

245

THE INDIAN ARCHIVES

VOL. X

NUMBERS 1-2

JAN-DEC 1956

A
218m 'N56'
N56-LC
45317

245 913 CONTENTS

PAGE

A Letter from John Stewart, Secretary and Judge Advocate of Bengal, 1773 by <i>L. S. Sutherland</i>	1
Inks and Papers by <i>Harold S. Burt</i>	13
Two Unpublished Akhbars from Poona by <i>R. M. Joshi</i>	17
An Outstanding Family Archives in the Punjab by <i>V. S. Suri</i>	20
West Bengal Secretariat Record Office by <i>G. N. Chandra</i>	25
Selections from the Correspondence of Henry Russell with N. B. Edmonstone by <i>C. Collin Davies</i>	39
Archives of the Indian Ocean by <i>Auguste Toussaint</i>	56
A Note on the Melville Manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland by <i>Barun De</i>	67

NEWS NOTES:

India: National Archives of India—Indian Historical Records Commission—Research and Publication Committee—Andhra Pradesh—Ajmer—Assam—Bihar—Bombay—Madhya Pradesh—Madras—Mysore — Orissa — Punjab — Rajasthan — Uttar Pradesh—West Bengal—Writings of Gandhiji. *International*: Third International Congress on Archives—Cultural Committee of the Council of Europe—UNESCO Regional Conference—UNESCO Publication Centre. *Belgium*: Archives generales du Royaume. *Ceylon*: Central Archives Nuwara Eliya., *Egypt*. *Mauritius*: Archives Department. *United Kingdom*: The Committee on Departmental Records—Public Record Office, London—Historical Manuscripts Commission—Technical Committee of the Society of Archivists—British Records Association—Anglo-American Conference of Historians—Demonstration Bindery—Society of Archivists. *Australia*: Commonwealth Archives Committee. *United States of America*: National Archives and Records Service—Library of Congress—German Foreign Ministry Documents. *Preservation and Photo-duplication*: Listomatic Camera—New Microcard Reader—Collating Machine 79

BOOK REVIEWS:

Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency, 1793-1833, by Amares Tripathi (Calcutta, 1956), reviewed by Bhabatosh Datta

Imago Mundi, A Review of Early Cartography, Vol. XII by Leo Bagrow (Holland, 1956), reviewed by R. H. Phillimore

The Bombay Dockyard and the Wadia Master Builders by Ruttonjee Ardeshir Wadia (Bombay, 1955), reviewed by Sukumar Bhattacharya

ingh by Sita Ram Kohli (Allahabad, 1956), unapat Rai

of Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1923 (Cape Town, 1956), reviewed by Dhan Keswani 39

V2:8m N56

N56.10

45317

THE INDIAN ARCHIVES

Volume X

January—December 1956

Numbers 1-2

A LETTER FROM JOHN STEWART, SECRETARY AND JUDGE ADVOCATE OF BENGAL, 1773

45317

AMONG the papers of the second Marquess of Rockingham, statesman and patron of Edmund Burke, which have been deposited by Lord FitzWilliam in the Sheffield Public Library¹, there is a lively account of his impressions of Bengal written by one John Stewart, dated 7 March 1773. The account gives evidence of an alert and somewhat journalistic intelligence rather than of any depth of insight or knowledge, but it is a good illustration of the impact of the country on an educated Briton of his day, and contains two features of special interest—its writer was closely associated with Warren Hastings in his first years as Governor of Bengal; and, since Stewart was intimate with Edmund Burke², the latter is likely to have read this letter at a time when his contacts with and interest in Bengal were still very limited.

John Stewart was a Scottish adventurer, a relative it would seem of Archibald Stewart, wine merchant of York Buildings, Buckingham Street, the Jacobite Provost of Edinburgh in 1745, and his son another John Stewart³, who was active in the affairs of the East India Company in the 1760's and early 1770's as the 'jackal' of Sir George Colebrooke, one of the leading figures in the Court of Directors⁴. In 1771, through the influence of Colebrooke, Stewart was appointed Judge Advocate of Bengal with the reversion to the Secretaryship⁵, and went out with a personal recommendation to Hastings, whom he accompanied to Bengal. He owed his appointment to Sir George Colebrooke, and

1. I am indebted to the Earl FitzWilliam and the Trustees of the Wentworth-Woodhouse estate for permission to make use of and print this document.

2. See letters in the FitzWilliam MSS. (Sheffield).

3. The first trace so far found of him is in 1761 when his address was York Buildings (Royal Society of Arts, Subscription Book). There were at least four men named John Stewart or Stuart at this time concerned in East India affairs, and their identification presents considerable difficulty.

4. See L. S. Sutherland, *The East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics*. Oxford, 1952, *passim*.

5. East India Company Court Book 79, p. 323.

had been strongly recommended for employment by Lord Rockingham⁶, urged on by Edmund Burke, who had known him for some years and who had a high opinion of him. His reason for seeking employment in India, was the financial straits to which he had been reduced since 1769 by the collapse of the fortunes of Lauchlin Maclean (an adventurer of much more note who also sought refuge in India⁷), with whom he had been intimately associated.

His qualifications to hold offices and to supersede experienced Company servants⁸ were not obvious. He had received, as he claimed 'a liberal education', had travelled in America, France and Italy⁹, is believed to have written various pamphlets on East India affairs in 1767¹⁰, certainly wrote in the newspapers against the Grafton Administration in 1769¹¹, and in 1768 was sent by the Secretary of State Lord Shelburne on a confidential mission to Corsica, on which he wrote an interesting report published in Lord FitzMaurice's *Life of Lord Shelburne*¹². On the other hand his private life was scandalous¹³, he had seen the inside of a debtor's prison¹⁴, and he had failed to make his way in the world. Hastings, however, spoke well of his work¹⁵ (though he later stated "I never placed any confidence in John Stewart")¹⁶ and he was personally well-liked. After his early death a friend wrote, I never think of his wit and sociality without regret"¹⁷.

6. Rockingham had supported his unsuccessful application to go out as Secretary to the Commission of Three Supervisors sent out to India in 1769, whose ship was lost on the way out (FitzWilliam MSS. (Sheffield) J. Stewart to E. Burke, 24 September 1769), and also his attempt to be elected Secretary of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce in 1770. (Royal Society of Arts. Loose Archives A6/72.)

7. Sutherland, *op. cit.*

8. Hastings had protested mildly against this, e.g., Letter to L. Sullivan, 10 February 1770. Quoted G. R. Gleig, *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Hon. Warren Hastings*, 1841, I, 187-8.

9. See his memorandum to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce.

10. See the volume numbered 189 in the pamphlet collection in the London Library, St. James's Square.

11. FitzWilliam MSS. (Sheffield) letter referred to in n. 6 above.

12. ii, 123 *seq.*

13. See the scurrilous *Memoirs of Mrs. Anne Bailey containing a narrative of her various adventures in life*. Printed for the author, 1771.

14. In 1765. Publ. Rec. Off. King's Bench Prisons Commitment Books. Prisons 4/vol. 3, p. 434.

15. Letter quoted by Gleig, *op. cit.*, i, 189. "I am much pleased with Mr. Stuart. He is a sensible man and appears to possess a good temper."

16. *Ibid.*, Add. MS. 29129, f. 24. W. Hastings to S. Pechell, 23 February 1782.

17. *Ibid.*, Add. MS. 29143, f. 82. J. MacPherson to W. Hastings, 13 February 1779.

His career in India was destined to be a short one. On the arrival of General Clavering, Colonel Monson and Philip Francis he fell a victim to their partizan reforming zeal. He was dismissed from his offices in 1775¹⁸, and after an unsuccessful attempt to get the Supreme Court to intervene on his behalf¹⁹, he sailed for England, determined to demand redress from the Court of Directors. Arriving there in September or October 1776, he was in time to play a part in the curious incident of the resignation of Warren Hastings offered by Hastings's agent Lauchlin Maclean²⁰, and to benefit by the private clauses of the agreement which accompanied it, to reinstate Hastings's friends. It was not, however, till 1777 that he was promised in lieu of his former positions that of a member of the Bengal Board of Trade, and some months later that he sailed for India²¹. Nor did he reach his destination for he died of tuberculosis in 1778 on the voyage leaving a penniless newly-married wife²² and an illegitimate son, who later entered the Company's military service. While in England he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1777 'An account of the Kingdom of Thibet, in a letter from John Stewart, F.R.S., to Sir John Pringle, Bart. F.R.S.', incorporating the report of his friend George Bogle, whom Warren Hastings had sent on a mission in the hope of opening up intercourse with that unknown land²³. Stewart's account made some impression, being translated into French and Italian.

FitzWilliam MSS. (Sheffield) R77-10-6²⁴.

Calcutta, Bengal.

7th March 1773.

My Lord,

By the opportunity of Captain Hamilton's return to England I present my most humble respects to your Lordship from Bengal taking advantage of permission which your Lordship was pleased to grant me when I had the honour to wait on you to take leave before I came away.

18. Hastings reported what had happened to Lord North on 20 November 1775 (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 29127, f. 234).

19. Vansittart MSS., Bisham Abbey. George Vansittart's European Letter Book iii, 121-4. G. Vansittart to J. Graham, 25 November 1775.

20. Stewart gave verbal testimony in support of Maclean's assertion that he was authorised to resign on Hastings's behalf.

21. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 29138, ff. 424 *seq.* J. Stewart to W. Hastings, 23 May 1777.

22. Johanna Maria Murray d. of William Murray of Jamaica. See her letters to Hastings. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 29143, f. 303, and Add. MS. 29147, f. 306.

23. See India Office Library Orme MSS. O.V. 71.4, and Home Miscellaneous, Vol. 118.

24. The punctuation and spelling of the original have been preserved, but contractions have been expanded and the use of capitals adjusted to modern usage.

I wish I had any thing to communicate worthy your Lordships notice. Occurrences at present are few, and I feel myself from my situation rather restrained from such speculations and observations on the state of things here as might be acceptable to your Lordship. I may be permitted however to say that I have found Bengal on a near view to be an object even exceeding in importance what I had conceived it to be at a distance. Under whatever name it is held I foresee that it may be always made one of the brightest jewels in the British Crown and I am confident, one of the most easy to be secured.

It is almost impossible in imagination to exceed the real beauty, fertility, and convenience for trade which this country exhibits, and even for the salubrity of its climate; if the last year was a fair specimen I know none equal to it. By the returns made to me of the burials in Calcutta of Whites of our Communion including soldiers, sailors, women and children etc. etc. there were only 170 died, and I am confident the whole number of that body of people cannot be less than 7 or 8000 in the place, for in the article of women I include all the Mestizes²⁵ etc. that live with the white men, and their children of course go in the list. Of near 230 Company's civil servants in Bengal only 2 died²⁶.

The heats here begin about the latter end of this month and continue till June. The mercury in the thermometer rises to a great height in that time, but the weather much more tolerable than I have felt it in North America during their summer months. In June last I had it often at 106 in my tent on a tour up the country with the Governor²⁷ and we were all in health and spirits at the time. While the rains continue it is pleasant and healthy. In about October and till the latter end of November when the rains first begin to take off, it is sickly and disagreeable enough, but in December the north wind from the high mountains of Nepal and Thibet covered with eternal snows, set in, and make I believe the pleasantest climate in the universe for 3 compleat months. We all get into cloths and shauls and sleep under 2 or 3 blankets. The air is clear and sharp, the sun shining always out and not one drop of rain. In this time we eat, drink and take all sorts of exercise as in Europe. Indeed almost all the year round you have garden stuff of every kind in the greatest abundance, a thing

25. Women of mixed race. A term originally used of inhabitants of Goa born of a Portuguese father and Indian mother.

26. Stewart was unusually lucky in his experience during this year. The mortality was often considerably higher.

27. Stewart accompanied Warren Hastings in his tour upcountry to Murshidabad etc. which began on 3 June and lasted for two and a half months.

unknown in the rest of India, and you have beef, mutton, veal as in London and some excellent fish such as what we call a manga²⁸ fish which is the most delicious of all fish that swims.

I had imagined the country to be exceeding low from the annual overflowing of the lands, but I found it almost every where finely elevated above the common bed of the waters. Indeed in the summer when the Ganges comes down it fills it to the top of its banks and spreads creeks canals and communications every where. The whole country is then alive and commodities of all sorts are transported 1000 miles at almost the same expence that it would cost you to bring them from Dorking to London. I have calculated that at the price of grain last season in some of the distant provinces a man might live for 3 rupees per annum, but if you gave him 4 he could live like a prince²⁹. A rupee is about 2/4 sterling.

Perhaps your Lordship would not dislike I should attempt giving you some notion of this city of Calcutta. You will then imagine a large river very much resembling the Thames at London, but broader and much more deep and rapid. Along its banks bending into a large arch, the town stretches itself for near 4 English miles and runs back about one in breadth. The quarter inhabited by the English is the lowest on the river and is laid off in regular and wide streets with spacious and showy houses, such as in appearance eclipse, (not to speak of London) almost any thing in Paris or Italy. I say in appearance for they will not bear an examination, they are all of brick plastered over and whitewashed, but all attempt some order of architecture and you see nothing but portico's, columnades, galleries, etc. etc. some few in good taste, several tolerable, and many more wretchedly bad. However the approach to the town in front of the Esplanade of the new Fort³⁰, presents you at a distant (*sic*) with an appearance more of a city of antient Greece or Asia (according to my notions) than any thing I ever beheld. The other quarters of the town are a mixture of miserable huts and old Moorish and Indian *kelhats*³¹ and *seraglios* where they (*sic*) inhabitants mew themselves up with their women and servants unvisited by Europeans or indeed by one another.

28. Mango fish.

29. This would seem to be an exaggeration even in remote districts. At Kasimbazar in 1739 the pay of a coolie was 2 rupees a month. S. Bhattacharya, *The East India Company and the Economy of Bengal from 1704 to 1740*, 1954, p. 204-5.

30. The new fort which Clive had begun to build for the defence of Calcutta and which was now nearing completion. The Esplanade was the official centre of the city.

31. *Kalhat*[ti], a collection of huts (?).

I know of no rule by which to compute the inhabitants of a place, but when I observe the extent of the town the numbers of people that appear stuffed (*sic*) into one hut, and the eternal croud which fills the streets and bazars I should not hesitate to say that there are to a third or a fourth near as many inhabitants in Calcutta as in London³².

The city of Moorshedabad the residence of the Nabob³³ is still larger than Calcutta and was formerly much more inhabited, it is now falling off every day. I went there with Mr. Hastings on business of no insignificant importance³⁴ and had then an opportunity of observing very near, the manners, forms and intrigues of an Asiatic Court. The splendour however of that of Moorshedabad is almost gone. We put the finishing stroke to it. I own I felt a degree of compassion and remorse when I saw so many great families sinking into indigence, and proud Musselman Lords excluded from honours, profits and employments and obliged to bend to the ground before a parcel of *Fringuis*³⁵ from t'other end of the world, whom a few years ago they hardly regarded as on a level with their dogs. When I considered however the treatment these same Mahometans bestowed upon the Hindoes (*sic*) the original inhabitants I got over my remorse.

I cannot conceive how any person at Home can entertain a doubt of our being able to hold this country, when we see how long the Mahometans have kept it, so inferiour to us either in policy or the art of war, and more detested I believe by the natives. The number

32. The population of London at this time was estimated at about 700,000; opinions varied greatly as to that of Calcutta.

33. The Nawab of Bengal, at this time the minor Mubarakud-Daulah.

34. Hastings said of his visit there, "This period was employed in settling the collections and the government of the districts dependent on Moorshedabad !.....in reducing the Nabob's stipend from thirty-two lacs to sixteen.....in reducing his pension list, and other expences; in forming, recommending and executing a new arrangement of his household; and in framing a new system for conducting the business of the Dewannee, or revenue" (quoted Gleig, *op cit.*, 1, 261). These changes were the result of the Company's decision to "stand forth as Dewan" of Bengal.

35. Feringis, Frangis or Franks, Arab term originally used to denote the inhabitants of Western Europe. The hard lot of the nobility at the Nawab's Court was recognised in the official report. "Some hundreds of persons of the ancient nobility of the country, excluded under our government from almost all employments, civil or military, had ever since the revolution depended on the bounty of the Nabob. It is not that the distribution was always made with judgement and impartiality.....but when the question was to cut off the greatest part, it could not fail to be accompanied with circumstances of real distress. The President [Hastings] declares that even with some of the highest rank he could not avoid discovering under all the pride of Eastern manners, the manifest marks of penury and want." (General Letter, Secret Department, 10 November 1772, quoted M. E. Monckton Jones, *Warren Hastings in Bengal* 1772-1774, Oxford, 1918, pp. 191-2.)

of Musselman bear not the smallest proportion to the Hindoes. The differences of their manners are strongly marked. The Musselmans are active, proud, despotic, liberal, cruel, and the most easy and polite in their address of any people I have ever met with. The French are clowns to them. The Hindoes are gentle, indolent, submissive, covetous, and rather awkward and reserved in their address. I feel a great veneration for the antient Rajahs of the country. We look upon them very unjustly as meer (*sic*) officers of Government in their quality of Zamindars³⁶, but they are in fact the true nobility of the country, and the people feel them as such. They are what our feudal Lords were and have their retainers about them in the same manner, keeping up much of the state and dignity of that character. Your Lordship may judge of what consequence a man may become who enjoys, as many of them does (*sic*), an estate of, to the amount of 40, or 50,000 pounds sterling per annum, in a country and of a religion that allows him to eat nothing but rice. How many mouths may he not feed?

