impute it to Unkindness that I do not write to them. Whatever my future Condition may be towards you all, I shall feel I am their Brother ; and even if your Eye should be averted from me for ever, I shall still be towards you, as I always have been, your most grateful and most affectionate Son,

Henry Russell."

Sir H. Russell Bart.

(20) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 29 November 1816*

" . . . The Account of your Money in Palmer's House, which stands in Charles's Name, was made up on the 25th of August. The Native Year, in which they keep their Accounts, is shorter by some Days than our Year, and therefore more favourable for the Constituent. On the 30th of September 1815 you had with them Hyd. Rupees 1,08,345. 8. 6. and the Interest due on the 25th August 1816 was 11,880. 7. 6., making the Balance in your Favour on that Day Hyd. Rupees 1,20,226. Charles will have told you that Palmer consented very handsomely, on receiving the Engineer's Explanation, not only to pay the Balance of Interest that was due to you, but also to allow Interest upon the amount from the original Date at which it ought to have been paid . . . Metcalfe returned to China long ago, and I hope you will have heard something satisfactory from him about your Money there . . . In Consequence of the Representations of the different Residents, Lord Moira has restored to us the former Rate of Allowance for our Expenses. Adam says, in his Official Answer to my Letter on the Subject, 'The Governour General in Council is satisfied, both from the unanswerable reasoning contained in your Letter, and from his own Observation and Reflexion, that the Retrenchments and Reductions, necessary to bring Expenditure of the Residency within the Bounds presented by the Honble. Court, cannot be effected, without, on the one Hand, lowering the Respectability and Efficiency of the Resident's representative character, and consequently impairing the Reputation and Dignity of the Government itself in the publick Estimation, or, on the other, imposing a large Portion of the requisite Equipments and Establishments as a Charge on the personal Salary of the Resident, which has always been held to be, and apparently is intended by the Honble. Court to be, exclusively for his own Benefit. The Governour General is satisfied that no Effort on your Part has been wanting

to apply to the Establishments of the Residency those Principles of Economy and Retrenchment which are so pointedly urged by the Honble. Court. Under this Conviction, and on the Grounds above adverted to, His Lordship in Council has determined to suspend the Operation of the Honble. Court's Orders, regarding the Reduction in the established Sum authorised for Table, Attendants, Camp Equipage etc. until the further Pleasure of the Honble. Court shall be ascertained, in reply to a Representation which will be submitted to them by the Governour General in Council.'

"This is an important Object gained, as it will remove the Necessity of our breaking in upon our personal Salary, which otherwise we might have done, to maintain an appearance of even common Decency and Credit . . . My Acct. at Hyderabad on the 1st Sept. 1816.

Balance Sept. 30, 1815	...	...	108345	8	6
Interest thereon to 25 Augt. 1816	...	...	11880	7	6
Interest on Engineer's to the 1 Sept. 1816			1556	13	0
			121782	13	0"

(21) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 8 March 1817*

" . . . Pitman accepted the Offer I made him, and has been appointed by Lord Moira to the Nizam's regular Infantry in Berar . . .

"We are all well, and perfectly quiet at Hyderabad. The Nizam is drunk from Morning till Night . . ."

(22) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 7 June 1817*

War is about to break out with the Maratha Peshwa.

" . . . I told you that Lord Hastings had approved of a Plan I submitted to him for organizing a Body of the Nizam's Horse in Berar and placing it under the Command of European Officers. The Measure has now been completely accomplished. The Horse are commanded by Capt. Davies, who did command the 2nd Regiment of the Russell Brigade; and he has five other Officers of our own Army employed under him . . . I am very much concerned to tell you, that a difference of a serious Nature has arisen between Charles and me, which made it absolutely necessary that we should separate. Pitman, who is entirely in the Confidence of both of us, and through whom our Communications

passed, did all that could be done to compose Matters. But nothing effectual could be done; and I believe he is satisfied that it was necessary for Charles to leave Hyderabad. He set out on his Way to Calcutta on the 17th and arrived at Madras on the 26th of last month. What his future Intentions are, he will himself have told you; and I willingly therefore refrain from saying anything more on a Subject, of which any further Mention would be painful to you, and unavailing to us . . ."

(23) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 19 September 1817*

He acknowledges that his marriage was an imprudent one, but is glad to learn that his father is not too displeased. About his wife he writes: "It is no small Praise, that having passed at one Step from the Bottom to the Top of Society here, she has not given even a Pretext of Complaint to those who certainly are jealous of her . . . She has just had a miscarriage. . . . If we do give you any grandchildren, you may depend upon it they shall be Protestants . . ."

Operations are about to begin against the Pindaris. He has met Sir John Malcolm who talks too much of himself.

(24) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 22 August 1818*

" . . . My Fortune I am husbanding as much as I can, and am quite as anxious to be in England in 1821, as you can be to see me there. I have now in George Saunder's Hands Company's Paper to the Amount of 4,36,100 Sicca Rupees, in W. Palmer's House about 1,70,000 Hyd. Rupees, in Alexander's of Calcutta about 12,000 Siccas, and in miscellaneous Sums perhaps, not counting Jewels or Property of any Kind, about 30,000 Sicca more. I do not spend a Shilling that I can lay by with Credit . . ."

" . . . Lord Hastings has returned from his Campaign to Calcutta. He has returned triumphant, as Men generally do who fight with good Troops against bad ones, and but for the Escape of the Nagpore Rajah, his Triumph and the Completion of the Peace would have been celebrated together. But although the fugitive Rajah had not many Friends, we had a great many Enemies who have taken advantage of his Name and Situation, and have collected a considerable Force in the Districts which were formerly his and are now ours near the Tapti, between Nagpore and the Nerbudda. They cut up and completely destroyed a Party of 100 Bengal Sepoys under a Captain Sparkes; some small Details have also suffered from them; and as yet no Check has been given to their Operations, but Troops are now moving against them from all Quarters.

Notwithstanding the badness of the Season, and the hard work from which they have not yet completely recovered, Doveton's Troops have moved from Jaulna towards Ellichpore, and wherever the Enemy can be seen, of course they will be beaten ; but another Campaign will be troublesome and expensive, and it will be discreditable also, as with a little good Management it might have been avoided. You will have seen, by all my Letters, that although I admired Jenkin's Spirit during the attack on our Troops at Nagpore in November 1817, which was I believe everything that Spirit of the highest Kind could be, still that I have differed from him in all his subsequent measures. The Mischiefs that have resulted may not perhaps prove that I was right, but they certainly prove that he was wrong. Elphinstone's Arrangements have been widely different. He has gone on from Success to Success, and the Result of his Measures has been exactly what might have been expected from the Ability with which they were framed. Nothing I really believe could exceed the Skill and Judgement with which he has conducted both the Military Plan of the War, and the Civil Settlement of the Country ; though I still think, and by what I hear I suspect he now thinks himself, that if he had originally pursued a different course towards the Paishwah, making some allowance for those moral as well as other Points in which the Natives of India are inferior to us, all the Commotions that have happened might have been prevented ; and the Paishwah would have continued at this Day, what I conscientiously believe he was when I quitted him seven years ago, a cordial and faithful ally. To make our Empire in India secure, it is absolutely necessary that our political controul, having already been extended so far, shall be made universal ; but I would rather exercise that controul through dependant Princes, than take the whole Country into our own Hands. The Source of our ultimate overthrow, for I do not believe that our vast Indian Empire will form a single exception to the Rule of all other Empires since the World began, will be found I think in our own Native Troops or Subjects ; and the more therefore we enlarge them, the more we enlarge our Sphere of Danger. I admire, for I recommended, the Policy which influenced Lord Hastings to begin the Pindarry War ; and the Wars with Poona and Nagpore were forced upon us, at least in their occurrence at that particular Time ; but being once engaged in Hostilities, I am afraid his Lordship coveted more than he ought the Fame of a Conqueror ; and beginning with the moderate Design of destroying Banditti has ended by aspiring to form one of a Triumvirate with Bacchus and Alexander. Lord Hastings seems to have disapproved of the liberal Terms which Malcolm granted to the Paishwah, not on the ground of Expense, for the Continuance of the War would have cost