Your Lordship will naturally expect that I should say something of the state of defence of this country, particularly against a European enemy. First I must observe that if our Ministry are any thing watchful I think it impossible the French should ever be able to send a great force here, without our having a greater at their heels, but supposing they were, they can only come on this coast in a certain season. The landing is almost impracticable but in the river and the entry is the most difficult navigation in the world. We could at all times take up the buoys. If they could even push up, they would meet a post called Brunswick which commands the river absolutely lately erected by Colonel Campbell³⁷ that would be exceedingly difficult to force. If they disembarked their troops below it on either side, they would meet a country intersected with creeks and nullas where they might be continually harassed and opposed at every pass. If after all they arrive at Calcutta they would find a morsel in the new Fort which they could not digest. According to my notions, it ought to be, if properly garrisoned, impregnable to any thing that can attack it in this country³⁸. If one was to reckon by what it cost, it should be stronger

36. The Zamindars, originally officers of government of the Mughal Empire, but became with the passing of time more in the nature of hereditary landowners, contained in their number many descendants of the pre-Mughal aristocracy. The nature of the Zamindar's position was to lead to much dispute in England. Stewart's opinion, though expressed differently from that which Philip Francis later advanced was not dissimilar from it.

37. Colonel Archibald Campbell, formerly of Bombay, the Chief Engineer.

38. Hastings, unlike Philip Francis, always maintained that Bengal was, "incapable of attack by sea", though he feared attack from land in alliance with an Indian ally.

than Luxembourg. Lisle and Bergen op Zoom put together", but it is in fact a noble, commodious and strong fortification and as far as it has been finished by Campbell executed in a masterly manner. Little is wanting to compleat it. Both the body of the place and the outworks are in the best stile, the casemates airy and convenient, the ditches wide and clear, and there is a peculiar advantage attached to them, that you may fill them and drain them twice every day, if you chuse. Campbell's sluices are capital works.

While we suppose you an European enemy employed before Fort William, our force would be collecting; and having possession of all the provinces we have the revenues of course. There is now on this establishment about 28,000 men. We had lately a Review here of about 6 battalions with 16 pieces of cannon and I assure your Lordship they would have made a figure in Hyde Park. I mean as to the seapoys. They are well composed and well disciplined. The Europeans are well as to the last but if you won't allow us good men from Home we cannot make them here³⁹.

The only Country Power from which we have any thing to apprehend is the Mahrattas, and we are only open to them, and that in a small degree, by one way. I mean from the south west, and even there they have to penetrate through Midnapore, a province of small account before they could do us hurt. To the west we have the Beerboon Mountains⁴¹, the Soan⁴², the Carumnassa⁴³ and the Ganges to defend us and to the northward we are fenced in from all enemies by the frozen Tartar Wall, part I believe of the southern Caucasus⁴⁴, which stretches all along to the westward⁴⁵ as far as Assam and China. I have been very inquisitive about Assam since I came here without being able to obtain much information⁴⁶. I suspect however a communication with China that way would not be difficult, nor the distance be found so great as the maps lay down. The river of

39. The expense of the new fort had greatly exceeded expectations.

40. The Company had had to withdraw its Recruiting Bills of 1770 and 1771. Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

41. The Birbhum Mountains, about 150 miles north west of Calcutta.

42. The river Son, a right-bank tributary of the Ganges.

43. The river Karmnasa, a smaller and more westerly right-bank tributary of the Ganges.

44. The Himalayas had been so described since Pliny and Strabo, though James Rennell's map has the name 'Himmaleh Mts.' at the eastern end of the range.

45. Stewart meant not 'westward' but 'eastward'.

46. For the contacts between Assam and Bengal at this time see S. K. Bhuyan, *Anglo-Assamese Relations 1771-1826*, Gauhati, Assam, 1949, pp. 67

Barrampoota⁴⁷ which we take hardly any notice of at Home is certainly one of the largest in the world. It is greater than the Ganges. We know nothing of it but that it enters our provinces from the east and pouring down an amazing flood of waters on the skirts of our territories, disembogues itself into the sea, near the mouth of the great Ganges by Sundeep⁴⁸.

We are now in all appearance ready to get into hostilities with the Mahrattas, about the Province of Corah⁴⁹ of which they have obtained a free grant from the Mogol, much as we obtained that of Bengal. That is to say after we had thrashed him, stript him and tyed his hands, with this difference that we only got a grant of what we had already, and would have kept without it, and the Mahrattas, of what they never had, nor will not now get. We defend these provinces with their own revenues and the Vizir Souja Dowla's money⁵⁰ who has called us in, and I believe the Mahrattas will think seriously before they enter into an offensive war with us or attack our own territories⁵¹.

It is now about a year and a half since Shaw Allum the Great Mogol, tired out with waiting for our assistance to replace him on the throne of Delhi⁵², quitted to Korah Province and threw himself upon the Mohrattas (*sic*). They did carry him to Delhi and put him on the throne, but he soon found he was only their lieutenant. He quarrelled with them they fought, and in a pitched battle about 3 months ago which lasted from morn till night, he was defeated altho his two Seapoy battalions trained up under our officers (who were withdrawn afterwards) retreated in good order in the face of the whole Mahratta army of 50 thousand men⁵³. I mention the Mogols condition

47. The river Brahmaputra.

48. The Island of Sandwip.

49. Kora. After the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, had put himself under the protection of the Marathas at Delhi in 1771, they persuaded him to cede to them the Provinces of Kora and Allahabad, assigned to the Emperor by Clive. The Company were not prepared to allow the transfer to take place.

50. Shuja-ud-daula, Vazir of Oudh. The Bengal Government were pledged to support him against the Marathas, in return for a fixed payment for the use of Company troops. In the following August, Hastings handed over these provinces to Oudh in return for a considerable sum, got the payment for the Company troops raised, but agreed to assist the Vazir in his plan of conquering the Rohillas.

51. Though minor brushes occurred, Stewart was correct in this assumption.

52. Ever since 1761 the intention to bring about his return to Delhi had been expressed by the Bengal Government, but steps had not been taken to implement the intention.

53. On 17 December, 1772. Stewart does not mention that the French mercenary troops under Rene Madec were the heroes of the day. J. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, 2nd edn. Calcutta, 1952, iii, 48 seq.

at present that your Lordship may be better able to form an idea of the consideration which his ambassador Major Morrison⁵⁴ has a right to expect. He is gone Home to treat with his Majesty for a surrender to him of all which the Company now hold in India. By my notions it is little less than treason for any subject to accept of such a commission. We would not recognize him in that quality here, we are impatient to hear how he will be received at Home.

Your Lordship is undoubtedly acquainted with Mr. Hastings being at present Governor of Bengal, he was moved from Madrass. I came here with him, and have been happy enough to conciliate his intimate friendship and favour. I was appointed by my friend Sir G. Colebrooke⁵⁵ Judge Advocate with the reversion to the Secretaryship. I am now in possession of both and before I succeeded to the latter I lived with Mr. H. and acted as his private secretary. My appointments would allow me to lay up a good deal of money in any country but this, but the unavoidable expences are so great that I am afraid I shall not effect it, nor raise a Nabobs fortune soon unless I can strike out some concerns in the country to bring in a yearly profit, and I have some prospects that way.

I observe the cry is now up against the India Company and that she is marked out to be baited in Parliament⁵⁶. I imagine she may be sweated but I am confident there are enough of good men in both Houses to prevent her from being sacrificed (*sic*) altogether either to ministerial power or popular clamour. I am too new here and of too little consequence to apprehend that my name will be bandied about in public, but I dare say Mr. Hastings will be mentioned and I am anxious that it be treated with the respect it deserves⁵⁷. I dare say your Lordship is no stranger to the character he bears and to the general estimation in which he stands both with the Company and the world at large. I should be glad if I had leisure and permission to submit an account of his management here at the head of a great State

54. Major John R. Morrison, late of the Company's forces was sent to Calcutta by the Emperor to demand his tribute (which the Bengal Government refused to pay since he had put himself in the hands of their enemies). When disappointed he sailed for Europe in a foreign ship to put the Emperor's case before the King. Hastings was uneasy lest he should be received in England, but unnecessarily (letter to Sir G. Colebrooke of 14 January 1773 printed Gleig, *op. cit.*, i, 275 *seq.*).

55. In 1772-73 Chairman of the East India Company.

56. The enquiries preceding Lord North's Indian legislation of 1773.

57. Hastings's reputation stood on the contrary so high at this time that he was appointed first Governor General under the Regulating Act, Rockingham and his friends in Opposition protesting, however, on general grounds.

(as I may call Bengal) to your Lordship's judgement and knowledge in public affairs; perhaps I may obtain both and I am persuaded your Lordship will receive my attempt favourably. Indeed I acknowledge I have a design to introduce Mr. H. to your correspondence⁵⁸. I have even hinted it to him. He seemed flattered with the notion, but is backward for fear it should appear intruding upon you. The high respect I entertain for your Lordship's rank and qualifications, and pardon my expression the warm friendship I bear to your person, would ever prevent me from introducing to your acquaintance a person unworthy of it, but I am positive you would look upon Mr. H. as an acquisition. His name your Lordship will observe is not such as you meet commonly in the list of India Governors and let me assure you, he possesses sentiments worthy of his name and both in education and manners as well as in talents is fit to fill any station with credit. His absence from England has kept him from entering much into our factions at Home, but with a true independent spirit he values good men of either side and has a peculiar respect for that set of men with whom your Lordship is particularly connected and with the party of which I may say your Lordship is the head.

I would not have taken up your Lordship's attention on this subject did I not mean as I have said before to introduce, some time or other Mr. Hastings to you. In a private capacity I am sure you will think him a valuable acquaintance and in a public light, I look upon it that in the line of public affairs which your Lordship is pleased to adopt, you will consider a Governor of Bengal as no loose card in the pack.

When I look over this desultory and uncorrect (*sic*) epistle I hardly know how to appologize (*sic*) for my presumption in addressing it to your Lordship. I sat down only to write a few lines conveying my respects and wishes for your health and prosperity. I have indeed been unlucky in some curiosities particularly in 2 Napal birds which by so good an opportunity as that of Hamilton I thought to have sent to your Lordship. They died in coming down. I must endeavour to make the loss up next year. While I remain in India I trust your Lordship will honour me with your commands of any sort where I can be of service to you. The Rockingham is gone down the river. I had no time while the public Despatches were on hand to write my own letters. I send them now express after the ship and I hope this will serve as my excuse for not transcribing and correcting this blotted peice (*sic*).

58. Hastings was a notoriously bad correspondent, and did not follow this up.

I am happy to learn by Hamilton that Lady Rockingham has recovered her health so compleately" (*sic*).

With my most respectful compliments to your Lordship, allow me the honour to subscribe myself

My Lord Marquis
Your Lordships most obedient and
most humble servant
John Stewart.

L. S. SUTHERLAND

59. Lady Rockingham had been seriously ill in 1771.

INKS AND PAPERS FOR USE IN GOVERNMENT OFFICES IN U.S.A.

FOR more than forty centuries man has been trying to find and perfect a record ink which would adequately convey to posterity an account of his actions, feelings and hopes. The earliest inks were those made from the juices and berries; then more ambitious souls gathered shells from the seashore, which, when ground fine and mixed with water or other liquefying agent, became the conveyor of the scribe's message to a limited posterity. These inks were applied with a brush made either of chewed fibre, or of hair. According to Carvalho, the first writing appeared between 1500 and 1800 B. C.

Specifying inks for government offices had its beginning in the United States in 1891 when the Legislature of Massachusetts authorized a standard ink and provided a penalty for failure to use it. This standard was submitted to manufacturers and after bids had been received, a supply was purchased for the state by the record commissioner who had the care of its distribution to all record offices in the state. Curiously enough, the ink approved was one of the iron gall tannate inks, similar in content to that which was concocted in the twelfth century from an effusion of gall nuts procured from oak trees in Eastern Europe. The standard ink of Massachusetts was used as standard by Connecticut in 1895 when the Legislature passed the following law: "No person having the care or custody of any book of records or registry in any of the departments or offices of the state or of any county, city, town, borough or probate district therein, shall use or allow to be used upon such books any ink excepting such as is furnished by the secretary of state". Section three of this same law states that "the inks so furnished before acceptance by the secretary shall be examined by a chemist to be designated by the secretary" etc. Soon after this, the federal government in its treasury department began ink standardization for use on official records.

Since 1902, supervision in the State of Connecticut has been in charge of the Examiner of Public Records. This office was created by the legislature following advice from a commission which had been previously appointed. The duties of the Examiner of Public Records are as follows: "Such Examiner of Public Records shall cause such action to be taken by persons having the care and custody of public records as may be necessary to put such records in the custody and condition required by law and to secure their safety and preservation".

"Before the examiner shall approve of any ink, he shall cause a number of distinct and separate brands to be examined as to quality by a state chemist, and give his approval of not less than four different brands or manufactures, and the inks so approved shall be standard inks for use in this state".

For the latest tests of inks and typewriter ribbons in Connecticut sample inks were placed in blank bottles which were then numbered. Concurrently, all identification marks were eliminated from sample typewriter ribbons, each of which was also given a number; the key in all cases being retained in the Examiner's office so that the state chemist might not be influenced in either his test or report. Care had been taken to purchase all samples from retail stock excepting those few ribbons manufactured by mills having no retail outlet. The ink test covered first "Chemical and Physical Characteristics" of each sample. Under this section, the sample was tested for sediment after twenty-four hours; for mould, scum and sediment after two weeks with an opportunity to score ten points. The amount of iron contained in each one hundred cubic centimeters was determined with a minimum standard rating of five. In a "Streak Test" the character, colour, amount of striking through, blackness after one week's time and action on steel pens took a minimum standard rating of five points.

In "Effect of Reagents" the second sub-division of the Streak Test, the samples were tested for loss of colour after having been immersed in water twenty-four hours and in a fifty percent alcohol solution for twenty-four hours. Samples were also immersed in a bleaching solution for varying periods, fifteen minutes, one hour and twenty-four hours, with a minimum possible rating of ten points.

"Fading" was the final sub-division of the test. Each sample was subjected to ultra-violet light for a period of forty-eight hours with a minimum acceptable rating of seventy points. A possible maximum of one hundred twenty points might be obtained for the combined test but a minimum of one hundred points must be obtained. Actually only five of twenty-five ink samples attained a record of over one hundred and of these, one was a carbon ink later approved by the State Chemist. No ball point pen ink has been approved to date.

The length, thickness and width of typewriter ribbons were measured to indicate which ribbon contained most value in proportion to its cost. The "Character of Ribbon", thread count, evenness of edge, and imperfections have much to do with the quality of the work produced. The "Character of Writing" (basic colour, oiliness, smudging and typefilling) determine whether or not the ribbon will produce an evenness of writing and one which will force into the paper a sufficient quantity

of ink to make a suitable permanent record. The "Life of Ribbon" which includes a wear-down and recovery test indicates the amount of time the operator can safely continue to use the ribbon for record purposes. "Fading" is tested by a similar procedure used in the ink test and the importance of this part of the test is indicated by the fact that our standard, which has a total of one hundred points, allots sixty of these to fading qualities in the ribbon. In order that a ribbon should pass the Connecticut test, a minimum of eighty-five points is required and of the fifty-five ribbons tested, thirty-nine were approved. In both the ink and the ribbon tests, standards of the National Bureau of Standards were followed to a large extent. However, additional tests were added as required by Connecticut's state regulation.

The permanence of ink has been a very important factor in the preservation of records in Connecticut in a number of instances. During the flood and hurricane of 21 September 1938, the value of a good record ink as shown by the following experience will always be helpful in the enforcement of our law. In one of our Probate Districts, the records were housed in a safe located in a small office building near a brook which was close to a mill pond. When the hurricane was reported, the record volumes and files were hurriedly transferred to the town vault. In the excitement, the card index was neglected. Several dams in the back country failed and a flood which swelled the brook to river size floated the Probate office away from the foundation and deposited it in the mill pond. An oil heater, which was burning at the time, exploded, split the building apart and deposited the index in the mud at the bottom of the pond. Three days later, after the water had subsided, the index was found. The cards were washed and dried and the records, while not as good as new, were readable and therefore useable.

Modern record paper, with its exact chemical and fibre content determined to the Nth degree, is a far cry from bark, papyrus, skin or parchment which were used in the earliest era of writing. In 1639, the General Court of Massachusetts Bay Colony passed an act which reads as follows: "It is ordered and declared that henceforward, every judgement, with all its evidence, be recorded in a book to be kept to posterity". Later, in 1816, the necessity for a very definite type of paper was recognized and the following law was passed by the legislature of that same state: "All matters which are to be entered of record in any office of public record.....shall be so entered or recorded on paper made wholly of linen, of firm texture, well glazed and well finished". Nearly one hundred years later, Connecticut placed on its law books the following: "No person having custody of any book of record or registry in any department or office of the state or of

any county, city, town, borough or probate district shall use or permit to be used for recording purposes any book which shall not be composed wholly of a standard millbrand paper with dated watermark approved by the Examiner of Public Records". This law has remained substantially the same except for the addition of a penalty of one hundred dollars fine for failure to obey. This penalty also may be imposed for the failure to use an approved ink.

The paper test is sub-divided into "Chemical Characteristics" noting fibre, acidity, rosin and glue content. The stability of the sample is also tested for alpha cellulose content and copper number after seventy-two hours at one hundred degrees centigrade. Only one hundred percent white rag stock may be used and the paper may contain not less than a minimum of five percent acid; one and five tenths percent glue and ninety percent minimum alpha cellulose; one percent maximum of rosin and one percent maximum copper number. The "Physical Characteristics" include folding endurance and bursting strength tests which vary according to the weight of the paper tested. The "Writing Characteristics" include ruling, writing and erasure—the first two must be clean cut without spreading and show a suitable degree of penetration while the third, erasure, must leave a suitable surface which will absorb a proper amount of ink without spreading and still retain a satisfactory surface. The paper test also follows United States Bureau of Standards and in addition to these, we use a tearing test necessitated by the fact that at present many of the official record volumes are of the locking, loose leaf binder type.

It will be noted that papers are tested on a basis different from inks in that maximum and minimum requirements are offered in the case of inks or typewriter ribbons while the paper standard provides that if the sample fails in any one of the sub-divisions indicated, that paper may not be approved.

The building of a record paper requires constant vigilance for not only is it necessary to overcome ordinary ageing and ink hazards but this product must be able to resist effectively the acids which are caused by the combination of perspiration and hand lotions used by most workers in record offices whose contact with the records is practically continuous.

The record official of today is usually of the highest type and through the years has developed great pride in his records with more than ordinary concern that suitable inks and permanent papers should be provided for their continuance.

HAROLD S. BURT

TWO UNPUBLISHED AKHBARS FROM POONA

RANI Saheba Srimati Sitabai of Gangakhed, a Tahsil town on the bank of the Godavari in the Marathwada, has made a free and generous gift of her entire collection of family records numbering more than a lakh to the Central Records Office, Hyderabad. At the 29th Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Bhopal in 1953, I read a paper pointing out the wide range of topics which this collection covers and the different languages in which the documents are written. Among the wealth of materials to be found in this collection, I may draw attention to many important news letters from the Poona agents of Nizam Ali Khan (1761-1803) covering the period 1794-96. It is proposed to publish them in two volumes in continuation of the three volumes of Poona Akhbars already issued by the Central Records Office, Hyderabad. Two of these letters, which have hitherto been unpublished throw great light on the mystery surrounding the death of Peshwa Madhavarao II. The first was despatched a day previous to his death and the second five days after the calamity. Both the *Akhbars* are graphic and recreate the contemporary atmosphere. These are invaluable as there are very few papers of this eventful week in the several source books published so far in Marathi. The last letter in the fifth volume of Rajwade's Series is only a summary account of the letters sent by Balaji Raghunath and Keshavrao Kondaji and is very brief.

*Summary of Akhbars despatched on 12th Rabi II, 1210 A.H.,
i.e. 26 October 1795*

"The account of the accidental fall of the Srimant from the first floor of the Ganapati Mahal, the way in which his thigh bone was broken, how the hand suffered a fracture, and how the teeth penetrated the lips were all communicated to you in my earlier report. Later, a physician was sent for. He attended to the wound and the fractures. Nana waited till late in the night. He was with the Peshwa in the Hall of Gods, and nobody had any access to the Peshwa. But, when Tukoji Holkar's arrival was reported, he was at once shown in to see him. He watched him along with Nana for two *ghatikas*¹ and then departed. The Peshwa was conscious but did not speak to anybody. He does not accept anything to eat. The wounds are serious. They say that the fractures and the wounds can be cured. But his brain has been affected. He becomes delirious and that is causing a great anxiety. All the senior administrators have been overpowered by the dangerous condition of the Peshwa. They say if he maintains his own

1. A duration of 24 minutes, there are 60 *ghatikas* in a full day of 24 hours. It is Sanskrit in origin and had become *ghadi* in Hindi.

for three or four days without any complications he will be out of danger. Nana distributed alms to the poor and also made gifts of buffaloes because the Peshwa has survived this terrific accident. A fragment of a bone from the thigh was again reset in the cavity and the wounded thigh was bandaged properly when he was unconscious. Great anxiety is felt regarding his diet. Soft wheat cake cannot be given because he is suffering from fever, and rice is to be avoided lest it should cause pus. Nana is visiting the Peshwa thrice a day and is meticulously looking after every detail. All the three Phadkes—Ramachandrarao, Laxmanrao and Madhavarao—are attending upon him by rotation. Appa Balwant and Chintaman Phadke and Raghopant Godbole also are attending. All feel that the Peshwa should not have been taken to the first floor of the Ganapati Mahal but none could foresee what was in store. Letters have been addressed to Daulatrao Shinde, Raghoji Bhonsle and Parashurampant Mirajkar to go to Poona expeditiously. On the 11th instant, the moment the news of his deadly fall got round merchants in the market at once closed their shops. Nana had issued instructions to make special arrangements for maintaining order."

*Summary of Akhbar despatched on 18th of Rabiakhar 1210 A.H.,
i.e. 1 November 1795*

"The death of Madhavarao on Tuesday 13th Rabi II after sunset has already been reported. Nana is holding secret conferences with Govindrao Bhagwant and Ramachandrarao Phadke, and even Appa Balwant is occasionally called. He desires that an heir of Madhavarao alone should be installed as the Peshwa. But he intends to hold consultations with Parashurampant Mirajkar and also desires to know the wishes of the Bandagan-e-Ali.

Nana has taken special precautions to maintain law and order at Satara and at Boreghat forts. Bajirao Raghunath at Junnar has already been kept under strict restraint. After the death of Madhavarao, additional forces have been commissioned to go to Junnar. Sixty thousand Rupees have been sanctioned for the obsequies. A person by name Ramarao, a native of Rajmachi, has been asked to perform the rites, because he belongs to the same *gotra*² and he is also the family priest of the Peshwa, and a *grihastha*³ or family man with two sons. Nana is also planning to make the younger son of Ramarao adopted by the wife of the late Peshwa.

2. The upper class Hindus are supposed to be the descendents of ancient *rishis* and every orthodox Hindu remembers it. Several families may claim the same *gotra*. Generally among the orthodox, intermarriages are avoided between persons having the same *gotra*.

3. Literally, one who stays in the house; householder. There are four *Ashramas* or stages in the life of a Hindu, *Brahmacharya* or celibacy till 25, *Grihashtha* till 50, *Vanaprastha* till 75 and *Sanyasa* till 100.

Nana has become extremely dejected, a veritable stranger to sleep. Generally he does not stir out of the house, and whenever he goes out he takes great care to ensure his personal protection. He has given assurances to the merchants in the market and advised them to keep business running. Pickets have been posted outside the town for guard duty at night. Mr. Malet has gone to Bombay and Nana has written to him that he should return as early as possible. Nana goes in the evening to the palace of the Peshwa, sits for some time and receives condolences from the visitors. Azamuddowla, Bhapkar, Nimbalkar, Pandurangarao and other dignitaries went to meet Nana on the 15th. Messrs. Heron and Uthhoff, assistants of Malet, also arrived on the 16th to offer their condolences. Akbar Ali Khan, maternal uncle of the Prince, and Sridhar Laxman, the *Vakil* of Bhonsle, have also gone to the palace to meet Nana. On the 17th, Nana despatched two messengers on camels to summon Mirajkar urgently."

In the second volume of the Poona Residency Correspondence there are three letters written by J. Uthhoff to Sir John Shore, the first dated 27 October 1795, the second 28 October 1795 and the third 2 November 1795, and these lend support to the account given in the above two letters. The details of the calamity had been collected by the British envoy with as much sincerity and consciousness of the momentous character of the event as by the Hyderabad newswriter. But the account given above by the Maratha Brahmin reporter from Hyderabad has a greater evidential value than that of Uthhoff, for the former, being after all a son of the soil, was able to see things in their proper perspective. A school of historians has always condemned Nana for having so controlled and restricted the movements of Madhavarao II that he had become entirely demoralised and had lost all interest in life, but it is known that he was quite normal when he went to pay obeisance to the deity in procession at the time of *Seemollanghan*⁴ on 23 October 1795, which was the *Dashhara* day, and received customary *nazrs*. This being so only three days before the accident hardly supports the view that he had been contemplating suicide for some time. I trust that the controversy on this topic would be permanently set at rest by the above *Akhbars* and by the reports sent by Uthhoff to the Governor General.

R. M. JOSHI

4. Literally, crossing the border (Sanskrit, *seema* border, limit; *ullanghan* crossing). The Maratha army used to set out ceremonially for fresh campaigns on the day of *dashhara* after the compulsory rest during the monsoon. Thus they crossed the borders of their state literally as well as figuratively on the day on which it is supposed that the Pandavas came out of disguise and began making efforts to regain their lost kingdom. The ceremony used to be performed with great pomp and show at Poona.

AN OUTSTANDING FAMILY ARCHIVES IN THE PUNJAB

DURING recent explorations for historical relics, records and documents in the State undertaken by the Keeper of Records to the Government of the Punjab, a rich and remarkable collection of family papers in the possession of Rai Inderjit Singh Bhandari, Municipal Commissioner, Batala, came to light. It took several months to scrutinize carefully the collection and make a preliminary inventory to ascertain their authenticity and assess their historical significance. The papers, which in many cases form continuous series covering some fifty years, comprise non-official and official correspondence carried on by several distinguished members of the illustrious Bhandari family, who enjoyed the rare distinction of being employed as envoys by the Lahore Darbar at different stations in Cis-Sutlej territories right from the setting up of the Ludhiana Agency after the conclusion of the treaty of Amritsar, 1809, to the annexation of the Punjab, 1849.

The Bhandari caste and family of Batala were founded by Rai Bhag Mal, who is reported to have gone to Ghazni to seek his fortune. On his return to India he invoked the blessings of Baba Farid of Pakpattan for the birth of a son. The name Bhandari was given to him by the saint.

The history of the family is obscure until 1809 when Anand Singh was, through the good offices of Diwan Mohkam Chand, appointed *Vakil* or Agent of the Durbar at Ludhiana, where a Political Agency had been established by the British after the treaty of Amritsar. Anand Singh was afterwards sent to Delhi, his place at Ludhiana being taken by his eldest son, Gobind Jas, while his youngest son, Kishen Chand, was appointed Agent at Karnal and Ambala. Anand Singh accompanied Sir Charles Metcalfe on the latter's successful mission to Bharatpur in 1825 and on his return was awarded the title of Rai and a robe of honour by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. On his death in 1827 his *jagirs* were divided among his four sons. Rai Gobind Jas succeeded his father at Delhi and his brother, Ram Dayal, was sent to Ludhiana as *Vakil*. But the latter quarrelled with Captain Wade and was recalled to Lahore. Rai Kishen Chand took his place and was awarded a *jagir* of Rs. 15,000/- in the Jullundur district and an allowance of Re. 1/- per annum on each village belonging to the Lahore Durbar on the left bank of the Sutlej. Ram Dayal was deputed to Anandpur in 1832 to bring about a settlement among the Sodhis. He remained there for five years and was granted a *jagir* of Rs. 4,000/- in the Ludhiana district. He was subsequently appointed *Vakil* at Ferozpur in place of Faqir Charag Din. Rai Kishen Chand was an able and upright man and clearly

understood that the interest of his master required peace with the British and directed his efforts to achieve this end. Early in 1839 he accompanied Col. Wade on his mission to Peshawar. During his absence for about a year, his son, Bhag Singh, filled the post of *Vakil* at Ludhiana. Prince Nau Nihal Singh conferred the title of Rai on Kishen Chand in 1840.

In the period following the murder of Raja Dhyani Singh and Maharaja Sher Singh the position and powers of *Vakils* gained in importance. Rai Kishen Chand, and his brother and son, who were functioning as the Agents of the Durbar, gained considerable influence and exercised civil and criminal powers in the Cis-Sutlej territories of the Lahore Durbar and drew therefrom large revenues. At times they followed policies different from those of Faqir Azizuddin and enjoyed the support of Bhai Ram Singh and Diwan Dina Nath, the leader of the Mutsaddi party at Lahore.

On the eve of the First Anglo-Sikh War in 1845, Rai Kishen Chand exerted his influence to dissuade the Durbar from going to war with the British. When the Sikh army threatened to cross the Sutlej, Rai Kishen Chand was ordered by the British Political Agent to leave his camp and retire to the territories of the Lahore Durbar. After the conclusion of peace he was called upon to attend on the Agent to the Governor General at Lahore and held the post until 1848 when he was permitted to retire to Batala. Bhag Singh was, on the conclusion of treaty with the British, appointed the Agent of the Durbar with the Commissioner, Trans-Sutlej States, and was granted the title of Rai and robes of honour in 1848. Rai Kishen Chand, Bhag Singh and Ram Dyal were suitably rewarded with *jagirs* and cash pensions in recognition of their faithful services. Rai Kishen Chand died at Banaras in 1872, Ram Dyal in 1868 and Rai Bhag Singh in 1884.

The later descendants of the family have been playing an important part in the civic life of Batala and are distinguished for many works of public welfare. Rai Inderjit who owns the collection under review is a Municipal Commissioner of many years' standing.

The correspondence portion of the collection, numbering over 4,000 documents is packed in some half a dozen cloth *bastas**; the muniments or title deeds are kept in metal containers of varying sizes; and some outstanding *sanads* are preserved in a separate volume. Except in the case of two or three *bastas*, the papers in all others are grouped together according to the Christian or Vikrama years which they bore and kept in separate paper envelopes. The unsorted papers comprise

*Stand for collections of papers tied in a piece of cloth in the traditional manner of keeping records and documents in bundles.

rolled up documents, which are tied into small bundles of twelve to fifteen sheets. The papers invariably bear the seal or signature of the sender in each case, and in many cases carry the initials of British officers of the day. The papers have been provisionally arranged as follows:

Group A.—Political Correspondence from 1813 to 1867 A.D.

Letters from and to Rai Anand Singh, Rai Kishen Chand and Rai Gobind Jas in their capacity of *Vakils* of the Lahore Durbar. Several communications are addressed to C. M. Wade, George Russel Clerk and other British functionaries. These relate to political affairs, administration, Cis-Sutlej territories of the Lahore Durbar and other matters of mutual interest to the two governments 763 Letters.

Group B.—Miscellaneous Letters sent by Dak

Letters from Rai Gobind Jas to Rai Anand Singh, Rai Bhag Singh and Rai Kishen Chand. They contain mostly private correspondence of the members of the family but they throw considerable light on the contemporary events in the Punjab 167 Letters.

Group C.—Miscellaneous Letters from 1865 to 1916 of the Vikrama Era (1808-59 A.D.)

This group contains *shuqqas* (letters) and *parwanajat* (office orders) issued by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Maharaja Kharak Singh, Maharaja Sher Singh, and *maraslajats* (memoranda) sent by other notables to Rais Anand Singh, Kishen Chand, Gobind Jas, Bhag Singh and Ram Dyal. It contains also copies of important communications addressed by the Durbar to the Governor General or his Political Agents and news-reports from various parts of the country 1872 Letters.

Group D.—Miscellaneous Parwanajat and Letters

Relating to the grant of certain villages in fief to various persons, deeds executed by them, petitions by grantees and letters to prominent British functionaries 37 Documents.

Group E.—(a) Diary of the Agent to Governor General at Ludhiana, 1 March-31 July 1845

The diary contains the day-to-day record of the activities of Major Broadfoot, Political Agent to Lord Hardinge, Governor General, during the reign of Maharaja Dalip Singh, when Syed Moulvi Rajab Ali functioned as his Mir Munshi and Rais Ram Dyal and Kishen Chand acted

as *Vakils* to the Lahore Durbar. The Diary gives an illuminating account of the events that happened immediately before the First Anglo-Sikh War.