more than his Pension ; but because they were too indulgent ; instead of soothing the misfortunes of a fallen Enemy, he should have trampled on his Neck ; but on this Point at least I am a Malcolmite, and think his Settlement with the Paishwah one of the most masterly Things he ever did. Lord Hastings I believe would have had the Paishwah referred to Elphinstone, with whom he never would or could have treated. The Nagpore Rajah afterwards proposed to surrender himself to Malcolm, who with great Dignity and Propriety referred him to Jenkins, to whom, for the same Reasons, he neither can nor will surrender. It is not unlikely that some Reward and possibly also some Honour, may be given to Elphinstone and Jenkins. The Superiority of Jenkin's Claims and Talents it is impossible to dispute ; but if the Distinction is extended to Jenkins, I shall think that I am ill used if I am overlooked. A very little Relaxation in Confidence and Firmness would have given me the same Battle to fight here that was fought at Poona and Nagpore ; and surely it was a Service of some Importance, not only to preserve Tranquility in the Nizam's Territory at such a Crisis, but to call forth the active Resources of his Government, to a Degree far exceeding what was done either in the Seringaptam War, or in the Marhatta War of 1803, when it was capable of doing much more than it is now. When the Danger first appeared, Lord Hastings was evidently sensible of the great Importance of securing Hyderabad ; for Adam, in a private Letter to me of the 2nd January, said 'I have received your Letter of the 4th December, (written immediately after the Explosion at Nagpore) which was particularly acceptable, as giving Assurances of all being quiet with you to that Date. The Confidence you expressed of the Continuance of this State of Things, from the Time the Paishwah broke out was very consoling at a Time when a new Enemy seemed starting up in every Quarter.' And in this Opinion, that I should be able to keep Matters quiet at Hyderabad, I believe I stood alone ; Elphinstone and Malcolm and everybody else seeming to think that even if an Explosion did not take Place at the Capital, the Frontier Districts would all be in Insurrection. But glad as Lord Hastings was of the Nizam's being kept quiet at the Time, he now perhaps regards his Fidelity as the Loss of a Wreath, and considers me as having deprived his Triumph of a Sovereign in Letters. As yet the foregoing Extract from Adam's Letter is all that has been said to me upon the Subject. When all the Business of the Wars over, and the Partition Treaty, the Instructions for which have not yet been issued, shall have been concluded, I shall perhaps receive a flattering Letter of Commendation ; but I shall be mortified to receive only empty Praise, while others are rewarded with solid Distinction. If

you have any Friends at the India House, or in the Administration, through whom you can procure any attention to my Claims, it may be as well to make Experiment. I should never have thought of asking for Reward; though if Rewards are distributed I shall not like to be altogether overlooked . . . ”

This letter is inserted here because it contains his opinion of the settlement in 1818.

(25) *Henry Russell to Mountstuart Elphinstone, September 1818*

“My dear Elphinstone,

I have received your Letter of the 4th Instant. I see no reason to apprehend anything serious in the Nizam's Country, but I confess I do not like the general aspect of our affairs. The calm that prevails I am afraid, is rather apparent than real. All the show and splendour of our Measures is over, but much of the labour and Expence is yet behind. The trouble which Appa Sahib of Nagpore has been able to give us, without either Talents, Character, or Money, with no Name but that of our Enemy, shews what a Disposition prevails to oppose the Introduction of our Authority, and what ample materials are ready to any hand that will turn them to Violence and Plunder. The straggling Districts which composed the former Nagpore Territory, extending from the Godavery beyond the Nerbudda, comprehending almost every diversity of Country, and partially inhabited by the very description of People, whom it is most difficult to bring into subjection to a regular Government, are full of the capabilities, and it appears also of the Disposition to oppose us. The successful resistance offered by the Arabs to Doveton's Force in December, has done a world of mischief. It has taught them the way of acting against us with effect, and has raised up a new Enemy, whom we may now expect to encounter in every Warfare that breaks out. They are conscious of their own strength, and see that we are bent on their expulsion, and will certainly assemble wherever there is a Point to rally upon, and try hard to fight it out with us to the last. I never liked our Policy at Nagpore. We have done neither one thing nor the other. We have neither taken the Country for ourselves, nor given it to a Native Government; but have pursued a mixed and middle Line; a course which generally partakes of the Evil of both Extremes, without having the advantages of either. If the Country was worth our taking, we had better have taken it all at once; but if, as I think, it was not, we ought to have satisfied ourselves with a few frontier arrangements, and still have maintained the Native Government under a new

Member of the Family. As it is, we are fighting in a Cause, where there is no striking success to be gained, where every little reverse hurts our credit, and where after all, we are contending for a Country of which our own Share will not pay us for holding, much less for conquering it, and the remainder we give to the Phantom of a Government, which serves no other Purpose than to make us odious, by keeping alive old Feelings, and exhibiting to the people a Perpetual contrast between what they are and what they have been. In your part of the Country too, I suspect the People have been rather stunned than subdued. The violence of the concussion has stupified them, but they will soon begin to recollect themselves, and make comparisons; and so many will have lost, and so few have gained by the change, that we must not expect a quiet submission to our authority. If anything can keep down the spirit of discontent, and prevent the Flame from breaking out, until the Fuel has been removed, it is the efficient authority which you exercise, but if you go away, or the country is distributed to the Madras or Bombay Governments, and placed under the ordinary management of their local officers, I do expect that very general and troublesome Insurrections will break out; and it will then be seen how much our Government is disliked among a People who have been accustomed to a Prince of their own Nation and Religion, and whose condition was never so bad as to make the protection of our System worth the Price they are called upon to pay for it. In this respect, the annexing of the Marhatta Territories to our own is a new era in our History. Our former acquisitions have been made from Mahometans, whose subjects merely exchanged one foreign Prince for another, and lost nothing in point of national Feeling to derogate from the value of what they certainly gained in security. The same objection, which I think, lies against the Principle of arrangement at Nagpore, extends in a great measure to that at Poona. After what had passed, I certainly would have set aside not only Bajie Row's Person, but his Family, and with it the whole system of Braminical Power; but what was the use of restoring a Marhatta Government at Satarah, unless it was placed on such a footing, as to have some real as well as nominal resemblance to the state which it was professed to represent? I do not see what advantage we gain by the restoration of the old Line, and we certainly derive no credit in the Eyes of the world, from the exhibition of this miserable and needy Pageant. It is better to make a Pageant of a troublesome ally, rather than to depose him; but where is the wisdom of setting up a new man to serve no other Purpose than that of a Pageant from the beginning. I would either have provided for the Family on a Pension, as we did for the King of Delhy; or I would have given them

an Extent of Territory above the Ghauts, which should have enabled them really to look and act like a respectable Power. If the Southern Jagheerdars were to be left in the Enjoyment of their possessions, and I do not see how we could prudently have deprived them altogether: Why not have made them a part of the Sattarah Government? They might have answered as subjects of the Rajah, but they will never answer as Subjects of Ours. Our System is as ill-suited to them, as their habits are to us. Notwithstanding Lord Hastings's strictures upon Malcolm's arrangement with Bajee Row, I do not believe that, at the time, he was to be got hold of on other conditions. Still the settlement affords no permanent security. It answers the temporary Purpose of withdrawing his Person, and dissolving his army and leaving us at leisure to prosecute our own arrangements. But he is still at liberty to appear against us hereafter; and notwithstanding the agreeable contrast he may just now draw between his present Ease and the distresses and Privations of his late Campaign, that feeling will soon pass away. We overrate our happiness, as much as we underrate our sufferings, when we look back at them; and Bajee Row will soon begin to sigh after his former condition. Intrigue is the very life and soul of his character; and if we do not send him to Saint Helena, he will dissolve the congress by returning from Elba.

"The Nizam himself, and most of the Persons whom it is now almost ludicrous to call his Nobles, are sorry for the downfall of the Paishwah and the Nagpore Rajah, because they hate the Feringees, and think that if once the deposition of Princes and the annexation of Territory become the order of the day, their turn will come at last. But they have not the means of making an open attempt against us. The little strength they have is in our hands. We shall break their heads with their own Weapons; and Chundoo Loll, who is as strong a Minister as a man of his weak character can be made, with the office, has I think succeeded to the maxim of Meer Allum, that it is wise to adhere closely to us for support, as long as they are too feeble to throw off their dependance, and stand firmly by themselves. All I apprehend therefore is, that the contagion from your side and Nagpore will spread along the Frontier Districts. In your direction we shall have principally to look towards Kurmulla and Purranida, and perhaps also towards Kulburga. Kandy Row must be dispossessed of Kurmulla; but I have not yet had the means of doing anything against him. The Nizam's border Districts in that direction are full of Marhatta feelings. Culburga I suspect, because I found, that during the War, the recruiting for the Paishwah was very active there. Dooly Khan however, who arrived here yesterday tells me that he has not yet seen any symptoms of Insurrection. His station is

in the very Heart of the suspicious Districts, and as he is both strong and trustworthy, if anything should occur, he will be of great use to us. He shall be sent off again immediately so as to be at his Post by the opening of the Season. To the Eastward my apprehensions are more distinct . . . (Here follows much detail of local interest). . . . The Danger however lies more on your side of the Frontier than on mine, and therefore if there is any other disposition which you wish to be made, let me know, and it shall be done. If we can keep the Peace for three years, the danger will be over."

(26) *Henry Russell to his father, Hyderabad, 22 May 1820*

Death of his wife's father at Pondicherry at age of 77.

" . . . I have been directed to reform the Nizam's Government, and correct the Abuses of his Administration . . . "

C. COLLIN DAVIES

USE OF NAPHTHALENE AS A FUMIGANT FOR BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS IN LIBRARIES AND RECORD DEPOSITORIES

NAPHTHALENE is a cheap and readily available insect repellent, and its use as such has been well known to the librarians and archivists of the world for the protection of books and manuscripts against insect attack. Recent experiments conducted elsewhere have shown that naphthalene, although considered to be a very weak insecticide because of its low vapour concentration at ordinary room temperature, acts as a very effective fumigant at a temperature range of 30-35°C. It has been observed that molecule for molecule naphthalene is more effective as a fumigant than carbondisulphide, carbon tetrachloride, or paradichlorobenzene.

A series of experiments have been planned in the Research Laboratory of the National Archives of India to study the possibilities of the use of naphthalene for the fumigation of books, manuscripts, records and depository rooms. In some of the experiments conducted so far it has been observed that a concentration of 7 oz. (app. ½ lb.) of naphthalene per 10 cubic feet at a temperature of 25-30°C required about 90-100 minutes (about 1½ hrs.) for paralysing some of the common record feeders like cockroaches, silverfish and *gastrallus indicus* larvae. Effective concentration of the chemical was obtained by passing a hot air blast through a vertical column of naphthalene powder, which was injected into the test vessel.

The results obtained are given in the table at the appendix.

In order to maintain uniformity of observations, the following terms are indicative of:—

Active: Quick movement of the species in the test vessel, and crawling.

Inactive: Slight movement of parts only.

Paralysis, identified with death: No movement even on slight disturbance.

Further work in this direction continues.

Research Laboratory,
National Archives of India,
New Delhi, February 1955.

Ranbir Kishore
C. P. Mehra

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APPENDIX FUMIGATION OF BOOK-INSECTS WITH NAPHTHALENE

(Temp. range 25-30°C)

Species under test	Number in test vessel	Concentration of fumigant in test vessel	Time for inactivity	Time for paralysis	Remarks
Cockroach	Test six	0.695 gm./liter	Four cockroaches were found to be inactive after 45 minutes	90-100 minutes	As soon as the fumigant was introduced in the test vessel the insects showed increased activity. Paralysed insects were kept exposed to fresh air for 3 to 4 hours. No signs of activity were shown.
	Control six	nil	—	—	Insects in the control vessel were examined next day (20 hours) and all were found active.
Silverfish	Test four	0.695 gm./liter	All the insects showed inactivity after 40-45 minutes	90-100 minutes	Paralysed insects were kept exposed to fresh air. No signs of activity were observed even after 3-4 hours.
	Control four	nil	—	—	Insects in the control vessel were examined next day (20 hours) and all were found active.
Gastrallus Indian Larvae	Test eight	0.695 gm./liter	No observation could be made	90-100 minutes (only two larvae showed signs of inactivity on disturbance)	None of the eight larvae showed any signs of activity when left exposed to fresh air for 3-4 hours.
	Control eight	nil	—	—	Six larvae were found active when examined after 20 hours.

NEWS NOTES

INDIA

National Archives of India

The accessioning of the non-current records of the various departments of the Government of India in the National Archives of India continued during this period at a slightly accelerated pace. Notable among these accruals are 347 bundles of records of the late Foreign and Political Department (1891-1923), 46 bundles of the Ministry of Finance (1943-48), 112 boxes of Central India States Agency and 30 bundles of the Office of the Salt Commissioner (1921-27).

In order to have a complete picture of an event or an episode, the historian needs, in addition to the official version, the evidence provided by private papers. It is mainly with this object that the National Archives is building up its collection of microfilms. Recent additions to this collection are six reels of microfilm copies of selected items of Indian interest from the Chatham and Pitt Papers (1757-1805) in the custody of the Public Record Office, London, and 39 reels of selected items from Additional Manuscripts and the Egerton Collection from the British Museum, London. Among the important items discussed in Pitt and Chatham Papers are grant of Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Pitt's India Act of 1784, commercial privileges of the East India Company, Company's debts, impeachment of Warren Hastings, Third Mysore War etc., while items from the Additional Manuscripts include archives of the Romish Church at Goa, manuscripts bequeathed by Major General Thomas Hardwicke dealing with the history and antiquities of India etc. Other significant acquisitions include photostat copies of 3 letters written by Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Muhammad Iqbal to their friends in Hungary. Mahatma Gandhi in his letter to Ervin Baktay, Budapest, dated 15 March 1924, enlarges upon the theme of universal application of the principle of non-violence.

The collection of Persian manuscripts was further enriched by gift or purchase of several manuscripts of historical importance. Special mention may be made of *Wakiat-i-Alamgiri* by Aqil Khan and *Tarikhi Farishta*, Volumes I & II.

The Publication Programme of the Department made steady progress during the period under review. The printing of Vol. XVII of *Fort William-India House Correspondence* was completed except for the index which is now in the press. Volumes I & II of the same series are still in the press and are expected to be issued out in the next few months. The backlog of the Annual Reports of the National Archives having been liquidated by the publication of the *Quinquennial Review* 1948-52, it was decided to revert to the old practice of publishing Annual Reports. In accordance with this decision the *Annual Report* 1953, has been sent to the press. Volume

X of the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* covering the years 1792-93, and *Index to the records of the Foreign and Political Department* 1756-80, are ready for printing and arrangements are being made to select a suitable press.

The National Archives programme of printing pamphlets has been expanded by the addition of a companion series called "Our Neighbours" to the one issued under the title of "Source Materials of History". The new series is restricted to documents written in Arabic, Persian and Urdu in the custody of the National Archives and are meant to supplement the knowledge derived from the English records. Two pamphlets "India and the Middle East" and "India and the South East" which were published during the period under the new series have been received with considerable interest in the country. In the original series on "Source Materials", two more pamphlets "Progress of Education (Primary)" and "Progress of Education (Higher)" were brought out.

Under the National Archives Fellowships Scheme for encouraging research in modern Indian History, six candidates were selected from the various universities. Five students have already started work and the sixth is expected to join shortly. Information was also collected from State Governments, Record Offices, Universities and other learned institutions for compiling a *Bulletin of Research Theses and Dissertations* in the Indian Union.

The second three months' Short Term Course in Archive-Keeping for 1954 commenced on 1 July with 13 trainees from the Ministries and offices of the Central and State Governments on the roll. The course was completed on 30 September 1954. To supplement the regular classes for the trainees in One Year Diploma Course, arrangements were made for a series of seminars under the guidance of the Director of Archives and the Assistant Directors of Archives. The course concluded on 30 September with an examination in which all the four candidates Messrs Duli Chand, Vijay Kumar, L. C. Goswamy and K. N. Ramachandran came out successful.

A new portable microfilming camera has been acquired to enable the microfilming of records "in situ".

The National Archives of India Library has been allotted a sum of Rs. 2500/- under the Wheat Loan Programme for purchase of books. A list of books selected for purchase has accordingly been drawn up.

Research and Publication Committee, Indian Historical Records Commission

The twenty-third meeting of the Research and Publication Committee was held at the National Archives of India on 30 October 1954. In the absence of Prof. Humayun Kabir, *ex-officio* Chairman of the Committee, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the seniormost member of the Committee presided over the meeting. The accommodation in the National Archives Research

room was considered inadequate and the Committee appointed a Sub-Committee consisting of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. S. N. Sen, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad and the Director of Archives, Government of India, to go into the question and suggest ways and means for providing additional accommodation for research scholars. The Committee further recommended that the various universities and research institutions be requested to take more active interest in the study of regional and local history, the materials for which are available at the State Record Offices as it was felt that in this manner the numerous gaps in the history of India could be bridged. The third resolution of the Committee stressed the desirability of achieving uniformity in the production of archival publications of the State Governments and the National Archives in respect of editing, printing, quality and durability of paper etc. In order to avoid duplication in historical research, the Committee recommended that lists of topics in later medieval and modern periods of Indian History which are taken up at the various universities and other centres of research be published by the National Archives of India once in two years. The Committee rounded off its deliberations by recommending the establishment of a separate Records Survey Committee for the newly created State of Andhra.

Local Records Sub-Committee

The 14th meeting of the Local Records Sub-Committee, an adjunct of the Indian Historical Records Commission, was held on 9 July 1954, in New Delhi. Professor Humayun Kabir, Educational Adviser to the Government of India, and *ex-officio* Chairman of the Committee, presided. The other members present were Sardar Fateh Singh, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Dr. J. N. Khosla, Director, Historical Division, Ministry of External Affairs, Shri C. Ganesan, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of States, Shri E. Kolet, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Finance and Dr. B. A. Saletore, Director of Archives, National Archives of India (Secretary). The Committee took note of the fact that there was an acute shortage of accommodation in the Ministries and that unless the bulk of their non-current records was taken over by the National Archives of India, it would not be possible for them to maintain properly their semi-current and current records. The Chairman informed the Committee in this connection that the Planning Commission had sanctioned an expenditure of Rs. 18 lakhs for the construction of an annexe to the National Archives building to cope with the increasing demands of space from the various Ministries of the Government of India. The Committee agreed in principle that the Ministries and the Departments of the Government of India should adopt a uniform filing system on the basis of subject indexes prepared by them. The question of requisitioning of records from the National Archives of India by the various Ministries was then taken up. The Committee viewed with concern the fact that no uniform policy in this

connection was being followed. It recommended that standard requisition forms be used and that the records borrowed be returned to the National Archives within three months of issue. It was also stressed that under no circumstances must a record borrowed by one Department be loaned to another without the knowledge of the Director of Archives. Finally, the Committee approved certain rules for the scrutiny of excerpts taken from the records at the National Archives of India by *bona fide* research scholars.