(b) Muqqadamat Nos. 35-39

Detailed reports on some *thanadari* and *zamindari* cases between the two governments.

Group F.—Letters from Maharaja Ranjit Singh to Faqir Azizuddin Raza Ansari and Rai Kishen Chand in the form of a diary from 22 Phagun 1887 to 6 Jeth 1888 of the Vikrama Era (March 1830-May 1831 A.D.)

These contain detailed instructions issued by the Maharaja to both the functionaries in regard to their dealings with the British Government and proceedings of the meetings of the Agents of the Durbar with the British Political Agent at Ludhiana.

Group G.—(a) Rules and regulations about military organisation under the British.

(b) Draft treaties (Nos. 1 and 2) between Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk.

(c) Copy of the questionnaire sent by Macnaughtan to Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

(d) Memoranda sent to Maharaja Kharak Singh from Peshawar by Rai Kishen Chand, *Vakil* and Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh, drawn in the form of a diary from 28 *Har* to 5 *Bhadon* 1896 of the Vikrama Era. It contains periodical reports on the progress of operations at Peshawar in pursuance of the Tripartite Treaty of 1838.

(e) Letters sent by Rai Kishen Chand to Maharaja Ranjit Singh arranged in the form of a diary from 15 *Bhadon* 1888 to 19 *Phagun* 1890 of the Vikrama Era (July 1831-March 1833 A.D.). These contain diplomatic despatches addressed by the Rai as *Vakil* to the Maharaja, detailed reports on political dealings with the British, and observations on outstanding events of the day.

(f) Over 50 family *sanads* and letters of commendation bound in a separate register.

Besides the above collection of documents, there are 40 fairly old manuscripts in Persian. They include translations of Sanskrit classics such as *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Rajawali*, *diwans* of celebrated poets, and treatises on grammar, prosody and epistolography.

The documents are expected to be extremely useful for a proper appraisal of the Lahore Durbar's point of view in our study of Anglo-Sikh relations, which seems to have been so far based exclusively on British records. The Durbar's point of view has, for want of original indigenous sources, been grossly misrepresented or not taken note of at all. With the help of the coherent and comprehensive records of the Bhandari collection, which has now been found, it might be possible to attempt a re-orientation of the study of the Anglo-Sikh relations.

In view of the great historical importance of the collection, early steps were taken to prepare a detailed inventory and Rai Inderjit Singh Bhandari was also requested to take effective measures for the proper preservation of the papers. As he later expressed his willingness to sell the entire collection to the Punjab Government, a committee was appointed to carefully examine and evaluate the papers and documents. After several weeks of arduous labour the Committee completed the appraisal of the valuable historical records and relics.

V. S. SURI

WEST BENGAL SECRETARIAT RECORD OFFICE

THE West Bengal Secretariat Record Office contains the archival assets of the Bengal Record Office and is housed in a portion of the ground floor of the historic buildings at Calcutta known as Writers' Buildings, which were erected in 1780 for the residence of the Writers or the junior servants of the East India Company and used for decades by the Fort William College. In 1878 the Secretariat of the Local Government was centralised in Writers' Buildings along with their collection of records. The location of the Record Office, which is in close proximity to the University of Calcutta, is eminently suited both for purposes of historical research and of administration. But the growing congestion in Writers' Buildings stands in the way of the development of the Record Office into a Central Repository for the entire State.

The Record Office, which is recognised as a Branch of the Education Department of the West Bengal Secretariat, is organised in two Sections, General and Technical. The Technical Section, which is responsible for the care and treatment of old records and making them accessible to students, is divided into two sub-sections, Current and Historical. The current records of the Secretariat Departments which are required to be preserved for more than 3 years are deposited in the Current Record Room. In the Historical Record Room are preserved the non-confidential records up to 1900 not only of the Government Departments, but also of the subordinate authorities of the pre-mutiny period, which have been thrown open to *bona fide* research students. Each of these sub-sections has a research room—a Departmental Search Room attached to the Current Section and a Literary Search Room attached to the Historical Section, access to which is subject to the approval of Government. There is a small Repair Section for reconditioning fragile papers and volumes. The staff consists of 33 assistants, 5 typists, 3 *mohurris*, 2 senior menders, 20 record suppliers and menders, 2 *daftries*, 11 peons and 8 *farashes*. The Keeper of Records is an *ex-officio* member of the West Bengal Regional Records Survey Committee, which is consulted by the State Government in important matters relating to preservation and publication of local records.

The importance of Bengal records lies in the fact that these include the Original Consultations of the Central Government in the Revenue and Judicial Departments up to 1834, which are regarded as the finest materials for the social and economic history of modern India. The earliest records in this repository are some Persian *sanads* and *parwanas* dating back to 1624. Although there were several

factories of the Company in Bengal early in the 17th century, the papers prior to 1770 are only fragmentary. The missing records of the 17th and 18th centuries are supposed to have been destroyed partly during the cyclone and flood of 1737 and partly during the sack of Calcutta in 1756. Their reconstruction is under consideration. The gaps in the later collection of records have already been filled up by obtaining copies from the India Office.

For the greater part of the 17th century the Agent and Council at Hooghly was subordinate to the Agency at Fort. St. George, but from 1700 the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal was independent of the Presidency of Fort St. George and carried on its business in direct correspondence with the Court of Directors in London. Under the Regulating Act of 1773 the Governor General and Council of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal had jurisdiction over the other Presidencies in matters relating to foreign policy. Under the Charter Act of 1833 the Governor General of Bengal became the Governor General of India and the overgrown Presidency of Fort William was divided into 2 distinct Presidencies viz., the Presidency of Fort William and the Presidency of Agra, the Governor General of India remaining also the Governor of Bengal. But the Government of India and the Government of Bengal functioned through the same Secretariat till 1843 when the Indian Secretariat was completely separated from that of Bengal. The division of Bengal records appears to have been effected at this time.

The pre-mutiny records here consist of 10,292 bundles of original consultations and 11,839 proceedings volumes, while the post-mutiny records consist of 14,856 bundles of original consultations and 11,630 printed proceedings volumes. At the rate of 100 documents per bundle on an average the total number of documents comes to 25,14,800.

It may be appropriate now to say something about the early history of this archival repository. The necessity of a General Record Office at the Presidency was felt by the Court of Directors as early as 1819 in connection with the re-appointment of *kanungoes* with a view to form and preserve a digest of all information collected and transactions recorded by the *putwaries* and *kanungoes* regarding landed rights. Under Revenue Department Resolution dated 17 March 1820 a permanent record Committee was constituted in each District with the Judge and the Collector of the District and the *Zillah* and City Registrar as the Secretary, besides setting up a Presidency Committee for supervising the General Record Office at the Presidency and laying down general policies in respect of the mofussil records. The District Record Offices were required to forward to the General Record Office

lists of important papers preserved there, abstracts of highly useful document and authentic copies of the most important ones. The Presidency Committee was to publish and distribute to the Courts and Collectors documents embodying principles of the system they were to administer and of the laws they were to enforce.

The Presidency Committee was abolished on 1 April 1829 on the recommendation of the Civil Finance Committee and the charge of the General Record Office which was located in the General Treasury Buildings was given to the Chief Secretary, subject to the control of the Territorial Department. Two *daftries* and a *farash* were appointed for the care and upkeep of the records which were deposited in the General Record Office by the Secretariat Departments.

In 1860 the Civil Auditor of the Presidency made a suggestion to the Finance Commission for the destruction of all useless records in Government offices at Calcutta. The Commission recommended the formation of an Expert Committee for the examination of the old records in the different Government offices, the weeding of papers having no statistical or historical value, and preservation of the rest in a General Record Room. In Government of India Financial Department Resolution No. 5177 dated 19 April 1861 a Committee of 3 members was appointed for "superintending the scheme of destruction of useless records in Public offices and arranging for the papers selected for preservation (being) bound and catalogued and placed in a separate record room accessible to all persons wishing to consult them". In 1862 the Records Committee issued a circular to the Divisional Commissioners enquiring about the papers regarding the old factories of the East India Company within their respective jurisdiction with a view to their removal to Calcutta, and recommended the calendaring of all proceedings in different departments. In 1865 the Records Committee recommended the concentration of the papers selected for preservation in some permanent offices of record under responsible Record Keepers instead of a Central Muniment Room, with some stringent rules for the protection of valuable records, re-casting and printing of indexes to the proceedings, and for printing the general letters and printing by individuals selections from records for sale below cost price. Arrangements were to be made for the revision of the indexes to proceedings, and also for the printing of these indexes and of the general letters and of selections from records. In lieu of a Central Muniment Room they recommended a Government Library to be formed with copies of publications on records. The heads of offices were asked to state the period up to which they required their records for current work so that the older records could be removed to the Permanent Offices of Record or

destroyed if they were of no value. The Local Government did not accept the plan of the Permanent Offices of Record. In 1901 at the instance of Mr. S. C. Hill, Officer-in-Charge of the Records of the Government of India, the particulars of the pre-1800 records at the District headquarters were obtained from the Divisional Commissioners with a view to their centralisation.

In Hill's Memorandum dated 21 July 1902, prepared at the request of the India Office, the unsatisfactory state of the records in the Record Rooms at the three Presidency towns was noticed, and the centralisation of the Company's records in a single building constructed on scientific principles at each of the Presidency towns was advocated. In case the proposal was not acceptable on grounds of cost and the absence of indigenous historical interest, it was proposed to prepare a list of the collections in each province to enable the India Office to examine their nature and to remove to England the originals where copies did not exist in the India Office, substituting printed copies for use in India. In the light of the recommendations made in the memorandum, the Local Government appointed Mr. A. P. Muddiman, I.C.S., as special officer to examine and select the records to be destroyed and also those which were to be printed with a table of contents and an index. Besides this, the Government expressed the view that the revival of the Record Commission of 1861-69 was desirable to save many petty references to them.

Mr. Muddiman was on special duty from 16 February 1904 to 28 June 1904. He made a survey of the pre-mutiny records in the Secretariat, the Board of Revenue and selected District Record Rooms, prepared notes on the records therein, made selections of the documents to be printed and to be presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall for exhibition, made lists of the proceedings volumes and manuscript indexes for the purpose of classifying the papers and compiling a reliable catalogue, and the revenue proceedings of the Murshidabad Council and the earliest letter copy books of Chittagong, Dacca and Midnapore. In his report dated 9 March 1905 he recommended the amalgamation of the pre-mutiny records of the Secretariat and the Board of Revenue and wanted them to be made accessible for purposes of research. In Government of India, Home Department, letter No. 213 dated 28 January 1905 some directions drawn up by Mr. Wilson, the Officer-in-Charge of the Records of the Government of India, for the storage, arrangement and preservation of Government records were circulated. These were given effect to in the Provincial record rooms and it was observed that the press-listing and calendaring of historical records were preferable to *extenso* printing and that non-current records should not be destroyed.

Mr. S. R. Hignell, who was on special duty from 1 April 1905 to 22 May 1905, had useless papers and duplicates sorted out for destruction. Mr. F. B. Bradley Birt was next on special duty from 2 January 1907 to 1 April 1907. He recommended re-arrangement of the racks in the Secretariat Record Room so as to give more air and light, flattening of old files, compilation of a printed catalogue and preparation of skeleton subject indexes, and he prepared 2 volumes of press-lists of revenue records. It was now apparent to the Local Government that a whole-time Officer-in-Charge for the Record Room was essential for some length of time to have the vast programme of work carried through and a definite scheme prepared. The permanent staff of the Secretariat Record Room then consisted of only a lower division assistant called the Record Keeper, a junior assistant called the Assistant Record Keeper, 9 record suppliers and 6 peons. S. Srinath Chakraborty, the then Assistant Manager of Forms, was appointed on special duty for the re-organization of the Record Room on 15 January 1909 and he was given in addition to the existing personnel a temporary staff of 10 clerks, 1 steno-typist and 2 *daftries*. After 4 months the Special Officer's work was examined by Mr. McAlpin and on his recommendation the temporary staff was retained for the examination and arrangement of records and consolidation of indexes for the period 1859-1908. The permanent post of a Keeper of Records was created from 15 January 1910 with the Government of India's sanction. The post of the Assistant Keeper was upgraded and an experienced assistant of Imperial Records Department appointed. The rules for the management of the Secretariat Record Room were framed after the rules of the Imperial Records Department and it was laid down that the Keeper should work under the direct control of the Under-Secretary, Political Department. As the question of the amalgamation of the pre-mutiny records of the Local Government with those of the Government of India was still pending, no action was taken to centralise those records and make them accessible for research purposes. The Government of India at this time raised the question of the amalgamation of the non-current records of the Local and the Central Government over 10 years old. The Local Government replied in 1911 that the Provincial records being required for administrative purposes, their removal from the control of the Local Government was impracticable, that the proposed amalgamation would involve the loss of local interest and local knowledge, and that the local Keeper of Records was perfectly competent to look after the historical records and make them accessible to students with the help and advice of the Imperial Records Officer. The proposal of the Government of India was dropped. The pre-mutiny records of the Local Government and

the Board of Revenue were amalgamated in 1915 and deposited in Blocks IV & V of Writers' Buildings which came to form the Bengal Historical Record Room. Rev. W. K. Firminger was authorised to edit selections from District records and in 1913 a temporary staff of 4 assistants was entertained for the compilation of press-lists of the earliest revenue records. In Public (Records) Despatch dated 14 February 1913 it was suggested that the calendaring of historical records, which according to the Royal Commission on Public Records of England and Wales was too slow, too elaborate and too costly, should not be taken up till the report of an Advisory Committee appointed by the Master of the Rolls was available. In Public (Records) Despatch dated 28 November 1913 it was stated that the said Advisory Committee would not lay down any general rules for calendaring and that each class of documents should be considered on its own merits. In 1914 the Press-list Section was made permanent and the following year an additional staff of 6 assistants, 1 *daftri*, 2 *jamadars*, 2 *peons*, 8 *farashes*, 1 *daftri* for the post-mutiny records was made permanent. At the same time the number of records suppliers was reduced from 9 to 6.

In 1916, in pursuance of the Memorandum of Sir William Foster on the Second Report of the Royal Commission on Public Records, the Government of India laid down that in all Government publications the names and addresses of the agents in India and abroad should be printed on the back of the half title, that the press-lists should approximate to a descriptive catalogue or inventory of the records, that an index should be prepared simultaneously with the press-lists, and that calendaring should in no way interfere with the more important work of press-listing. A copy of the instructions drawn up by the Officer-in-Charge of the Records of the Government of India regarding indexing was circulated, and the preparation of a catalogue of the District Record Rooms and the printing of the older District records were recommended. A detailed catalogue or inventory of the pre-mutiny records of the Secretariat was accordingly prepared and printed for official use. In 1919 the Government of India decided in consultation with the Local Governments and in the light of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Public Records of England and Wales that the best method of making the records accessible to the public would be the preparation of a list of the volumes and bundles contained in the Record Offices and of a descriptive hand-book to their general contents, and the calendaring or reprinting in full of certain specified classes of documents. Greater attention was also to be devoted to maintain the manuscript indexes and complete them wherever necessary. The records to be calendared were to be

determined by the Indian Historical Records Commission, which was constituted at the same time. Only pre-1702 records and those likely to perish very soon were to be printed *in extenso*. It was also recommended that the publications of the different Record Offices should be freely exchanged. It was further proposed that the rules governing the public use and inspection of records be brought to the notice of the Professors of History, and that annual reports of the Record Offices should be submitted to the Local Governments. The same year the temporary staff engaged in 1917 for the re-organization of pre-mutiny records and the staff for the printing of records were made permanent. In 1922 an abstract catalogue of the pre-mutiny records was compiled and published.

In 1920 the Indian Historical Records Commission recommended the calendaring of the General Letters to and from the Court of Directors. But the Local Government decided to prepare Select Indexes to General Letters of the different Departments, which were published in 1925-27. The activities of the Records Office had to be materially curtailed from 1924 owing to the drastic reduction in staff as a measure of curtailment of State expenditure and it was not possible to recover the retrenched posts till 1939. The Search Room Rules, which were framed in 1919, were revised in 1927 on the advice of Prof. R. B. Ramsbotham, the first Hon'y. Adviser on Records. In 1926 the Indian Historical Records Commission recommended that the Bengal Record Office should resume press-listing of Revenue Records, which was thereafter carried on slowly with the depleted staff as opportunity offered. In 1935 an abstract catalogue of the post-mutiny records in this Record Office was prepared and printed for official use. In 1937 narrative abstracts of the General Letters were prepared and printed. In 1939 a catalogue of books in the Record Office Library was compiled and printed, and work on a Hand-book of pre-Mutiny Records was continued.