Secretariat Record Office, Bombay

In addition to the annual accessions from the various Departments of the Government of Bombay, the Secretariat Record Office has acquired several photostat copies of Persian manuscripts, among which mention may be made of *Insha-i-Shah Tahir* and *Ahwal-i-Asad Beg*. They form an important source for medieval Deccan history. A microfilm copy was also prepared of a manuscript in Dakhani Urdu entitled *Ibrahim Nama* which was completed in 1603-1604 A.D. at the court of Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur.

The office has made considerable progress in the cataloguing and listing of the Public Department Diaries (1813-1817). The office is engaged in the publication of the English translations of the "Persian Records of Maratha History". "Delhi News-Letters" which forms Volume I in the series was published in 1953. The second volume of the series "Sindhia as Regent of Delhi" (1787 and 1789-91) translated and edited by Jadunath Sarkar is in the press and is expected to be published shortly. It deals with Lalsbt Campaign and also contains news-letters from Mahadji Sindhia's camp for the years 1789-91. Materials for a supplementary volume of the Poona Residency Correspondence Series are also being compiled.

The records of Raja Pratap Singh of Satara, housed at the Central Record Office, Allahabad, and those of Kagal Jagir were inspected. The latter were brought to Kolhapur Record Office for custody.

Alienation Office, Poona

The Director of Archives, Bombay, continues to supervise the activities of this office and is responsible for the upkeep, preservation and publication of its records. The Advisory Committee of the office held three meetings during the year ending March 1954. According to its suggestions the Government of Bombay ordered the abolition of the Alienation Office printing press from 1 April 1954. The savings thus effected would be utilised for getting records of historical and cultural importance at the Alienation Office microfilmed. The record collection of the Office was enriched by the accrual of two bundles of Brahmanal records obtained through the Collector of South Satara, Sangli. It was also decided to bring over the records of Aundh and Phaltan States for safe custody in the office.

Baroda Record Office

Shri V. G. Joshi, who was officiating as Director of Archives at the Bombay Secretariat Record Office, reverted to his post as Superintendent of Records in Baroda Record Office. Listing and arrangement of records engaged the main attention of the Office during 1953-54. A volume entitled *Historical Selections from Baroda* was sent to the press.

Madras Record Office

The recent acquisitions of the Madras Record Office consist of records of the various departments of the Secretariat for 1950, those of the Board of Revenue for 1942-43, Electoral Rolls for 1954 and Deeds relating to Land Mortgage Banks, House Building Societies, Loans under the State Aid to Industries Act, and Public Works Department, and Documents relating to Hindu Religious Endowments. The acquisitions during this period in pursuance of the Government decision to transfer the records of the Committees appointed from time to time for specific matters to Madras Record Office include records of the *ad hoc* Committee on Leather and Leather Goods Industry, 1946, and those of the Committee under Section 5(1) (a) of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, for employment in woollen carpet making and shawl weaving establishments, 1950-51. Other accessions include files of the merged State of Pudukkottai up to 1857 and the records of the office of the ex-Educational adviser to the Madras Government.

Under the new publication programme sanctioned by the Madras Government, the Record Office is to publish revised editions of the Gazetteers of eight districts in the State, Gazetteers for the remaining six districts, and abridged editions of the Gazetteers under the title "District Hand Books" in the language of the district concerned. The revision of the Gazetteer of the Tanjore District has already been taken in hand.

The latest publications of the office include *Diary and Consultations* for the period 1758, 1759 and 1760, *Proceedings of the Mayor's Court, 1728*, *Public Despatches from England, 1757-58* and *Fort St. David Consultations, 1754*. Two more volumes, *Public Despatches from England, 1751-52*, and *1752-53* respectively have been sent to the press.

Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar

It is gratifying to learn that the State Archives intends to publish *in extenso* the documents relating to the *Paik* rising of Orissa (1817 A.D.) which forms a fascinating episode in the history of Orissa. The relevant materials have already been collected. A part of the introduction to the contemplated volume has been published in the Orissa Historical Research Journal under the caption "British conquest of Orissa and Early British Administration",

and the remaining portion will be published in the next issue of the Journal. The documents, after being edited, along with the introduction will be brought out in a book form.

Directorate of Archives and Museum, PEPSU

The third Patiala Book Festival was organized in the Archives building, Patiala, from 6-9 November 1954. An exhibition of rare books, historical documents and manuscripts, paintings and photographs of historical personalities also organized on the occasion proved to be quite popular.

Among the fresh accruals to the Directorate mention may be made of the correspondence of the Secretary to His Highness the Rajpramukh of Patiala (1954), records of the Food and Civil Supplies Department (1952-54) and of the Home Department, including Refugees and Rehabilitation records, (1947-49).

Secretariat Records Office, Assam

The fresh accessions to the Assam Secretariat Records Office totalled 3,550 files from the different departments of the Government. The amalgamated Index to Government proceedings for the year 1949 is under preparation. The office has undertaken the compilation of descriptive lists of all the records in its custody to facilitate research work.

State Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments, Bombay

A meeting of the Standing Committee of the State Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments was held in Bombay on 23 February 1954. It was decided to publish rare manuscript histories in Persian bearing on the ancient and medieval history of Maharashtra, Karnatak and Gujarat with English translations. Dr. Sardesai's work on "Historical Genealogies" was recommended for publication on behalf of the State Board.

Central Record Office, Hyderabad

The Central Record Office, Hyderabad, has recently acquired a unique collection of records of Panchakki Darbar covering the period 1740 onwards. Panchakki Darbar appears to have been the dwelling place of one Baba Shah Mosafar, the most celebrated Naqshbandi of Aurangabad. The collection under review consists of a large number of letters in Persian and Modi scripts written by the followers of Shah Mahmood, Shah Sayeed and others. Notable among these documents is the *Akhbarati Darbar* written on three sheets of paper in the month of Safar 1159 H/1746 A.D. It relates to the events at the court of Nizamul-Mulk Asafjah. There is a mention of the visit of Babu Naik, a Maratha Sardar, to the court and the honour shown him. Further,

these Akhbars throw light on the relations of Nizamul Mulk with Nadir Shah. Two more letters in the collection worth noticing here are those written by Balaji Rao Pandit Pradhan and Malhar Rao Holkar I addressed to Shah Mahmood.

These papers as well as four documents obtained from Gangapur are being scrutinized in the office for assessment of their historical importance.

Regional Records Survey Committee, Madras

A meeting of the Committee was held at the Madras Record Office in February 1954. It was decided that a small booklet on the lines of Foster's "Guide to India Office Records" should be prepared for the records in private custody, with the help of a member of the Committee. It was also decided to request the Commissioner, Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments (Administration), Madras, to issue a circular to all the religious and charitable institutions under his control to furnish information regarding the nature and contents of the records in the possession of those institutions. Mr. J. C. Holcombe was requested to help the Committee in the preparation of a list of the old records available in the offices of long-established commercial firms in the State. The Zamindar of Kapileswarapuram was also requested to contact landholders who may be in possession of records of historical value and to acquaint the Committee with the result of his enquiries.

Regional Records Survey Committee, Bihar

The Annual Report of the *ad hoc* Committee of Bihar Regional Records Survey Committee for 1953-54 reveals that several historical manuscripts on various topics of interest have been discovered by it. Among the Persian manuscripts which have come to the notice of the Committee two deserve special mention. One of these entitled *Balwant Namah* is a history of Banaras State from the time of Katho Misser till the time of Raja Iswari Prasad Narain Singh. It also describes Warren Hastings's dealings with the State. It was written in 1880 in Persian (Shikasta script) and covers 232 pages. The other Persian manuscript entitled *Ahwal-i-Mahabat Jung* by Yusuf Ali is a rare history of the time of Alivardi Khan Mahabat Jung. This manuscript of 158 pages bears a seal dated 1199 B.H. and is written in Nastaliq Persian.

Unpublished documents of considerable importance regarding the Mutiny of 1857-59 in Northern India in the record rooms of the different divisions and districts of Bihar have come to light. The Convener of the Bihar Regional Records Survey Committee maintains that in the light of the new evidence supplied by these papers it would be incorrect to regard what happened in different parts of India during these eventful years as isolated military outbreaks. In support of his statement he has published several extracts from these records in the body of the *Annual Report*.

Indian National Scientific Documentation Centre

With the completion of the second year of its operation, the Indian National Scientific Documentation Centre has already attained a well-established place in the complex of the country's scientific and technological development. Supported by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, it functions under the aegis of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, which has placed it under the administrative control of the Director, National Physical Laboratory of India.

The functions for which INSDOC was established as stated in their *Report* for 1953-54 are: (1) to receive and retain all scientific periodicals required in India, particularly those required by the universities, scientific research organizations and Government laboratories; (2) to supply photocopies and translations of articles required by laboratories or individual workers; (3) to meet demands for abstracts as far as possible, (4) to prepare an index of the journals available and the journals required for various subjects; (5) to be a national repository for reports of the scientific work of the nation, both published and unpublished; and (6) to be a channel through which the scientific work of India and the surrounding countries is made known and made available to the rest of the world.

Considerable progress is claimed to have been achieved in the last two years in building up INSDOC to a level at which it can perform these functions effectively.

INTERNATIONAL

Anglo-American Conference of Historians, 1954

The 27th Anglo-American Conference of Historians was held at the Institute of Historical Research, London, from 8-10 July 1954. The first general session was addressed by Professor A. J. Toynbee on "World Unity and World History" and the concluding session was addressed by Lady Lenanton (Carola Oman) on "Sir John Moore". In her address Lady Lenanton described how manuscripts were discovered and dealt with by her. Among the papers read at the various sections of the Conference, mention may be made of two papers relating to India—one on "The British Contribution to Indian History" by Professor C. H. Philips and the other on "The East India Interest in the General Election of 1700-1" by Professor R. Walcott.

An exhibition of British historical publications of the year was arranged as usual for the Conference. A new feature this year was the inclusion of the records publications of national and local societies of Great Britain.

Next year's Conference was fixed for 7-9 July 1955.

International Congress of Historical Sciences

The tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences has been fixed for 4-11 September 1955 at Rome. The Congress will comprise five

sections: Methodology and General History, Ancient History, Medieval History, Modern History, and Contemporary History. For each of these sections a number of *rappports* dealing with the present state of knowledge in various fields will be prepared and circulated in advance.

International Federation for Documentation

The twenty-first Conference of the International Federation for Documentation (FID) was held from 20 to 25 September 1954 at the headquarters of the Federal Scientific and Technical Documentation Centre in Belgrade. Dr. J. M. Meyer of Switzerland was elected President of the Conference in place of Mr. Arne Moller, President of FID, who was unable to attend through illness.

The Conference was preceded by meetings of the International Decimal Classification Committee. During the Conference itself there were meetings of FID study committees and reports were presented on training of documentation workers, information services and methods of mechanical selection. During the Conference the following lectures were delivered: 'Some problems of information services' by Mr. Z. Protic (Yugoslavia); 'The organization and aims of documentation in Yugoslavia', by Mr. Drago Vukša (Yugoslavia); 'The future work of ISO/TC 46 in documentation' (International Organization for Standardization, Technical Documentation Committee), by M. Verhoef (Netherlands); and 'Possibilities and aims of international collaboration within the framework of the FID' by Mr. E. Rickli (Switzerland).

The Council of the FID met and approved the arrangements which had been made to hold the world Congress of Libraries and Documentation Centres in Brussels in September 1955. In addition to meetings to discuss the organizational and bibliographical problems facing all libraries, three plenary meetings will deal with documentary reproduction by photography and microfilming. The Council also approved with some amendments the statutes of a Liaison Committee of International Organization for Librarianship, Archives and Documentation. Further discussion to define the work of this Committee will take place at the next FID Council meeting.

Dr. S. R. Ranganathan (India) was elected one of the five vice-presidents of FID.

Standardization and Documentation

The Technical Committee ISO/TC 46 (Documentation) of the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) has prepared and recently published with the help of UNESCO a booklet entitled *Standardization in the Domain of Documentation*, (The Hague, 1954, 60 pp.). After a brief description of the general principles and procedures in international standardization, particularly in the domain of documentation, the booklet gives the text of two recommendations—one on an international code for the

abbreviations of titles of periodicals and the other on bibliographical citations and bibliographical references. The two recommendations have already been accepted by ISO Council.

Inter-Governmental Conference on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict

At the invitation of the Netherlands Government, an inter-governmental conference convened by UNESCO to consider the drawing up and adoption of a final text of a convention for the protection of cultural property in the event of armed conflict was held at The Hague from 21 April to 14 May 1954. Forty-nine countries including India sent delegations.

The text of the Draft Convention was carefully studied and modified during the three weeks of the Conference. For the purposes of the convention, the term cultural property covers movable or immovable property of importance to the cultural heritage of a people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history; archaeological sites; works of art, manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest; scientific collections and important books or archives or reproductions of the property defined above; and buildings whose main and effective purpose is to preserve or exhibit such movable property, as museums, large libraries and depositories of archives.

The contracting parties undertake to prepare in time of peace for the safeguarding of cultural property against the foreseeable effects of armed conflict and to respect it by refraining from any use likely to expose it to destruction or damage and by refraining from any act of hostility directed against such property. An international register of cultural property under special protection will be established and kept up to date by the Director General of UNESCO.

Archivum

Archivum, published under the auspices of the International Council of Archives, has completed three years of its publication with Volume III for 1953 just come to hand. In order to enhance the value of the Journal, it has been decided to organize enquiries on subjects relating to Archives in different countries and to publish them in the form of articles in the Journal. Besides, new subjects of research have also been taken in hand and the next number is expected to publish the results of these researches.

An international library of archival publications, notably periodicals received in exchange for the *Archivum* has been constituted.

For the quick utilization of information contained in the first three numbers of the *Archivum*, it has been decided to publish an index. Dr. Graswinckel, President of the International Council on Archives, has been entrusted with its preparation. It is expected to be issued at the same time as the fourth number of the Journal.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

It is announced that prizes will be awarded annually for five years, beginning in 1955, for written studies dealing "on the basis of a serious analysis of experience, with any aspect of the activity of international organizations". Since the purpose of the prizes is to encourage research by persons who have not yet had an opportunity to establish a reputation, the competition is open only to those who have published at the most one book in the fields of history, law and the social sciences and who are under 40 on 1 July 1955. Prizes are offered both for manuscripts and for printed books. Entries for the first year must be received not later than 1 July 1955. The prize in the manuscript section will be a cash award of 500 dollars and publication of the winning entry, and in the book section a cash award of 1,500 dollars. Full particulars can be had from the Centre Européen de la Dotation Carnegie, Route de Ferney 172, Grand-Saconnex, Geneva, Switzerland.

UNITED KINGDOM

Committee on Departmental Records

The Committee on Departmental Records or the Grigg Committee, so named after its Chairman Sir James Grigg, was appointed in June 1952 by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Master of the Rolls. Its terms of reference were "To review the arrangements for the preservation of the records of the Government Departments (other than the records of Scottish Departments and records transmissible to the Keeper of the Records of Scotland) in the light of the rate at which they are accumulating and of the purposes which they are intended to serve; and to make recommendations as to the changes, if any, in law and practice which are required". In its report published in July 1954, the Committee, after making a general survey of the various Acts issued at different periods of history in connection with the preservation and destruction of the records of Government Departments, endeavour to draw some general conclusions as to the merits of the present arrangements for the selection of documents for preservation, and suggest modifications which are quite bold. In place of the present procedure according to which the Departmental officers prepare a Destruction Schedule which is then examined by the Inspecting Officers of the Public Record Department who decide what type of documents should be excluded from the Schedule on historical grounds, they recommend that the selection of papers to be preserved should rest entirely with the Departments. The basis of their selection should be "if the Department is likely to require a particular document any longer for its own Departmental purpose." Assuming that if a Department decides that a paper "is not likely to be required further for the Department's own purposes, that paper is unlikely to be of any material historical significance", they consider that under the system proposed all

papers likely to be of historical importance will in practice automatically be retained. The quality of the material preserved will improve and its flow to the Public Record Office in a regular and orderly manner will be assured.

The British Museum

The Trustees of the British Museum have recently published the *Subject Index of Modern Books Acquired, 1941-1945*. It is appreciably shorter than its immediate predecessor in the series, which ran to two volumes although covering an equal span of years. One of the largest new sections is that devoted to works on the 'European War, 1939-45'.

Local Records in England

A valuable addition to the growing number of guides to the contents of Local Record Offices is *A Handlist of the Records of the Bishop of Lincoln and of the Archdeacons of Lincoln and Stow* (Cambridge, 1953). These records are now preserved in the Record Office at Lincoln. The *Handlist* has been compiled by Miss Kathleen Major. The documents are succinctly described with many helpful references to publications in which they have been printed or discussed.

British Records Association

By way of appreciation of Sir Hilary Jenkinson's services to the profession of Archivists and to the cause which he has made his own, the British Records Association is preparing and will in due course print in *Archives* a bibliography of his printed works.

The John Rylands Library, Manchester

The 1954 Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, reports the acquisition, with the generous aid of the Pilgrim Trust, and the Friends of the National Libraries, and private donations, of a collection of Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts assembled by the late Dr. Moses Gaster. This is the most important collection of manuscripts to come to the library for many years. Materials for a complete study of the Samaritan religion and its beliefs and practices are to be found in this collection of over 300 manuscripts. In the Hebrew Section of some 350 manuscripts, there is an equally wide range of interest. The manuscripts are drawn from a very wide area, a considerable number emanating from Yemen.

Further, the Library received from Viscountess Ashbrook of Arley Hall, Cheshire, two valuable deposits of some 12,000 documents from the Warburton Muniments. They are particularly rich in fine twelfth century seals and records relating to the navigation of the river Weaver, England.

Scottish Record Office

According to the *Annual Report of the Keeper of the Records of Scotland for the Calendar year 1954*, just received, apart from the statutory transmissions which show a substantial increase over the last year's accessions, several collections of family and estate papers, correspondence and miscellaneous documents of historical value have been accepted for permanent deposit.