On the outbreak of war the work of the Record Office was slowed down and the pre-mutiny records were removed to Berhampore as a measure of precaution against air raids. An *ad-hoc* Bengal Regional Records Survey Committee was constituted by the Indian Historical Records Commission on the termination of the war for the exploration and preservation of historical manuscripts in private custody. This was replaced by a permanent Committee appointed by the State Government in July 1951. The Hand-book of pre-Mutiny Records was completed in 1945 by Mr. M. M. Stuart, I.C.S., and it was printed for official use after the partition of Bengal.

In October 1951 the administrative control of the Record Office was transferred from the Home Department to the Education Department with a view to re-organize the Office on modern lines.

In 1953-54 the pre-mutiny records were brought back from Berhampore to Writers' Buildings, Calcutta. The Regional Committee has undertaken to edit selections from the District records and to compile a descriptive list of the *Sadr Diwani*, *Sadr Nizamat* and Supreme Court records.

The question of developing the Secretariat Record Office into a Central Record Office with the non-current records of the High Court, Departments of Government, Districts, Divisional and Sub-divisional offices is under consideration.

It now remains to give an account of the important collections of records preserved in this repository. This may begin with the oldest series, i.e. the Persian *sanads* and *parwanas*. These were issued by Asaf Khan, *Vazir* of the Mughal Empire (1617-27); Mir Jumla (Muazzam Khan), *Subadar* of Bengal (1660-64); Asafud-Daulah (Asad Khan), *Vakil-i-Mutlaq* (Agent General) to Emperor Bahadur Shah (1707-12); Qamrud-Din Husain Khan, *Nizamul-Mulk* Asaf Jah and Abul Mansur Khan, *Vazirs* under Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719-48); Alaud-Daulah Nasir Jang Jafar Khan Nusari alias Murshid Kuli Khan, *Diwan* (1701), *Naib Nazim* (1707) and *Nazim* (1713); Shujaud-Daulah Asad Jang Shujaud-Din Muhammad Khan, *Naib Nazim* (1713-24) and *Nazim* (1725); Alaud-Daulah Sarfaraz Khan, *Nazim* (1739); Mahabat Jang Alivardi Khan, *Nazim* (1740-56); Sirajud-Daulah, *Naib Nazim* (1754-56) and *Nazim* (1756-57); Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan, *Nawab Nazim* (1757-60 and 1763-65); Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan's son Mir Sadiq Ali Khan (Miran); Mir Muhammad Kasim Khan, *Nawab Nazim* (1760-63); Najmud-Daulah (Najmud-Din Ali Khan), *Nawab Nazim* (1765); Saifud-Daulah (Najabat Ali Khan), *Nawab Nazim* (1766-70); Mubarakud-Daulah (Mubarak Ali Khan), *Nawab Nazim* (1770); Nawab Muzaffar Jang (Syed Muhammad Riza Khan), *Naib Nazim* (1765-70) and *Naib Diwan* (1770).

There are also 32 bundles of original *kabuliyats*, *kistbandies*, surety bonds, *ikrarnamas*, *tip-patras* (hand notes), *daul-bandobasts*, *rozina* and *amdani* papers in Persian and Bengali executed by *zamindars* and *talukdars* paying revenue direct to the *Khalisa* during the period 1067-1247 B.S. There are some original *sanads* in Persian assigning rent from lands to charitable purposes during the period from 1154 to 1251 *Hijri*. There are 95 volumes of *Baze Zamin Sanad* Registers containing copies of *sanads* for *Brahmottara*, *Mohturan*, *Piran*, *Chiraghi* lands etc.

There are also 10 bundles of original Dutch *pattas* relating to settlement of lands at Chinsurah from 1702 to 1827, and 75 volumes of vernacular records of the Danish Government of Fredericksnagore (Serampore) from 1804 to 1845.

This office has preserved 202 volumes of General Letters to the Court of Directors and 129 volumes from the Court. Of these, Commercial General Letters from the Court of Directors are the oldest dating from 1765. The Revenue series dates from 1777, Judicial series from 1793, Public or General from 1835, Ecclesiastical from 1836, Railways from 1845, Public Works from 1856.

The capture of Calcutta by Sirajud-Daulah in 1756 impressed upon the Governor and those members who had retired to Fulta the necessity of maintaining secrecy over transactions of a political nature. With this end in view, they formed a Secret Committee of four members which sat for the first time on 22 August 1756 and continued till 10 December 1756. In the meantime, the impending war with France led the Court of Directors to appoint a Select Committee "to transact affairs with the country Government, neighbouring powers, also with the French, Dutch and other Europeans and in general to take such measures as shall best conduce to the protection and preservation of the Company's estates, rights and privileges in Bengal". The Committee consisted of the President, the Commander-in-Chief when in Bengal and three senior members of the Council. It replaced the Secret Committee and continued from 21 February 1757 to 28 December 1762. This office has the proceedings volumes of the Select Committee for 1758.

Immediately after the Battle of Plassey the district of 24-Parganas was given to Robert Clive, and in 1760 the districts of Chittagong, Burdwan and Midnapore were ceded to the Company. In 1763 the Chief of the factory at Cossimbazar was appointed Resident at the Durbar according to the terms of a treaty with Mir Jafar. There are 3 volumes of Letter Copy Books of the Resident and the supervisors on revenue matters from 1769 to 1772. There is also a Letter Copy Book of the Chief of the factory at Patna for 1765-66. In the meantime the business of the Council was divided into two departments—Public and Secret. The Public Department was to carry on affairs relating to shipping, revenues, fortifications, appointments, etc., while the Secret Department was responsible for military plans, the country correspondence and all transactions with the country governments. Both the departments were under the same Secretary. The Secret Department was abolished in 1765 on the appointment of Lord Clive as President and Governor with the command of the Company's military forces, and the Select Committee was revived with five members. After the grant of the *Diwani*, a distribution of

work between the Committee and the Council was made. The former was to make treaties, negotiations and alliances, and direct everything relating to war, defence, military affairs, settlement of revenues and their collection and correspondence with country powers; and the latter was to direct investments, manage Calcutta lands and parganas and collect the revenues of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong. In 1768 the Council was vested with the sole power to conclude treaties, direct military affairs, and control all disbursements of money. The Council was to form itself into a Secret Department on all occasions where secrecy was requisite. The powers of the Select Committee were further defined in 1768 and it was ultimately dissolved in 1774. There was also a Secret and Separate Department to deal with special questions arising from time to time which continued from 1761 to 1811. There was further a Secret Department of Inspection created by the Select Committee with the object of enquiring into the state of the several departments and propose reforms. It was also known as the Board of Inspection and came in 1786 to be known as Secret Department of Reform. From 1788 to August 1790 it was called Secret and Separate Department. The Secretariat Record office has 3 volumes of the Select Committee proceedings for 1766, 1767 and 1770.

In 1770 a Controlling Council of Revenue succeeded the Chief at Patna and the Resident at Murshidabad. In 1771 the Controlling Council of Revenue was formed by order of the Court of Directors at Calcutta with the President and four members. In 1772 the Fort William Council formed itself into a Council of Revenue, which superseded the Controlling Council. In 1771 the Directors had decided that the Company should stand forth as the *Diwan*, and the Governor formed a Committee of the Council with four members to settle the land revenue of the various districts on the spot. This was known as the Committee of Circuit and worked during 1772-73. A quinquennial settlement of revenue was made, and collectors were appointed in each district to supervise both the revenue and judicial administration. As the arrangement did not prove satisfactory, six Provincial Councils of Revenue were created in 1773 at Calcutta, Dacca, Dinajpur, Patna, Murshidabad and Burdwan. In 1781 the Provincial Councils were abolished and a Committee of Revenue was set up in Calcutta which eventually was made the Board of Revenue in 1786. This office has complete records of these revenue agencies.

From 1775 revenue matters were dealt with by the Governor General in Council in the Revenue Department. From 1790 a separate branch for judicial matters was started and proceedings for salt, opium and customs were kept separate till 1793 when the Judicial Department was created and salt, opium and customs were transferred from the

Board of Revenue to the Board of Trade under the Public (or General) Department. There are also separate proceedings for *Sair* (1790-1805), Wards (1790-1805), Grain (1794-1803) and Mint (1795-1805). These were combined in the same series from 1805. In 1809 Customs was transferred to the Board of Revenue. There are *Khalisa* proceedings from 1776 to 1780. In 1815 the Departments of Revenue, Finance and Separate Revenue were combined into the Territorial Department which continued up to 1834 when Finance was transferred to the General Department.

In 1828 Miscellaneous Revenue Proceedings concerning irrigation, roads, bridges, *abkari* etc., were started, and they continued till 1841. In 1839 the Government of Bengal took over the revenue and judicial administration of Upper Assam excluding the Government Tea Tracts, and the Tea Tracts were transferred to the Government of Bengal in 1840. Proceedings concerning these areas are to be found in the repository.

In the Judicial Department created in 1793 separate proceedings were kept till 1816 for civil and criminal justice and later separate proceedings were kept for the Western and the Lower Provinces. In 1841 the proceedings were combined to form one series. The General proceedings of the Local Government start from 1834 and deal with education, emigration, post office, medical matters, and political affairs. The Ecclesiastical proceedings also start from 1834. Education proceedings were separated in 1842. The Political proceedings were separate from 1834 to 1844. Financial proceedings of the Local Government start from 1857. Prior to this the Government of India controlled the financial operations of Bengal. Public Works proceedings start from 1854 as also those of the Chief Engineer, Lower Provinces. Railway proceedings were separate from 1845 to 1855 and then merged in the proceedings of the Public Works Department. Proceedings for Revenue, Public Works and Judicial were separate for the years 1855-56. Marine matters were dealt with in the General Department till 1838 when Marine proceedings were separated.

The proceedings of the Board of Revenue constituted in 1786 are the most important for students of social and economic history of Bengal. From 1788 the Board had separate proceedings for Land Revenue, Miscellaneous Revenue, Salt, Customs and Opium. In 1790 Customs, Salt and Opium were transferred to the Board of Trade and separate proceedings started for *Sair*, Judicial matters, etc. In 1822 three Boards of Revenue, one each for the Lower, Western and Central Provinces, were constituted and Bhagalpur and Purnea districts were transferred to the Board of Commissioners for Bihar and Banaras.

By Regulation I of 1829 the three Boards of Revenue were replaced by Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit acting in their revenue capacity under a *Sadr* or Chief Board of Revenue for the whole Presidency. These changes took effect from 1 March 1829. After that date the Members of the *Sadr* Board on deputation administered the Upper or North-Western Provinces and recorded their proceedings separately. Regulation X of 1831, which came into force on 1 January 1832, completed the separation by establishing a *Sadr* Board of Revenue for the North-Western Provinces at Allahabad. Thereafter the *Sadr* Board at Calcutta was concerned only with the Lower Provinces. In 1850, by Act 44 of 1850, the *Sadr* Board of Revenue absorbed the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium and was afterwards known as the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces.

There were Police proceedings of the Board of Revenue from 1794 to 1797 in connection with the assessment and collection of the annual Police tax, Post Office proceedings from 1820 to 1829, Sundarbans proceedings from 1825 to 1829, Settlement proceedings from 1837 to 1843 and the proceedings of deputations to Pataspur (Calcutta) in 1813-14, to Murshidabad in 1824, Chittagong in 1840, Cherapunji in 1857-59, Western Provinces in 1829 and to Bauleah (Rajshahi) in 1834-35. There are 3 volumes of the Controlling Committee of Commerce proceedings for 1771-73 and 2 volumes of the Board of Customs for 1773-85. The next important proceedings are of the Board of Trade, 1774-1835. The Board kept separate proceedings for Customs for the period 1793-1809, for Salt for the period 1793-1819, Opium for the period 1793-1819, Hemp for the period 1801-15 and Indigo for the period 1811-12. There was a Board of Customs, Salt and Opium for the period 1819-50. There is a bundle of records of the Board of Commissioners, Ceded Provinces of Banaras and Allahabad, 1801-03. The Board of Revenue had separate proceedings for the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, 1803-10. There are also the proceedings of the Commissioners in Bihar and Banaras, 1816-22.

In 1823 a General Committee of Public Instruction was constituted in pursuance of Territorial Department Resolution dated 17 July 1823 for ascertaining the state of education in the Bengal Presidency and for suggesting measures for the better instruction of the people. The Education Department took over the general and financial business of the Committee in 1842 and the Committee was maintained as a Council of Education under the General Department. The proceedings of the Committee throw considerable light on the state of education in schools and colleges during this period.

There is a volume of printed proceedings of the Governors of the Native Hospital dated 20 May 1835 relative to the establishment of

a Fever Hospital for the relief of the natives together with notes relating to the state of Calcutta and its suburbs, and 5 volumes of the proceedings of 1835-40 of the General Committee of the Fever Hospital and Municipal Improvements. The Committee submitted a printed report on 7 January 1840 with 6 appendices. The Committee considered the question of drainage of the salt water lakes near Calcutta.

There are 13 volumes of correspondence of the Railway Commissioner appointed in 1853 for the purchase of lands required for the East India Railway.

By Revenue Department Resolution dated 1 February 1834 a Committee was constituted by the Governor General in Council for the introduction of tea cultivation in India. Seed, as also persons skilled in the culture and manufacture of tea came from China. The experimental establishment was made over to the Assam Tea Company in 1840. This office has 8 volumes of records of this Committee.

There are 33 volumes of records of the Controller of Surveys, 1851-55. On the recommendation of the Committee of Circuit the *Khalisa* or the head revenue office was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta in September 1772. The arrangement was that the *Khalisa* should consist of a member of the Council, each member sitting in rotation, to be entitled Superintendent of the *Khalisa*, together with a native officer with the title of *Ray Rayan*. The duties of this body consisted in receiving and examining accounts transmitted from all over Bengal, in comparing remittances with *chalans*, in realising revenue from farmers who had the privilege of paying revenue at Calcutta, and in preparing grants and *sanads*, etc. On the constitution of the Provincial Council of Revenue at Calcutta in November 1773 it was thought unnecessary to retain the post of the Superintendent of the *Khalisa*. But in the Revenue Board's proceedings, dated 23 December 1774, it was considered inconvenient to do away with the *Khalisa* entirely and Warren Hastings proposed the creation of a new officer to be called Superintendent of the *Khalisa* Records. His proposal was accepted with slight modifications. This officer had to enquire into and submit reports on petitions for the Revenue Department under instructions dated 14 January 1775.

On the formation of the Committee of Revenue in 1781 the office of the Superintendent of the *Khalisa* Records was abolished. The revenue functions of the *Khalisa* were taken over by the Committee, while the duties of the Superintendent, viz., the making of enquiries and the preparation of reports on petitions were continued by the officer called Preparer of Reports for the Revenue Department who addressed his letters from the *Khalisa*. This office of the Preparer of Reports

for the Revenue Department, created in February 1781, was abolished from 1 May 1793 according to the Judicial Department Resolution of 29 March 1793. From June 1786, when the Board of Revenue was established he corresponded with the Board.

There are 3 volumes of records of the Commissioner of Law-suits (1777-79) for the preparation of materials for the Company's Attorney and Standing Council.

There are 9 bundles of records of the Committee of Grain constituted by the Committee of Revenue in pursuance of General Department letter dated 16 October 1773 to superintend and regulate the sale, distribution and price of grain throughout the Company's Provinces during the period of scarcity. There are 31 volumes of records of the Clerk and Inspector of Public Granaries, 1795-1813.

There are 19 volumes of records of the Controller of Salt, 1780-81 and Controller of Salt Districts, 1781-93.

There are 51 volumes of records of the Presidency Committee of Records, 1820-29.

There are 33 volumes of 'Decision Books' of the Special Commissioners, 1829-53, for the speedy disposal of appeals from the decisions of revenue authorities in case of default in payment of revenue.

There are records of the Sundarbans Commissioner for the period 1829-58 regarding the reclamation of the Sundarbans in Presidency Division.

There are 8 Copy-Books of letters of the Superintendent of the Salt *Chauki*, Calcutta, 1831-58 and 182 volumes of the Controller of Salt *Chaukis*, 1846-48.

There is one volume of records of the Reporter of External Commerce under the Board of Trade, 1802-19. There is also a volume of General Report of the Reporter of External Commerce to the Governor of Fort St. George.

There are 10 volumes of the weekly publication of the Exchange Committee containing the price-current of the staple articles of Bengal, China, Java, Sumatra, Malabar Coast, Persian Gulf, Europe and America, 1820-58.

The account given above will give an idea of the wealth of materials in the West Bengal Secretariat Record Office on which research may be undertaken by students of history.

G. N. CHANDRA

SELECTIONS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY RUSSELL WITH N. B. EDMONSTONE*

(1) *Henry Russell to N. B. Edmonstone, Sutton Park, 3 January 1824*

"My dear Sir,

I set too much value on your good opinion to remain silent when my claims to it are arraigned. I have seen Adam's Minute suspending Sotheby; and the questions proposed to Palmer at Hyderabad. As far as I am concerned, I regret that Palmer hesitated to answer them. Neither in that nor in any other instance, does my conduct stand in need of concealment. I have nothing to fear but from perversion or exaggeration. I desire only that the facts of my conduct may be known as they occurred, and that I may not be judged by events in which I had no share, and over which I could have had no controul.