An important volume which has been missing for two centuries or more has recently been recovered under quite unique circumstances. The missing volume of the Royal Household Accounts was offered for sale by a London dealer. On examination this proved to be the Compt Book of Sir Duncan Forrester of Skipinch, Comptroller of the Household of King James IV, containing two complete accounts and two incomplete ones, over the period 1 December 1495 to early in 1499. On its being represented to the possessor, Miss Bertha Scholefield, that the volume was a record belonging to the Queen and as such was *extra commercium*, she immediately waived all claim to it.

Substantial publication work has been undertaken by the office. *Index to Register of Deeds*, 1681 and a volume of the *Letters of James V*, 1513-1542 were issued during the year. The volumes under print include *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, Vol. V, 1556-1567, *Master of Works Accounts* and *Index of Particular Register of Sasines, Edinburgh*, Vol. II, 1624-1630.

National Register of Archives, Scotland

Collections surveyed by the National Register of Archives include those of the Earl of Northesk, Lord Polwarth, the Earl of Cawdor, the Earl of Lauderdale, Colonel Guthrie of Guthrie, Trinity House, Leith, and the burgh of Montrose. As a result of the Register's inspection, Lord Polwarth's papers have now been deposited in the Scottish Record Office.

NEW ZEALAND

Dominion Archives

Recent publications of the Dominion Archives, New Zealand, include two very useful preliminary inventories (Nos. 2 & 3) on *Archives of the New Zealand Company* and *Archives of the Army Department*. Dr. T. M. Hocken (founder of the Hocken Library in Dunedin), after examining all the papers of the New Zealand Company in the Public Record Office, London, found that there were duplicate sets of many of these papers, made up mostly of drafts and fair copies of various documents and the originals and duplicates of letters from the Company's Agents in New Zealand. In 1908 all the documents of the New Zealand Company which the Public Record Office did not require were transferred to the Dominion Archives, the Public Record

Office retaining all fair copies of documents, original copies of despatches and unique documents. The documents so transferred are described in the section of the inventory which deals with Head Office papers. The other three sections refer to papers of the Principal Agent's office and Resident Agent's office at Nelson and New Plymouth.

The Archives of the Army Department described in Preliminary Inventory No. 3 were transferred at various times between 1928 and 1948 from the Department to the Dominion Archives.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

National Archives and Records Service

The holdings of the 11 Federal Records Centres, distributed all over the United States, covered over 2 million cubic feet of space in June 1954. In the course of 4 years of its existence, the Region 3 Federal Records Centre at Alexandria, Va., has expanded so rapidly that it now occupies 421,625 square feet of warehouse space spread over several buildings. In 1953, the records of the General Accounting Office 1776-1900 were offered for deposit in the National Archives. By June 1954 some 12,000 cubic feet of these records had been appraised as of enduring value and, together with 3,000 cubic feet of the older central fiscal management records, were transferred to the National Archives building. Additions recently made to record groups already in the National Archives include foreign post records, 1795-1950; records of the Government of Danish West Indies, 1814-1917; and records of the Post Office Department, 1855-1952. The Department of State has deposited in the National Archives a collection of approximately 75,000 frames of microfilms of documents from the archives of the former German Foreign Ministry. This collection consists mainly of material of the period from the autumn of 1937 to March 1939 on German Foreign Policy. Audiovisual materials received include over 1900 negatives of the western scene, 1869-78, and cartographic materials include maps and plans produced or used by the 19th century French canal companies operating in Panama. Recent events are reflected in the accession of records of the 1953 Inaugural Committee and the United States copy of the 1953 Korean Armistice Agreement.

The National Historical Publication Commission met at the National Archives on 1 March 1954. It was decided to print the Commission's final report to the President entitled *A National Program for the Publication of Historical Documents*.

The Records Management Division has issued the first edition of a records management bibliography, and an instructional pamphlet on the development and use of form letters is in the press.

The National Archives building has become an illuminated public building with effect from 29 August 1954. This in fact carries into effect the

plan of its architect, John Russell Pope, to use illumination to focus public attention on the importance of the building and the records preserved and displayed within its walls.

Library of Congress

L. Quincy Mumford, former Director of the Cleveland Public Library was sworn in as Librarian of Congress on 1 September 1954. Dr. Solon J. Buck retired from his post as Assistant Librarian on 31 August 1954 and was made the library's honorary consultant on materials for research in American history. The Library of Congress has received an extensive supplement to the papers of Benjamin F. Butler, Union soldier, member of Congress, and Governor of Massachusetts. 41 letter-book volumes contain Butler's own letters from 1875-1893 and there are about 10,000 letters he received chiefly in the 1880's. The Butler papers given to the Library some years ago are concerned with his Civil War service and his activities in 1870's. A small group of papers of George F. Becker (1847-1919) of the U.S. Geological Survey has been received by the Library by transfer from that agency, and Mrs. Becker also contributed some valuable papers, including a number of personal and family letters. A small but valuable addition to the papers of Philander C. Knox includes letters from Presidents McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft and Harding, as well as scattered letters from Mark Hanna, Whitelaw Reid, Elihu Root, Charles J. Bonaparte, Frank B. Kellogg and others. General Peyton C. March has presented to the Library the first instalment of his papers, consisting mainly of correspondence in the 1930's and the manuscript of his book, *The Nation at War*, published in 1932. The Ewing papers in the Library have been increased by a gift of papers dating from 1769 to 1949 relating to General Charles Ewing, lawyer and soldier, and Thomas Ewing, Senator from Ohio and Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Harrison and Fillmore. The Library was further enriched by nine volumes of the diary of George Von Lengerke, covering his years as Ambassador to Italy, 1901-5 and to Russia, 1905-7, as well as his later service as Postmaster General in Theodore Roosevelt's Cabinet, and his first few months as Secretary of the Navy in the Taft administration.

An inventory of a microfilm collection, *Checklist of Archives in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1868-1945* (Washington, 1954) has been issued by the Photoduplication Service, Library of Congress.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library recently accessioned the papers of Morris Llewellyn Cooke 1910-53 and some 4,500 photographs of scenes and personages at Hyde Park, 1888-1920.

BOOK REVIEWS

Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers by Sir Mortimer Wheeler (Messrs George Bell & Sons, Ltd., London, 1954; pp. 11+192, 38 plates and one map; price 25 sh.).

ROMAN remains wherever they are discovered are a treasure by themselves. They serve to illustrate the fact that the Roman genius was not confined to merely constructing a huge imperial structure. It found expression in various fields of human endeavour. The book under review reveals the nature of one of its many facets—Rome's commercial contact on a global basis. As the author rightly confesses at the beginning of his introduction, the subject is by no means new. But what is refreshing is the manner in which the old facts with the addition of some new ones are presented. It is here that the value of this small book lies.

Professor Wheeler divides the subject into three parts—Rome and Europe; Rome and Africa comprising Sahara and the east coast; Rome and Asia, special stress being laid on India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan. We are primarily concerned with the last part of this interesting and useful book. With the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (author anonymous but the work being dated to the latter half of the 1st century A.D.) as his major source of information (pp. 115-16), the author gives a rough sketch of some of the ports on the western and southern coasts of India, and focuses the attention of the reader on the author's discovery made when he was in India as Director General of Archaeology, of the Roman finds at Arikamedu, 2 miles south of Pondicherry (p. 129) which, as was pointed out by earlier scholars (Schoff, W. H. *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, p. 242), appears to have been the same as *Podouke* of the *Periplus* and *Podouke* emporium of Ptolemy. Professor Wheeler rejects the date, A.D. 40-41, given to Hippalus by Warmington in favour of an earlier one (A.D. 14), as based on a rock inscription in Latin and Greek discovered in a sheltered spot beside the old road from Coptos to Berenice (pp. 127-29). Evidence from archaeological remains, coins, and ancient Tamil literature is requisitioned to prove that there was a close contact between South India and the Roman World.

While describing the geographical distribution of the Roman coins south of the Vindhya and in particular in the Deccan, Professor Wheeler rightly lays stress on the region comprising the modern district of Coimbatore. On page 145, he asks the question as to why such an appreciable proportion of the wealth and traffic short-circuited through Coimbatore. To this question he has no answer to give. He at once goes on to the plausible Tamil tradition according to which the Cola, Cera, and Pandya kingdoms met in the Coimbatore district (p. 145). It is a great pity that while thus delineating the part played by the ancient South Indian kingdoms, he has nothing to say about a small but significant principality which was an abode of mineral and agricultural wealth. We are referring to the ancient kingdom

of Punnata which lies to the south of the Mysore State, and concerning which interesting details are available in epigraphs and early literature. It was the land that produced the beryl—the *beryllium* of Pliny (XXXVII. 20). Professor Wheeler's book is a valuable addition to the literature on India's contact with the Western World, and on the extension of Roman commercial and cultural influence in the East.

Orient Longmans are the sole agents and distributors for this book.

B. A. SALETORÉ

Warren Hastings by Keith Feiling (London, 1954); pp. 420).