Soon after I went to Hyderabad, now 13 years ago, I placed a sum of Money in the hands of Mr. S. H. Russell, who had been with the Madras Engineers, an old friend of mine, to be employed by him for me. In so doing the thought of impropriety never suggested itself to my mind. I conceived, as he did, that his concerns were personal and private, and that he was acting on my behalf, as one private friend acts for another. He and Palmer managed this money together, and it never entered into my contemplation, or theirs, nor could it have entered into that of anybody who knew the facts as they then existed, that their situation was such as to constitute them a house of business. There was no project or semblance of such a kind; no plan or agreement; nor any of the conditions or ingredients which belong to a regular establishment. Had there been, or could I have foreseen that such an establishment was to be the ultimate result, it would have been impossible for me to have the most remote participation in it. The progress towards this result, when it did occur, was so slow as to be imperceptible, especially to me, who knew nothing of the transactions in which their money was laid out, and who never saw a book, or an Account, or thought of making a single inquiry on the Subject. When however I did see that their concerns were assuming such a shape, I determined to withdraw my money; and the abruptness with which I did so produced a rupture with Palmer and Mr. Russell, which was never made up. It was then only that Palmer resolved to set up regularly in business; and establishment was then for the first time framed by him; a deed of copartnership was entered into; our

*This is the fifth instalment of the correspondence of Henry Russell. The earlier instalments appeared in *The Indian Archives* Vol. VIII, Nos. 1, 2 and Vol. IX Nos. 1, 2.

Govt. was applied to to sanction their concerns; and all those arrangements were made which belong to the formation of a house of business. Adam talks of a secret understanding and systematic league between the Residency and the house. I most solemnly deny the charge. Where has the colour of a pretext for it been discovered? There is not one single act of my public conduct which can be referred to such a Source. The Members of the House were surely the most competent judges of my sentiments and proceedings towards them. Far from looking upon me as friendly to their transactions, they considered me as absolutely hostile to them; and Palmer formed his connexion with Sir W. Rumbold for the express purpose of counteracting the opposition he apprehended from me, and strengthening the house with the interest of Lord Hastings. My rupture with Palmer and the hostility he attributed to me were notorious at Hyderabad. They were known to the Minister, and the Natives generally, as well as to the Members of our Society. They were topics of common conversation. Palmer himself was constantly complaining of my counter action, and every step, by which their interests were advanced, was taken without any concert with me, and under the influence of a power above the reach of my controul. The Sanction of Govt. to the original establishment was obtained by John Palmer in Calcutta without my knowledge even; it was only as a matter of form that the official papers afterwards passed through me; and when the Document was procured by them, legalising their transactions with the Nizam's Govt., the Memorial of the House was written in great part by Lord Hastings himself and was afterwards communicated to me in his Lordship's own handwriting. It may be alleged that I ought to have foreseen the objectionable influence which the House was to acquire, and that I ought to have opposed it in its origin. Though I certainly did object to the influence which the house derived from the connexion of one of the partners with the Gov. Gen. and did everything in my power to confine it to its proper channel, I did not foresee the peculiar circumstances which were eventually to arise. Even if they had been foreseen by me, with what chance of success could I have undertaken to prevent them? If Metcalfe, with all the advantages of actual experience on his side, failed in his opposition while Lord Hastings remained in India, what could I have done, with no other arguments but those derived from speculation and predicted evil?

I have heard that my conduct in the instance of the last Loan has been objected to. If it had been known what my conduct in that case really was, a different judgment would have been formed of it. I had no share whatever in the formation or advancement of that project. When the Papers relating to it were officially transmitted to me by the

Minister, with an earnest entreaty for my Support, I refused even to forward them to Govt. The communication was then made directly to Lord Hastings, and he desired that the papers should be transmitted to Calcutta. It was for his Lordship, and not for me, to determine whether he would or would not give the Sanction which was required of him. The Act was one which belonged exclusively to the Authority of Govt., and it would have been a violation of my duty to refuse compliance with the desire of the Gov. Gen. that I would lay before him a set of official papers which were intended for his consideration. With the Merits or Particulars of the Loan, be they what they may, I have to this day no acquaintance, but what I derived from the Papers which passed through me Officially. The Measure was still recent, and I believe incomplete, when I quitted Hyderabad; and if as I have recently heard, the Loan has proved in its real effect to be different from its professed Conditions, I can only most Solemnly protest that any such difference was utterly unknown to me. The Minister, I thought might safely be trusted with the Management of his own affairs; and I never could have suspected that he would be a party to a measure, of which the operation was to be injurious to himself. As long as the Minister was disposed to borrow, and the House was disposed to lend, neither of them making any complaint of the other, I could not arrive at a knowledge of the details of their transactions, without a constant inquisition, which, even if it had been practicable, I should not have felt myself justified in exercising. I am not responsible for the existence of a house, which grew up under a protection superior to my authority, nor for the conduct of affairs with which I neither had nor have any acquaintance. But notwithstanding all that has since occurred, and all the feelings which now prevail on the subject, I still maintain that a mercantile establishment, framed and conducted on the principles which this House originally professed, would have been beneficial both to the Nizam's Govt. and to the interest of our own Commerce. In one memorable instance, even where I thought our own honour and security were at stake, I have been censured for interfering too much with the authority of the Nizam's Govt.; it now appears that I am to be measured by an opposite standard, and censured for not interfering where we had nothing at stake.

Before a contrast is drawn, to my detriment, between my measures and those of my successor, it is only just to consider whether the state of circumstances which has occasioned his measures, had any existence when I was called upon to act. I protest most peremptorily against any allegation of the disorders having grown up under me, while the remedies were left to be applied by him. In the very last

despatch which Sydenham wrote to Lord Minto, he stated his conviction 'that during the reign of the present Nizam no improvement could be expected, unless the administration of the Country were placed under the control of the Resident; that the disorders of the present Govt. were too deeply rooted and too widely extended to admit of any partial reform, and that it was therefore unfortunate, that the only effectual remedy that could be applied, should be so much at variance with our Views and Policy'. This then was the recorded condition of the Nizam's affairs when I was appointed to the Residency. Disorders of such a character are never stationary. They are progressive in their very nature; and far from admitting that their increase was promoted by my measures, I have always considered myself entitled to merit for holding the Govt. together as I did, and making its resources efficiently applicable to the purposes of our alliance. Notwithstanding its decrepit condition, I contrived to raise and equip the first military Force it had ever had, worthy of the name; and I not only kept it faithful to its engagements with us, but at a crisis the most momentous to our interests, I enabled it for the first time, to take an active and vigorous share in the War, and to contribute in many essential instances to its prosperous termination. Among the various Govts. which were allied to us when we entered on the operations against the Pindarries, if there was any one more likely than all others to seize the first opportunity of taking part against us, that one was unquestionably the Nizam. When the defection of the Paishwah and the Rajah of Nagpore occurred, our most prominent public officers looked with alarm towards Hyderabad. It was confidently pronounced that the Nizam was already a party to the League, and was about to declare himself openly against us. If he had done so, and if his country and Troops and Resources had been thrown out of our Scale into that of the Enemy, I will not assert that the final result of the War would have been different, but I certainly will say that the duration and expense and dangers would have been infinitely increased. Let the conduct of the Nizam's Govt. during this War be compared with its conduct in former Wars, and with the conduct which other Native Govts. have at all times pursued towards us; and then let my merits be tried by the result. My services were not the less valuable, because they were silent in their progress, and pacific in their effect. If the comparison is to be made by those who are conversant with the facts, I do not fear any contrast between my administration and that of either my Predecessors or my Successor. It is not true that our Govt. was kept in ignorance by me of the real condition of the Nizam's affairs. I omitted no opportunity of exposing the disorders which prevailed in them, and on two particular occasions exhibited to Lord

Hastings as strong a picture as could well be drawn of the evils and abuses which pervaded every branch of the system. It was Sydenham's conviction, as it was mine, that our Govt. would never consent to interfere to the extent, in which only its interference could be effective; but I promoted the measure of reform as soon as I saw a prospect of its being adopted. My original scheme was founded on the employment of European Agents to superintend the proceedings of the Nizam's local officers. But Metcalfe, who was at that time Secretary, urged me to abandon it, as one to which our Government would never listen. My object was to promote not the best possible, but the best practicable plan, and therefore, instead of adhering to a scheme which I was told would be rejected, I proposed the best which seemed to be consistent with the character and circumstances of our policy at the time. When Metcalfe himself undertook the duty, he discovered the accuracy of my original opinion; and he has since been obliged to adopt, as the basis of his system, the very measure to which he objected as a feature in mine.

I have reason to believe that the most exaggerated rumours have been propagated of the amount of my Fortune, in order to support the allegations which have been advanced against me. When I quitted India, I deposited the whole of my Fortune with the Acct. Gen. and Sub. Treasurer, and when the Loan was paid off last year, it was remitted to me by them in a single Bill on the C[ourt] of D[irectors] for £ 85,000. This, I solemnly assure you, is the utmost sum I do, or ever did possess; and this would not be the limit of the Fortune of a Resident at Hyderabad, who was desirous of making money, and was not scrupulous as to the means of making it.

I cannot but feel that there is much hardship in the predicament in which I am placed. My Successor in office, and the Govt. in India, from whatever causes, and with whatever motives, seemed resolved to heap every sort of allegation upon me; and I fear that their statements have not found unwilling ears in England. Metcalfe, in the heat of his conflict with Lord Hastings and the House, does not appear to have considered on whom his blows might fall; and Adam and his colleagues, in order to vindicate themselves from their acquiescence in his Lordship's inclinations, are anxious to transfer as much of the blame as they can from their own shoulders upon mine. The proceedings which have been held have been secret and inquisitorial. I have had no opportunity of explaining what was doubtful or denying what was false. It is only just now that I have seen the two papers mentioned in the beginning of this letter, and the knowledge of them even I owe to chance.

My first anxiety is to prevent you from supposing that I have, in any instance, done that which would deprive me of your friendship and esteem. My next wish is to consult you as to the course it may be most advisable for me to pursue; and this I do with the less hesitation now that you are not actually a Member of the Direction. I have for the last three months been constantly occupied with the tedious and alarming illness of our only boy, which is still unabated; but if you will appoint any time when you will be at leisure, I will run up to Town to see you.

Believe me, my dear Sir, Yours most sincerely,

H. Russell."

(2) *N. B. Edmonstone to H. Russell, Sutton Park, Pottton, Bedfordshire, London, 5 January 1824*

"My Dear Russell,

I read your letter (which reached me late at night on the 3rd) with deep Interest. It is not my intention in this letter to enter into any detail on the subject. This only I will say that your character and conduct require no vindication with me. I believe both to have been highly honourable in all situations. I have not had access to the despatches from India relative to Hyderabad and I knew not even of Adam's minute till I read your letter. I am therefore very imperfectly acquainted with the transactions....."

Edmonstone sent Russell's letter to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors and they came to see him. They regretted that, according to the rules, they were not allowed to take any action on other than official documents."

(3) *Henry Russell to N. B. Edmonstone, Sutton Park, 6 January 1824*

"My dear Sir,

I thank you for your prompt and friendly attention to my letter, and for the judicious purpose to which you applied it. If persons in public stations were always sure that their minds did not receive any impressions, on one side of a question, except from official papers, it would be unquestionably just in them to withhold their attention from any but official papers on the other side. But as that cannot be the case, it is unreasonable to tell a man, who is defending himself, that he must be confined to the strict limits of an official statement, when private conversation and correspondence, and personal slander, and common rumour, have all been allowed, in every shape,

and through every avenue, to operate against him. I have no doubt however that my letter has had its effect with the Chairman and Deputy, and that, in the discussions which are about to take place, it will at least suggest to them the probability that my motives and conduct may have been very different from those exhibited or insinuated in the official documents before them. I am very anxious to have an opportunity of talking the matter over with you, and will go to Town, for the purpose, on Friday....."

(4) *Henry Russell to N. B. Edmonstone, Sutton Park, 31 January 1824*

"There is, I understand, among the official papers at the India House, a despatch from Metcalfe dated the 28th March, 1823. I have not seen it, but a friend of mine, who has, tells me that it alleges my brother to have been connected with Palmer's house up to the time of his quitting India. My informant must, I think, be mistaken; but lest there should be such an allegation in the despatch I am anxious to repeat the assurance I gave you personally, that my brother stands in precisely the same circumstances as I do; and that, from the establishment of Palmer's house, ten years ago, up to this day, he has not had any sort of interest or connection with it directly or indirectly....."

(5) *N. B. Edmonstone to Henry Russell, London, 17 March 1824*

"My dear Russell,

You are not to suppose, because you have not heard from me on the subject of your concerns that I have been inattentive to them. I have placed some papers in the hands of several directors.....You are of course aware that the Hyderabad papers will form a conspicuous (I may say in the eyes of the public the principal) part of the Documents embraced by the late Resolution of the Court of Proprietors. Now that being the case, I do think it of importance that they should be accompanied by an explanatory and exculpatory statement on your part....."

(6) *Henry Russell to N. B. Edmonstone, Sutton Park, 19 March 1824*

"My dear Sir,

I thank you very much for the use you have made of my papers. What you propose is exactly what I was about to do; and the purpose, for which I required the papers, was to assist me in drawing up a statement to go forth at the same time with the documents about to be printed at the India house. In doing this, I should be most materially assisted if I could obtain access to the principal papers to which I shall have to reply. As they are about to be published, could

you, without impropriety, procure me a previous sight of them or do you think the Court would give them to me, if I were to address them officially, through the Secretary, stating the purpose for which I require them, and appealing to their justice not to allow the allegations against me to go forth to the public, without giving me the opportunity of answering them ?....."

(7) *Henry Russell to N. B. Edmonstone, Sutton Park, 23 March 1824*

....."If the Court refuse to print my statement with the other papers, I will beg you to give me the earliest intimation of their refusal. I will, in that case, get it printed uniformly with them, and circulated as widely as I can....."

(8) *N. B. Edmonstone to Henry Russell, London, 7 April 1824*

"My Dear Russell,

I send a note which I received last night from Money. Knowing the rigid adherence of the Court to forms I am not much surprised at their declining to place your letter among the documents about to be published. I spoke to Baillie two days ago about it and he engaged to advocate its publication but he expressed at the same time his belief that it would be in vain. I trust however the rejection of your request will not appear to you a matter of much moment under the considerations suggested by Money. I infer from the first paragraph of his letter that the Court will have no hesitation in receiving and publishing your vindication if sent in after the publication of the documents now in the press, and perhaps there is some force in his observation that as an insulated paper it will attract more attention than if it followed in the train of the rest.

Believe me ever

Yours very faithfully,

N. B. Edmonstone"

"Mrs E. and I were happy to learn by your last note that your little Boy was still going on well. Give our united remembrances to Mrs. Russell."

(9) *N. B. Edmonstone to Henry Russell, London, 2 October 1824*

"My Dear Russell,

I think your very able letter to the Court should have a wider circulation. Every one whom I have heard speak of the 'Hyderabad Business' speaks of it in terms of unqualified reprobation and your being implicated in it has also been noticed, among others by Sir John

Kennaway to whom in consequence I have sent one of the two copies of your letter which you left for me. I presume copies are to be purchased at your Publishers. My answer to such observations has been and will be that there is another side of the question, referring at the same time to your letter.

A Director I am told has remarked upon the circumstance of your letter having come out almost simultaneously with the Papers and expressed his surprise how you could have obtained access (as from that circumstance it is presumable you must have done) to the documents which implicate you, before the Papers were ready for delivery. I mention this in case you should think it at all necessary to enable me to give any explanation. It is not impossible I think that this matter may be noticed in our Court.

You will consider this communication of course as confidential. I write in a hurry being much engaged at present.

Ever yours faithfully,

N. B. Edmonstone"

(10) *Henry Russell to N. B. Edmonstone, Sutton Park, 3 October 1824*

"My dear Sir,

You gratify me very much by the terms in which you mention my letter to the Court. I have done everything in my power to give it a wide circulation. I sent copies to the different Proprietors, who have taken part in the late debates, as well as to the Directors; and I, some days ago, desired my publisher, in compliance with a suggestion from himself, to send copies to thirty or forty other Proprietors. A number were sent to Parbury and Allen, the publishers of the Asiatic Register, and one went to Mr. Buckingham, the Editor of the Oriental Herald. To Sir John Kennaway I myself sent a copy, through my brother in law, Mr. Porter, in Devonshire. I sent parcels of them to a variety of different friends, to be circulated by them; and, among others, to Lord Whitworth; and I am glad to find from him, that even in that class of society in which Indian subjects generally excite the least interest, the paper is making its way, and is in request. Yesterday only I received a letter from Lord Whitworth desiring to have some more copies. I inclose a note to my publisher, desiring him to send you as many as you may require; and you will essentially oblige me by giving them to anybody who takes an interest in the subject or who will be at the trouble of reading the paper.....

It was of course my object to confine myself to my own defence, and to shewing, by one or two striking Instances, the unjust and violent spirit by which my opponents have been actuated. Since I have been able to consider the papers more at leisure, I find that the strength even of my own individual case, if I had had more time, has been largely increased and extended. The partners of the House, if they have judgment and prudence, have both a strong position to maintain, and a weak one to attack; and as to Chundoo Loll, it seems to me that he requires little more than a dispassionate consideration of the very charges against him, for his complete vindication. It appears by Sir C. Metcalfe's own avowal that he had hardly set his foot at Hyderabad before he took the revenue settlement of the Country out of the Minister's hands, which was, in fact, usurping the whole authority of the government. Can it be wondered at, that an act of such precipitate violence provoked disgust and resistance, and that the Minister, by all the Means in this power, opposed a scheme of measures, which were founded on the utter subversion of his own authority, and virtually destroyed the independence of his Government and Country?

Believe me etc.

H. R."

(11) *Henry Russell to N. B. Edmonstone, Sutton Park, 20 October 1824*

"My dear Sir,

The evident tendency of so much of the correspondence which has been printed is to refer the embarrassment of the Nizam's affairs, if not also the uneasiness of his mind, to the measures pursued by Sir C. Metcalfe's predecessors at Hyderabad, that it is due to me, as well as those who went before me, that all the causes which have contributed to the mischief should be exposed. Frequent allusion is made, in the printed papers, to the principle and effects of the late Treaty with the Nizam, but the real character of the measure is nowhere exhibited, and it is manifest that the Court has been kept in ignorance, both of what the Nizam's rights were, and of the manner in which they have been violated. If the real causes of alarm and dissatisfaction which have been given to him were known, no surprise could be expressed at the effects they have produced. I send you the part of the draft of my letter which relates to this point. I was deterred from printing it by considerations which will be obvious to you. I then thought of putting it into the shape of a separate letter to the Court; but further reflection has made me doubtful of the propriety of that course also. It must be a strong case that would justify a diplomatic agent in divulging the instructions under which he acted. Is it competent to me to address

such a letter to the secret committee, from whom of course no part of the proceedings of the Indian Government ought to be concealed? Or could you put the draft, as it is, into the hands of the Chairman and Deputy? As far as my vindication is concerned, my object would be attained if they were made acquainted with the real facts of the case, of which it is manifest that, at present, they are ignorant; and if, after knowing the facts, it should be their wish to have the communication made to them officially, I can of course make it in any shape that may be thought proper.

Believe me always

most sincerely Yours,

H. Russell".

[*Enclosure in above*]

"In reviewing the circumstances of the Nizam's Government at the time this loan was made, it must be borne in mind, that much of his debt had been incurred by the expenses of the war, and that much of it would have been discharged if he had received the share, to which he was entitled, in the advantages of peace.

In the instructions conveyed to me in Mr. Chief Secretary Adam's despatch dated the 26th September 1818, which however I did not receive until the end of March 1819, it was asserted, as the basis on which the partition of conquests was to be made, that 'the Nizam could set up no claim to anything like an equal participation; he was to be considered as an auxiliary only; and although the zeal and fidelity, with which his duties as an ally had been performed, were fully admitted, it was maintained that the contest had demanded the employment of the British resources, in a proportion so much beyond any comparison with those brought forward by the Nizam, that the two Powers could not be considered as standing on a similar footing, in regard to the issue'.

The Nizam's Minister, on the other hand, maintained that the Nizam was entitled to share equally with the Company. The grounds on which his right was asserted are stated in the following passage of a memorandum, transmitted by me in an unofficial letter to the Secretary at Calcutta, on the 15th May 1819.

"The second clause of the third separate and secret article of our Treaty of the 12th October 1800 with the Nizam, expressly declares, that 'his highness shall be entitled to participate equally with the other contracting parties, in the division of any territory which may be acquired by the successful exertion of their united arms; provided his highness shall have faithfully fulfilled all the stipulations of the

preceding Treaty." In what respect did the Nizam fail in the fulfilment of any of the stipulations of the Treaty during the late war? He brought forward all the resources of his country, and placed them at our command. His troops were equal in numbers, and far superior in quality, to those which were contemplated when the Treaty was framed. It could not have been expected, at that time, that he would be capable of such exertions as those which he has actually made. His Government was then, in all respects, as much inferior to ours, and stood as much on the footing of a mere auxiliary, as it does now. If, therefore, he was then declared to be entitled to an equal participation of conquests, what change of circumstances has occurred to deprive him of that right now?

The Nizam's claim to the benefit of this stipulation is strengthened by a reference to the circumstances under which it was introduced into the Treaty. The article in which it occurs consisted, in the original draft, of that part only which now forms the first clause, and which provides, that if hostilities should take place, 'The contracting parties will proceed to adjust the rule of participation of all such advantages and acquisitions as may eventually result from the success of their united arms.' But the Nizam positively refused to conclude the Treaty, unless a Specific provision were made for the partition of eventual conquests; and Lord Wellesley then consented to add the second clause to the article, which establishes the Nizam's right to equal participation. Nothing can be stronger or more distinct than the expressions of which his Lordship makes use, when he authorises the insertion of this condition. He was fully aware that the Nizam's title to an equality of benefits could never be derived from an equality of exertions. His only objection lay against the introduction into a Treaty avowedly defensive in its principle, of a stipulation of which the fulfilment necessarily implied the occurrence of hostilities. His Lordship says 'It is certain, with whatever fidelity the Nizam might, in the event of a war, fulfil the stipulations of the second article of the Governor General's Treaty, his highness's actual share of expense and exertion in military operations could never be an exact proportion, but must be greatly inferior, to the expense and exertion of the Company; and that consequently his highness could in no case ever become positively entitled to share equally with the Company in a partition of conquests. But so rigid an application of that principle was never in the contemplation of the Governor General. His Lordship is aware that neither the resources nor the nature of the Nizam's Government admit of his highness's contributing equally with the Company to the successful prosecution of a common war, and consequently he could never hope for more than the best exertions

in the power of the Nizam to make. Such exertions, if honestly made, would entitle his highness, on every principle of justice, to an equal participation of conquests with the Company, to which he was not entitled on the same principles in the late war of Mysore; because, in the prosecution of that war, he was neither bound by Treaty to furnish, nor did actually furnish, the greatest practicable force in his power, as he would be obliged to do in case of a future war under the terms of the proposed Treaty.' We consented to insert his stipulation into the Treaty, avowedly as the price of the Nizam's agreeing to conclude it. We did it with our eyes open, with a full knowledge of the inferiority of the Nizam's power and resources, and with an express declaration, that his doing his best, little as that best might be, would of itself place him on a footing of equality with ourselves. The justice of this admission, or the expediency of the agreement which was founded upon it, it is now too late to consider. It might have been a question then, whether it was prudent in us to make such a stipulation, but it can no longer be a question now, whether it is obligatory upon us to fulfil it. The terms of the stipulation are clear, positive, and distinct; and it cannot now be set aside, without shewing that the Nizam has wilfully failed in the fulfilment of his part of the compact.

No question was made of the existence of this right at the close of the Marhattah war of 1803. Our Government then contended, not only that the Nizam had failed in the fulfilment of his obligations, but that the failure had been of such magnitude as to nullify the conditions of the Treaty. He was told, not that those conditions did not originally give him such a right, but that the conditions themselves had ceased to exist; and the share of conquests which was given to him, was given gratuitously, as a free gift, to which it was maintained he had no right whatever; and not as a reduced portion, calculated on the relative inferiority of his exertions."

To this memorandum I did not receive any answer from the Secretary; but four months afterwards I received an unofficial letter, dated the 4th September 1819, from Mr. Adam, who had then become a member of council in which he said; 'It would be premature to trouble you with any remarks on the merits of the question at issue; but we are still disposed here [to] think the Nizam will have ample justice done to his claims, by a settlement such as that proposed in the instructions.' In consequence of this intimation, I immediately proceeded to notify to the Nizam's Minister the terms which were to form the basis of the Treaty of partition; and the particulars of what passed between us on the subject were reported by me in two despatches to the Governor General dated the 5th and 22nd of October 1819.

45317

By the subversion of the Paishwah's power, the Nizam was relieved from the payment of the *choute* or blackmail which had been exacted from him by the Marhattas. The territory conquered during the wars produced an annual revenue estimated at near eighty lacs of Rupees. Out of this, it was proposed to assign to the Nizam those small detached portions only, which were intermixed with his own possessions, and of which his Ministers assented that the annual produce did not exceed eight lacs of Rupees; and even in return for this small acquisition, he was required to cede to us a tract of his own original territory, producing a clear annual revenue of ten or twelve lacs.

Nothing could exceed the dejection and disappointment with which the Minister received the notification of these terms. He alleged that they constituted a project, rather for the dismemberment of his master's old dominions, than for the partition of recent conquests; and that if they were enforced, the Nizam would be a loser instead of a gainer by the war. But he said 'The Nizam was weak; and we were strong, and to whatever we dictated he must submit.'

By the Treaty, as it was finally concluded, and as it now appears among the papers printed by your Honorable Court, the districts assigned to the Nizam are the same as those proposed in the original scheme; only our valuation which placed the revenue of them at ten lacs and a half of rupees, has been substituted for the smaller sum which the Nizam's Ministers contended was the actual produce. The territory acquired by us from the Nizam is reduced from the amount originally proposed to a little more than five lacs a year. The reduction has been effected, first, by lowering the valuation of the districts taken from him on the right bank of the Seena, in about the same proportion in which we raised the valuation of those assigned to him; and secondly by remitting the additional cession which it was originally proposed to require from him, either in the same quarter of his dominions, or at the western extremity of the Doab. The principle of the Treaty however remains the same. Not only has the Nizam's right to an equal share of the conquests been absolutely rejected, but it appears by the correspondence now printed by your Honorable Court, that an additional demand has been made upon him, on account of arrears of the revenue of some of the districts affected by the Treaty; and that a still further cession of Territory to us has been suggested for the satisfaction of that demand.

It is manifest, therefore, not only that the embarrassments of the Nizam's Government were not occasioned by the causes to which they have been referred, but were occasioned by causes to which they have not been referred. Your Honorable Court cannot be insensible, either to the injury which his affairs have sustained from the operation

of this arrangement, or to the different condition in which his territorial and financial interests would have stood, if the rights derived by him from the Treaty of 1800 had been satisfied. Under the real state of facts exhibited in the papers printed by your Honorable Court, surely it is unnecessary to resort, with Sir C. Metcalfe to the opinion, that 'the disgust which the Nizam is supposed to entertain towards us has been roused and influenced by fictitious reports of evil designs on our part'; or that 'one of the chief instruments by which he has been ruled and overawed by the several Ministers who have governed under our protection during his reign, has been a notion industriously instilled and fostered by themselves, that their influence with our Government warded off designs against his Country, which we should otherwise have carried into execution.'

Nor can your Honorable Court be surprised that the Nizam should now be in the frame of mind described by Sir C. Metcalfe, in the same despatch, where he says that 'He lives in constant dread of encroachment, and would be much alarmed by any new demand for territorial cession. He is not sensible of the advantages which he derives from the late Treaty, and does not give us credit for any liberality in that arrangement. When it was concluded, he was anxious to ascertain that it comprised all our demands, and that nothing further was to be required of him; and having ascertained those points, he seemed to content himself with the solace that it was no worse.'

(12) *N. B. Edmonstone to Henry Russell, Tunbridge Wells,*

13 October 1825

"My Dear Russell,

Your letter of the 9th reached me here the night before last. I had not opened the last *Oriental Herald*, but brought it with me from town for the purpose of perusing its principal articles. Of course, in consequence of your letter I immediately perused the article respecting Hyderabad and certainly I never read such a Tissue of Nonsense and old women's tales or rather, as I believe them literally to be, Bazar Gup, in my life. Those who have any knowledge of India will of course perceive the fallacy of the reasoning which would attribute to the British Supremacy all the evils and vices of the administration of the Countries connected with us by Subsidiary Treaties, as if the Native unprotected States were ever free from them; and those who put forth or countenance the Calumny apparently do not perceive the obvious inference that the Interposition not merely of our Influence but of our power to remedy these evils becomes a matter of obligation, that is,

that we are under a moral obligation to do that which they are fond of representing as a crying Sin,—Interference in the internal administration of Native States in alliance with us, controul their Independence and force them to be just.

The object of the Writer and the Editor is, you observe not to villify or accuse you, by the System. Indeed (in page 13) the former pays you individually the highest Compliments. He ascribes to you qualities wholly incompatible with the assumption of your being chargeable with any one of the crimes or abuses that he describes. But independently of that circumstance I feel confident that your character and conduct cannot suffer in the slightest degree in the estimation of the public from the Trash which he has put forth and certainly it will be quite time enough to adopt the course which you suggest (and which I agree with you is by far the most efficient, especially with the powers which you have shewn yourself master of, if the exigency should arise) when it is seen that any such effect is produced. I shall be on the watch, and be careful to inform you if I hear of any observations of a nature to suggest the expediency of a public vindication. You may rely upon my caution with respect to your Father.

Believe me ever yours, most faithfully,

N. B. Edmonstone"

(13) *Henry Russell to N. B. Edmonstone, 6 January, 1840*

[Criticizes the advance into Afghanistan]

".....I am afraid that I am very old fashioned in my estimate of our recent Indian Policy. From the first I have viewed it with alarm and that alarm is no degree abated by our military achievements. Our troops I never doubted would do as they always have done. There was no danger of discomfiture but there is very great danger with consequences of success. The mischief is still in prospect. Our eyes must have been shut when we got entangled in this web of remote and complicated relations. Of what possible value can these out of the way allies be ever made to us? As Talleyrand said saucily of the ladies, the difficulty is not to get hold of them but to get rid of them. The worst symptom in the constitution of our Indian power is its tendency to distension; it has already got far beyond its healthy size and if it goes on swelling in this way must burst in the end. It is as much as we can do to keep things quiet at home but as long as we can do that we have nothing to dread from abroad. The fear of danger from an attack over land by any European

power is wholly visionary. The length of the march, the difficulties of the intermediate country and the disorders of the Govts. on the line are insurmountable obstacles to such an attempt. Let a Russian Army leave the Caspian in what efficiency it may, it must be crippled before it reaches the Sutledge. By composing the distractions and organising the resources of the countries across our frontier we are sharpening an implement that is sure to be turned against us and every step by which we advance beyond that line takes the conflict so much nearer to our enemy's resources and so much farther from our own. We have been too much in a hurry. Our measures were taken precipitately while the danger was problematical and remote. If we had paused till it assumed some determinate shape we might better have framed them to suit the exigency. Even had the danger been certain and immediate I cannot think that the course which was taken was in any respect the wise one. We are essentially a maritime people and should never attempt by land that which we can do by sea. A fleet sent to the Baltic and another to the Black Sea would have checked any projects that the Russians might have conceived and the occupation of the Sutledge or the Indus whichever might have been found the better line in a military view would have served every purpose of local defence. We should then have remained within immediate reach of our resources and should have kept in our front that formidable tract of country which we have now left indiscreetly in our rear. In the one case it would have opposed a barrier against the approach of the enemy, in the other it cuts us off from our resources and puts a serious impediment in our way if we have to make a retrograde movement. Have we never contemplated the possibility of a reverse in Caubul? If things go wrong there are our troops to fall back with deserts and mountains in their way, with hordes of Cossacks and Afghans all round them and perhaps a Russian Army in pursuit? Or are we to strip our own Territory to support them in their remote position? In either event how are we to control our Indian allies, neighbours and Subjects? When Dr. Busby attended Charles the 2nd round Westminster School he kept his hat on as long as he was in sight of his boys; and if our boys ever see us with our hats off we shall find it no easy matter to keep them in subjection.....".

C. COLLIN DAVIES

ARCHIVES OF THE INDIAN OCEAN

I wonder if any of my colleagues in other lands of the Indian Ocean has ever thought of the contribution his archives might have to make to the study of the history of the Indian Ocean as a whole. In other words I wonder if there is among archivists and historians living in this part of the world what I might call an Indian Ocean consciousness.

Few members of our profession probably know that scientists in Asia, Africa and Australia have already formed an association known as Pan Indian Ocean Science Association with the following objects:

(1) to discuss and promote concerted action in regard to scientific problems especially affecting the well-being of the peoples and the progress of the countries around the Indian Ocean and to make recommendations to the countries concerned when necessary;

(2) to strengthen the bonds of friendship among all the peoples around the Indian Ocean by promoting a feeling of brotherhood among scientists and the maintenance of harmonious relations between them.