IT is just 113 years since the publication of Gleig's almost unreadable *Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings* drew from Macaulay his celebrated essay on Hastings which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* of October 1841. While acknowledging, in noble and rounded periods, Hastings' greatness and dauntless courage, Macaulay heavily underlined the "dark spots on his fame". Describing him as "neither a righteous nor a merciful ruler" he painted a portrait which, though brilliant in colouring, was sadly out of true perspective and owed more to his own imagination than to the historical evidence. Inevitably many came forward to champion Hastings and correct the erroneous impression of him which Macaulay had stamped on the public mind. In the latter half of the last century a number of short 'lives' were published—for the most part pedestrian and indiscriminating in their adulation—as well as special studies of certain incidents in his career e.g., the Rohilla War and the trial of Nand Kumar. Some of these are competent pieces of work, but most of them exhibit a determination to vindicate Hastings' every action, for in the 50 years after the Mutiny it was not fashionable to question the virtues of the founders of the British dominion in India. During the present century a steady stream of books dealing with one or other aspect of Hastings' life and work has continued to issue from the Press; in the last 25 years alone there have been two 'lives'—one of them a full-dress affair by Mervyn Davies—besides the 'life' by Professor Feiling now published. On the whole these works display a more balanced judgment than is to be found in Gleig or Macaulay or other writers of the last century.

It seems probable however that the stream of publications will now dry up and that Professor Feiling's book will be the last full-dress life of Hastings for many years to come. This is not due to its merits, for it is not a particularly good book, but to quite other causes. With the close of British rule in India and the opening of a new era, interest in the origins of that rule may be expected to dwindle. Moreover the ground has already been so fully worked over that there is really little fresh to say. It is stated by the publishers that Professor Feiling has been permitted to use letters of Hastings, hitherto unpublished, to his intimate friend, George Vansittart. This sounds well, but it is difficult to detect that these letters have yielded any fresh fact or shed any new light on Hastings' career. Nor is further rummaging

through old papers likely to be more profitable. The cream of all the documents has long ago been extracted, printed and published. So what Professor Feiling has written will probably remain for many years to come the last word, at any rate in the literal sense, on the subject.

In the circumstances it is a great pity that the Professor has not been able to give us a better book. It is a scholarly work, no doubt, but it is not a very readable one; indeed anyone not already well acquainted with Hastings' story will have considerable difficulty in following it as presented by Professor Feiling. The very opening pages, describing Hastings' ancestry, are so confusedly written that to thread one's way through them requires a degree of concentration far greater than the subject merits. Professor Feiling all too often makes the mistake of offering the reader a plethora of trees without adequately sketching the outlines of the wood. Thus the main provisions and defects of the Regulating Act of 1773 which were a major cause of Hastings' troubles, embroiling him with his own Council, the other Presidencies and the Supreme Court, are nowhere clearly and concisely stated. Even the composition of the new Council for Bengal, whose members were named in the Act itself, is not fully given; the reader who possesses no prior knowledge is left to discover or infer that besides the new-comers—Clavering, Monson and Francis—and Hastings himself, Barwell, (of whom, it must be said, an excellent sketch is given earlier) was the fifth member. The truth is that Mervyn Davies' fat volume on Hastings, though it cannot compare with Professor Feiling's book in range of detailed knowledge and scholarship, is more readable and intelligible than the Professor's crowded pages. No doubt the detail which these pages contain is often interesting or amusing. One likes to read that Lady Russell, the widow of Oliver Cromwell's grandson, was still the doyenne of Calcutta society in 1757, that the daughter of Watts, Hastings' first chief at Kasimbazar, later married Charles Jenkinson, first Earl of Liverpool, that Philadelphia, wife of the surgeon Hancock, a close friend of Hastings in the early years after Plassey, was the aunt of Jane Austen, and that the Burra Begum so hated her grandson Asaf-ud-Daulah that she had any chair broken to pieces on which he had sat during their conversations. But all this is hardly sufficient compensation for the absence of a firm outline. Unless the reader already possesses his own guiding clues, he will lose his way in the dense jungle of fact and allusion. Names appear and disappear without explanation or introduction and the reader, left guessing, will get little assistance from the index. One example out of many may be taken by way of illustration. On page 49 we read, "Much worse was to come. In July the British declared war and restored Mir Jaffir, Adams' gallant force occupied Murshidabad and marched on Monghyr." But who was Adams and his gallant force? He has never been mentioned before and he is never mentioned again, and his name does not find a place in the index. Like Melchisedek he suddenly appears and suddenly vanishes. On the very next page he is replaced without explanation by

Hector Munro. Professor Feiling must have been writing for a very esoteric circle of readers, if he presumes that they can supply from their own knowledge the missing information.

A work so allusive should at least have a good index, but the index provided is painfully inadequate. Adams' is by no means the only name omitted. On page 289 the marriage of Francis' protégé Bristow to Amelia Wrangham is mentioned. If one looks up the index to find out if there had been any previous reference to this famous Bengal beauty, one will be disappointed, as her name does not appear in it at all! Similarly Lady Russell, though mentioned at least twice in the text, does not appear in the index. On page 206, when we are still in the year 1779-80, there occurs an unexpected reference to Stables who did not join the Bengal Council till late in 1782. If surprised at the casual introduction of this quite a new figure and, thinking that his memory might be at fault, the reader were to consult the index to see whether Stables has been mentioned already, he will be puzzled to find that the index gives the first reference to him as on page 279!

On the main controversies of Hastings' career, Professor Feiling seems to avoid passing any judgment. The relevant facts are, however, presented fairly, if not always too clearly, and he brings out well the point that the spoliation of the Begums took place at Hastings' instance and was not, as he afterwards tried to make out, an entirely spontaneous move by Asaf-ud-Daulah; the latter was instigated to proceed against their property by direct or indirect hints from Hastings and his subordinates. In short, though not by any means unsympathetic to Hastings, Professor Feiling does not conceal or palliate his errors and weaknesses; and perhaps the general effect of the book is to do rather less than justice to his greatness. In part this arises from the fact that the long closing years of ineffectual retirement are described in some detail. These certainly do not add to Hastings' stature. As Professor Feiling says, "Though he was only sixty-three when he was acquitted, some main spring had broken." One gets the impression, in his years as squire at Daylesford, of a kindly but somewhat petty and pedantic old gentleman. But while the foibles of old age may be forgiven, one cannot help being sickened by the details which Professor Feiling supplies of the absurd extravagance and improvidence of Hastings and his Marion on their return to England which drove him again and again to beg the Directors for financial assistance. A man who had ruled an empire ought by sixty to have learnt how to manage his financial affairs and to avoid the indignity of having to beg and borrow.

A word about the spelling of Indian names. Professor Feiling says that he has conformed to recent practice, "adopting the forms of standard authorities such as the Imperial Gazetteer except in the case of words which a long tradition has made part of our common history." The principle is unexceptionable, but hardly seems to explain 'Budge Budge' on page 10 and 'Baj Baj' on page 23.

PENDEREL MOON

Midnapore Salt Papers: Hijli and Tamruk (1781-1807), edited by Narendra Krishna Sinha (West Bengal Regional Records Survey Committee, Calcutta; pp. 228 and 3 Maps).

THE discontinuance of the publication of district records begun by Bishop Firminger must be regretted by all students of the social and economic history of Bengal. The volume under review will, it is hoped, mark the beginning of the publication of a new series of selections from old district records and draw attention to one of the neglected sources of modern Indian history.

The salt papers incorporated in this volume are published in accordance with a resolution of the West Bengal Regional Records Survey Committee. The expenses of the publication have been met from funds placed at its disposal by the Government of West Bengal. The editor has written the introduction, the rest of the work having been done by two assistant editors under his supervision.

There may be differences of opinion as to how far the hope expressed in the preface that the book will make one of the neglected sources of modern Indian history better known has been fulfilled. Mere publication of dry documents, without an adequate explanation of the background and the importance of the subject matter as helping an understanding of the life of the people, will not be of much use for a proper appreciation of the social and economic conditions of the time.

In a book of 228 pages the introduction covers only twenty-four, and of these only half concern the real subject matter of the documents. Altogether one hundred and seventy-three documents have been incorporated in the book. Of these only thirty have been referred to by the editor in the introduction. There is no reference to the remaining one hundred and forty-three documents. One wishes that the introduction had more bearing on the documents published.

There is no proper attempt to elucidate the subject matter of the documents and make them interesting to the readers of the present day by interpreting them in the light of contemporary and subsequent development of events. The real value of such publications is to focus attention on certain aspects of the life of the people in olden days so as to arouse the curiosity of the present day scholars for delving further into the past. Unless this is done, the documents which so long remained as worn out manuscripts will only be preserved in printed pages.

In No. 33(e) of the Hijli Letters issued, the *malangis* of *Chakla*, Jellasore (Jaleswar), in their petition complain that while their fellow workers of Cockrah and certain other parganas received for their salt "60 Rs per % mds", they of the three parganas received only "40 Rs per % mds". "We are poor inhabitants", so ran the petition, "look into our circumstances and order

us the Cockrah price, we shall then boil more salt than we did last year, but if you do not increase the price of our salt we will boil none." The concluding part of the statement, indeed, holds out a threat which is possible of execution only if there is something like a union or a guild. The reader looks in vain for a discussion as to the existence of any organization among the *malangis* which might make them so bold as to hold out a threat of collective stoppage of work.

The low wages of the "native" servants of the Company has been put forth as a contributory cause for their alleged corruption. But the standard of wages has to be judged in relation to prices of essential commodities. In the absence of a statement as to the prevailing price rate, it is difficult to conclude that a salary of Rs. 30/- per month was too small for a *darogah* at the *chauki*. Even in the twenties and thirties of the present century, when the price of commodities was many times higher than during the eighties and nineties of the eighteenth century, an Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police would start with a salary of Rs. 25/- only per month. Considered in this light, the salary rates as we find in No. 12 of the Tamluk Letters issued cannot be regarded as the primary cause of dishonesty among the petty Indian officials.

There is a glossary at the end of the book. Its intention obviously is to explain some technical and archaic terms to the modern reader. But many of the terms in the text have found no place in the glossary. To name only a few, terms like *sujahmarah*, *takooamarah*, *thansooktie*, indicating different stages in the manufacture of salt, have not been explained in the glossary.

The editors have also appended a biographical note on the European officers connected with the salt trade between 1781 and 1807. Here also we find certain omissions, which could perhaps not be avoided.

The three maps present a lively contrast at the end of so many dreary pages. But their importance could have been enhanced with short notes on the place names and the topographical changes that have since taken place.

To say all this is not to decry or minimise the importance of the book. It furnishes valuable material for research in the field of our historical and economic studies. Salt as an article of manufacture and trade has aroused many controversies in Indian history. The salt duties and taxes have stimulated abuses, evasion and political opposition culminating sporadically in revolt. The national movement in India invariably found in the salt tax a weapon which could be used most effectively in the struggle against British imperialism. But the scholars who undertake to bring out the significance of the salt industry in our economic and national life must try to see that the salt which they serve does not lose its savour.

S. B.

A Source Book on the Wreck of the Grosvenor East Indiaman edited by Percival R. Kirby (The Van Riebeck Society, South African Library, Cape Town, pp. vi+228; price 15 sh. 9 d.).

PROFESSOR KIRBY breaks new ground in the sense that he has brought together in a convenient form all the available accounts relating to the ship *Grosvenor*. It was a three-masted, square-rigged frigate, built at Deptford in 1770, and launched on her maiden voyage to India. She weathered the storm of three voyages to India; but her fourth and last voyage from Bengal early in 1782 proved fatal. While sailing off Ceylon on 13 April 1782, she was attacked by the French squadron under Admiral Suffrein. The naval engagement ended in a draw, the French fleet withdrawing to Colombo, and the English, to Trincomali. From that port the *Grosvenor* sailed for England on 13 June. On 4 August 1782 she ran ashore on the South African coast. This was the end of the gallant ship which figured in the records of the East India Company. The notes which the learned author has used by way of elucidating the documents edited by him add to the importance of the book as source material on an interesting subject. Such books on East Indiamen would greatly widen the sphere of our knowledge of the eighteenth century.

B. A. SALETORÉ

Annual Report on the National Archives and Records Service from the Annual Report of the Administrator of General Services for the year ending June 30, 1952 (Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1953; pp. 57-90).

THE accelerated rate of progress towards achievement of an economical and efficient system for the management of the records of the Federal Government since 1949 reflects in a great measure the success of the changes brought about in the organizational make-up of the National Archives as a result of Hoover Commission's recommendations.

During the fiscal year 1951, a good beginning was made in developing and installing a comprehensive records management programme for the Federal Government. This was the first full year of its operation since it was authorized by the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 and defined in greater detail in the Federal Records Act of 1950. This programme envisages creating and maintaining of records in the most economical manner while they are in use in current business and retiring of permanently valuable records by transfer to the National Archives and outright disposal of the rest or their transfer to a records centre until they are ready for accession in the National Archives or for destruction. This increased activity is reflected in the setting up of an eighth Federal Records Centre in St. Louis (for records of civilian employees of the Federal Agencies) and expansion of the others during the year to cope with the mass of records offered to them for intermediate storage. The figure of 741,000 cubic feet

as against 608,000 cubic feet of last year of records transferred to these centres speaks volumes for the increased activity of these depositories.

The Records Management Surveys undertaken by the General Services Administration concentrate chiefly on the evaluation of the records retirement programmes and practices of the agencies. In the course of these surveys, about 270,000 cubic feet of records were inventoried and draft schedules prepared for 940,000 cubic feet.

The Joint Congressional Committee has finally ordered the transfer from the Library of Congress of the original engrossed copies of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States along with the records of the Continental Congress and the Constitutional Convention to the National Archives. The National Archives now very rightly claims to be what it was originally intended to be "a repository of all historically significant records of the National Government and one of the important national centres of historical research."

This all-round increase in the activities of the Archives has not prevented it from fulfilling efficiently its primary duty of making records and the information contained in them available to researchers, both official and unofficial. In the field of private research, many books based on the source materials, available in the National Archives were published. Leonard D. White's *The Jeffersonians, a study in administrative history—1801-1829* is one of the many books published which relied on these records for information and authenticity.

To make the records easily available to interested parties the National Archives made steady progress in its extensive programme of preparing finding aids such as comprehensive guides, handbooks, inventories and descriptive lists. Detailed inventories were prepared during the year for the World War II records of the Naval Establishments, Office of Censorship, National Resources Planning Board, President's Air Policy Commission and several more.

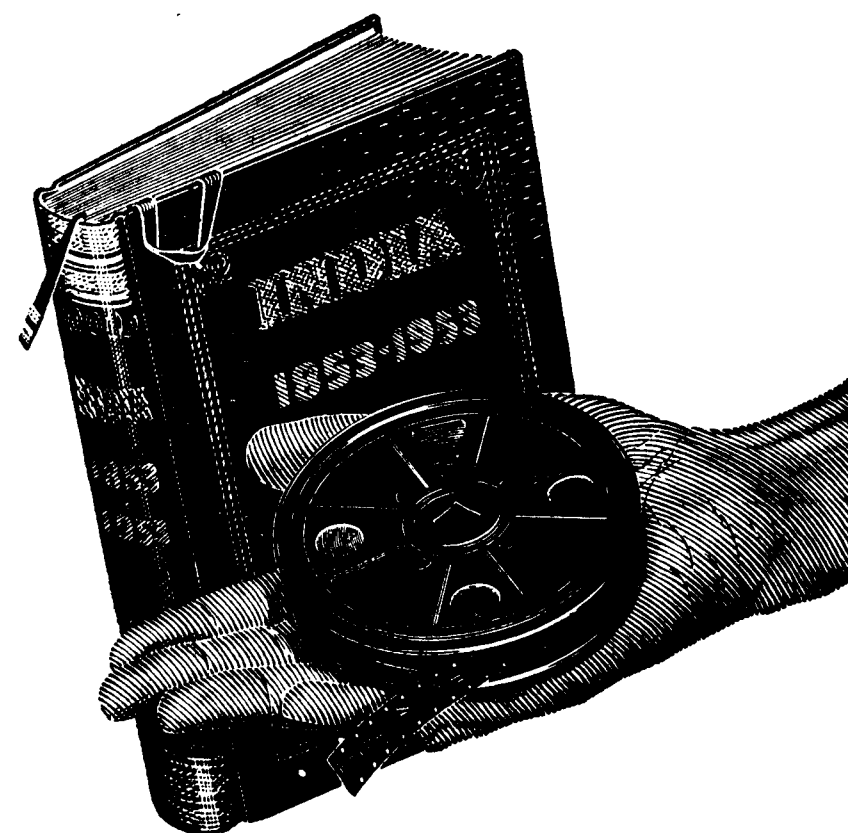
Among the new items of work undertaken by the National Archives, mention may be made of the methodical survey of the motion picture holdings which revealed that there were 65,008 cans of nitrate film and 1,60,666 cans of acetate film in its custody.

The report ends with a short description of the Federal Register and other publications and a review of the activities of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

It is with a subdued sense of pride for the targets reached and progress maintained in the various projects undertaken that the National Archives offers this report of its yearly activities, but the Department is by no means complacent. Aware of the work which still remains to be completed, it is directing its energies with renewed vigour and keen earnestness.

DHAN KESWANI

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Being the Third Part of the Travels of M. De Thevenot into the Levant and the Third Part of a Voyage Round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri.

Edited by .

SURENDRANATH SEN

Published by the National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949.

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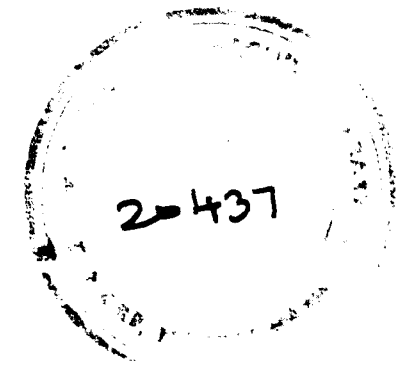
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