That association was formed in January 1951 at Bangalore, India, when thirty-six delegates representing nine countries met for the first Pan Indian Ocean Science Congress. The suggestion for such congresses was first made in Australia in 1947 and approved in 1949 by the Australian National Research Council. Thanks to the interest shown by Mr. Nehru, the Government of India agreed to sponsor the first congress and invitations were issued in 1950 for the Bangalore meeting. The second congress was held in Perth, Western Australia, in August 1954 and the third congress is to be held in Tananarive, Madagascar, in November 1957¹.

Why should archivists and historians be less Indian Ocean-minded than scientists? While other oceans, the Atlantic, the Pacific and even the Polar Oceans, not to mention the Mediterranean, have incited considerable study, there seems to prevail in some quarters an entirely wrong attitude regarding the place of the Indian Ocean in historical study. This is probably due to the scarcity of general works on the Indian Ocean. I know myself of only two that are worth recording: Allan Villiers: *The Indian Ocean*, London, Museum Press, 1952, and Jacques Auber: *Histoire de l'Océan Indien*, Editions les Trois Iles, Tananarive, 1954. This is not much compared with the numerous

1. See the Proceedings of the Pan Indian Ocean Science Congress. The P.I.O.S.A. is also responsible for the publication of a valuable essay entitled *Preliminary review of the limits of the Indian Ocean*.

books devoted to the Pacific area, some of them strangely biased. A good instance is Freeman's *Geography of the Pacific* (London, Chapman & Hall, 1951) which opens with this surprising statement: "The Mediterranean is the ocean of the past, the Atlantic the ocean of the present and the Pacific the ocean of the future". The Indian Ocean, where so much history was made right from the time of the early Sumerians, is not even mentioned. Why indeed?

Another unfortunate tendency should be noted here in this connection, namely the tendency to divide the Indian Ocean area into artificial and ill-defined regions, e.g. Middle East, South Asia, South-East Asia, Africa south of the Sahara, etc. Such groupings may be convenient for the politician and the strategist but the reasons adduced in justification of this parcelling out of a region where the chief unifying factor is the Indian Ocean itself are, to my mind, very much open to criticism from the historical standpoint.

There is no denying, of course, that certain parts of the Indian Ocean area have a greater degree of social and political unity than others, but does that necessarily preclude the possibility of treating all the lands in and around this Ocean as a unit? Even from a strategic point of view would it not seem that in a broader sense the security of regions like the Middle East and South-East Asia must ultimately rest on their identity with an Indian Ocean community?

Fundamentally for the historian at any rate the Indian Ocean area consists of four, and only four, elements: (1) the ocean itself, (2) an African sea-board, (3) an Asian sea-board and (4) a number of islands, large and small, some, indeed, equivalent to semi-continents, like Madagascar and Australia; and my contention is that no serious study of any one of these elements can be undertaken without reference to the three others. I do not think, for instance, that this Ocean can be usefully divided for purposes of historical study as Auber seems to suggest into two broad areas called respectively "world of Cancer" and "world of Capricorn", since such a division is obviously based on the antithesis Orient-Occident, which antithesis did not, in fact, become really marked until after 1815 and even possibly later. I do not see, either, that there is sufficient justification for dividing into separate fields of study certain regions of the Indian Ocean just because of their political importance. As Professor Pollard rightly said: "We must use our history to enlighten our politics, but we must not let our politics contaminate our history".

2 The arguments in support of this view are very well set forth in W. Kirk, *Indian Ocean Community* (*The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 67, No. 3 (1951), pp. 161-177) which I strongly commend to the attention of all those interested in this question.

An Indian Ocean community is not just a pious wish. Recent archaeological research shows that there was continuous intercourse between the various lands of the Indian Ocean from very remote times and there is now good reason for believing that such intercourse must have been fairly extensive in the pre-Gama age, although it reached a peak only after Gama had opened the Cape route to the Indies. Interpenetration was, in fact, the chief characteristic of the relations between the lands around the Indian Ocean long before the coming of the Portuguese, and this cannot be too strongly emphasized. This point is very well made out in two recent works, the first, by a Frenchman, dealing with the types of ships used in the Indian Ocean in the pre-Gama age (Jean Poujade : *La route des Indes et ses marins*, Payot, Paris, 1946) and the second, by a Dutchman, on early Asian trade (J. C. Van Leur : *Indonesian trade and society; Essays in Asian Social and Economic History*, W. van Hoeve Ltd., The Hague, 1955).

The first Europeans to enter this Ocean by the Cape route were all struck by what Van Leur rightly terms "the internationality of Asian trade", a characteristic which retained its full significance as long as the political independence of oriental states remained un-infringed upon by European influence, *i.e.*, until late in the 18th century. Gama's discovery itself, important as it was, did not *immediately* influence maritime intercourse in the Indian Ocean which, for a long time after the Portuguese incursion, continued to follow the same pattern it had followed for centuries before 1498. This is what Van Leur has to say on this point:

"After journeying through the inhospitable seas of southern Africa the Portuguese ships had come into regions where there was a complex of shipping, trade and authority as highly developed as the European: forms of political capitalism at least as large in dimensions as those of southern Europe, and probably larger; shipping in bottoms many of them carrying more than those used in European merchant shipping; a trade in every conceivable valuable high-quality product carried on by a great multitude of traders; merchant gentlemen and harbour princes wielding as great financial power as did the merchants and princes of Europe. By conquering the chief strategic points on the Asian sea routes, the Portuguese succeeded in establishing a colonial domain in that world, a weak empire which nevertheless was able to maintain itself with great vitality for a century. The Portuguese colonial regime, built by and upon war, coercion and violence, did not at any point signify a stage of 'higher development' economically for Asian trade. The traditional commercial structure continued to

exist, however much damaged by wars breaking out between Moslems and Christians."

For the archivist, however, the importance of Gama's discovery can hardly be overestimated, for it gave rise to what may be called the first proper archives of the Indian Ocean. Before Gama our sources for the historical study of this Ocean are limited to literature and art, including sculpture and painting, besides archaeology in its three-fold branches, epigraphic, monumental and numismatic, but there are few archival sources to speak of.

One important respect in which the European trader differed from his Oriental colleagues was that he was pre-eminently a *recorder*, and this applies to all European traders, whether they be Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, French or British. With the formation of trading companies at an early date record-keeping became fully organized. Any one who has seen the sets of consultations and diaries of the East India Company preserved in the former India Office (now Commonwealth Relations Office) in London, and in the Bombay and Madras repositories, in India, cannot but have been struck by the care taken by the employees of the Company to commit to writing even their minor transactions. The gradual replacement of trading companies by the State and the extension of state control over European settlements in Asia and Africa gave birth to more and more records in which we can trace the development of European activity in the East through its manifold stages. In passing it must be observed, however, that the average colonial administrator showed sometimes much less concern for records than the agents of trading companies, and that much damage befell archives in many dependent territories through the negligence of the said colonial administrator.

Missionaries, too, kept records, sometimes very detailed, of their activities and these constitute a class by themselves. The headquarters of all missionary societies are replete with documents of that kind.

Yet another type of records that came into being as a result of the coming of the Europeans was the newspaper. In 1744 the first newspaper to be issued in any land of the Indian Ocean came out of a Dutch printing press in Batavia. No archivist need be told how valuable newspapers are as a source of information, for the study of ship movements and trade relations especially.

I do not propose to list here all the various types of archives to which European beginnings in the Indian Ocean gave birth. A final reference must be made, however, to one particular type of such

3. J. C. Van Leur : *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

archives: the *portolani* or nautical charts and *roteiros* or pilot-guides. Although oriental navigators travelled very far out into the Indian Ocean in the pre-Gaman age, cartographic records for that early period are rather few and far between, and it can be said that the cartography of this Ocean really began to take shape in the 15th century only. The first fairly accurate chart of this Ocean does not date further back than 1509. Pilot-guides are more ancient, the earliest one being the *Periplus maris Erythraei* due to an anonymous Greek navigator who lived at Alexandria in the first century A.D. To the Arabs also we owe some good pilot-guides, the most famous of which is probably Sulayman's *Silsilat-al-Tawarikh* dating from the 8th century. The Portuguese *roteiros*, however, constituted a definite improvement of these early pilot-guides and laid the foundations of scientific navigation in the Indian Ocean.

Where are all these archives of the Indian Ocean now to be found? In Europe the chief repositories are the *Torre do Tombo* in Lisbon, the *Algemeen Rijksarchief* in The Hague, the *Rigsarkivet* in Copenhagen, the *Archives Nationales*, *Archives de la Marine*, *Archives de la France d'Outre-Mer* and *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris and finally the Commonwealth Relations Office, the British Museum and the Public Record Office in London. These repositories, however, seem to have paid so far more attention to the material relative to the Atlantic Ocean which they also house than to their Indian Ocean material. This is only natural considering that the Atlantic is so close to them and that it looms so large in European history.

On the other side of the Atlantic the archives centres in both North and South America have similarly paid special attention to the records concerning European expansion westwards. The same applies to the repositories in the Atlantic islands. During a recent visit to the Grand Canary I was absolutely fascinated by the magnificent organization of the repository of Las Palmas known as the *Casa de Colon* whose main object is to preserve and exploit material relative to Columbus. As far as I am aware, there is no archives set-up in any country of the Indian Ocean that has done for the promotion of the study of this Ocean anything like what the *Casa de Colon* has done for the study of Atlantic history⁴.

I have seen many, if not most, of the archives centres in South and East Africa, Madagascar, the Mascarenes, Southern Arabia, India and Ceylon and I must say that some of them, in India and South

4. The *Casa de Colon* has published several important contributions to the study of Atlantic history including an *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos* issued at Madrid since 1955.

Africa especially, reflect the greatest credit on the archivists who built them up. I noted, too, that all my colleagues in those countries were keenly aware of the part their archives had to play towards the formation of a national consciousness; on the other hand, they did not seem to have given much thought to the idea of building up what I call the archives of the Indian Ocean.

I also noted in those countries the absence of museums or other institutions dedicated to their maritime history. Cape Town has a magnificent aquarium, but its museum seemed rather destitute of any exhibits of maritime interest. In Mombasa, Aden and Bombay too, I looked in vain for relics of the maritime history of those ports which played such an outstanding part in the trade of Indian Ocean. In Mombasa I was told about a project for turning Fort Jesus, the oldest Portuguese fort on the East African coast, into a maritime museum, but nothing has been done yet and Fort Jesus is still used, *horresco referens*, as a prison. Aden had a small archaeological museum at Taweela and when I was there in 1952 I heard of a project for building an aquarium for the benefit of the 200,000 tourists who call at Steamer Point every year, but the idea of having a maritime museum in a place famous for its maritime associations never seemed to have occurred to the Aden authorities. In Bombay I saw yet another magnificent aquarium, the Taraporewala Museum, on the Marine Drive, but of maritime museums I saw none.

To return now to archives repositories in this part of the world, I am fully aware that archives organization is a comparatively new development in Indian Ocean countries, having begun not much earlier than 1900. I am aware, too, that much work still lies ahead for all of us.

Preservation is the main object we now have to attend to, largely as a result of the attitude, which has been noted above, of the average colonial administrator towards archives, and some may say that we have to put our house in order before we can think in terms of exploitation of the material in our custody towards promoting the study of the history of the Indian Ocean. This objection is, no doubt, valid; still, I do think, from what I have seen, that archives organization in this part of the world has reached a stage when we can all begin to look beyond national frontiers and think seriously of co-operation and pooling our resources in the interest of common studies.

With regard to co-operation a start has already been made with the setting up of an International Council of Archives under whose

auspices three world Congresses on Archives were held recently: the first in Paris in 1950, the second at The Hague in 1953 and the third in Florence in 1956.

World congresses are, of course, good, but my own experience of such gatherings is that they have their drawbacks and disadvantages. To begin with, while it is easy for European archivists to attend congresses held in Europe this is not so easy for archivists living in Indian Ocean countries. In fact, very few of these countries were represented at the recent congresses, which I myself was privileged to attend, not, I must say, through any largesse of the Mauritius Government, but because they happened to coincide with my periods of overseas leave. There is another disadvantage. Archivists from this part of the world are likely to be swamped in a world congress by their far more numerous European colleagues. When I say swamped I do not want to say anything nasty about our European brother-archivists. I am, on the contrary, in a great debt of gratitude towards many of them. What I mean is simply that their interests differ from ours, that they think more of the Middle Ages than we do and that they do not understand most of our problems.

Even in the field of technique differences occur. There is, I believe, an archivology of the tropics or tropical archivology distinct from an archivology of temperate zones. By tropical archivology I mean the body of knowledge, information and technique relative to the preservation in the best conditions of archives material in hot and humid countries. This is a topic to which several important contributions have been made in this periodical, and it is to be hoped that some day it may receive fuller treatment in the form of a proper handbook or manual of tropical archivology, which every archivist working in the tropical zone would, no doubt, welcome.

It would thus appear that, valuable as world Congresses on Archives are, they do not preclude the possibility of regional meetings. Such regional gatherings have, in fact, already taken place. The fourth issue of *Archivum*,⁵ the international review of archives, published by the International Archives Council, contains accounts of a Spanish-American and Philippine Congress of Archives held at Madrid in 1952 and of a meeting of Scandinavian archivists held at Åbo, in Finland, in August 1954, in connection with a congress of Scandinavian historians. From these accounts it will be seen that much good work was done at those two regional meetings. Emboldened by such precedents, I therefore ventured, during the Florence Congress on

5. See *Archivum*, IV (1954), pp. 204-9.

Archives in September 1956 to make a formal proposal to the International Archives Council for a regional meeting of archivists and historians of the Indian Ocean with a view to ensuring closer co-operation between such archivists and historians and setting up some sort of permanent organization for the study of the history of the Indian Ocean. That proposal was seconded by Mme Denise Ravage, then UNESCO representative on the International Council and it was readily agreed to in principle by the Council.

Since then two other projects also bearing on the archives of the Indian Ocean have come to my notice. The first, relates to a regional conference of historians of South-East Asia to be held in 1959 with the following objects:

- (1) to study past trends and attitudes of Asian historians;
- (2) to make plans for more regular contacts and exchange of lecturers, students and ideas;
- (3) to discuss problems concerning the establishment of archives and the preservation of documentary material;
- (4) to consider whether a research centre should be established in South-East Asia;
- (5) to consider whether there is scope for a locally published Journal of Historical Studies devoted to South-East Asia.

The second, which is sponsored by the C.C.T.A., aims at a pooling of archival resources in the area known as Africa south of the Sahara, including Madagascar and the Mascarenes, with a view to setting up of a Central Bureau of Archival Co-operation in the Central African Archives at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

I have no first-hand knowledge of South-East Asia, since my travels never took me further east than the Coromandel Coast; and though familiar with the more recent historical literature concerning the said region, I cannot say that I am widely read on its history. On the question as to whether there is a real need for a research centre in South-East Asia I cannot therefore say anything definite. From what I know, however, I should have thought that such a research centre already existed. What about the *Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* or French School of Far Eastern Studies set up in Indo-China since 1900, an institution which, in the opinion of the eminent orientalist, Barthold,⁶ has no counterpart in any other oriental country and whose contribution to the history of the East was—and, I believe, still is—considerable.

6. V. V. Barthold : *La découverte de l'Asie* (Trans. from the Russian by B. Nikitine), Payot, Paris, 1947, p. 162.

I should have thought, too, that learned periodicals like *T'oung Pao* and the *Far Eastern Quarterly*, the latter especially, which covers South-East Asia very fully, could hardly be improved upon by a locally published journal of historical studies devoted to the area under reference.

Anyway, assuming that there is a need for a new institution for the specific study of the history of South-East Asia as distinct from that of the Indian Ocean as a whole, I am not convinced at all, speaking primarily as an archivist, that the archives of that region can be organized on a limited South-East Asian basis better than they can be on a broader Indian Ocean basis.

The second project concerns a region with which I am familiar and where I have travelled extensively. I am aware of the excellent work done at the Central African Archives in Salisbury, but here again none of the arguments put forth in support of a Central Bureau for the Archives of Africa south of the Sahara has convinced me that archives in this region cannot be organized on an Indian Ocean basis. The archives of South and East Africa definitely form part of what I call archives of the Indian Ocean, since all countries in those parts of Africa were settled from this Ocean.

Africa, unlike Asia, lived for centuries retired within itself, it never listened to, never heard even, the call of the sea, and each successive wave of settlers, Arabs, Indians, Chinese, Europeans who made history in the "dark continent" came to it from the Indian Ocean, so that the history of the whole eastern coast of Africa from Cape Town to Suez is intimately linked up with oceanic history from the earliest times. Even the movement that led to the formation of what is now known as Central Africa had its origin on the shores of the Indian Ocean. The head of the Central African Archives is himself very much aware of this, since he recently initiated a project for publishing, in collaboration with the *Arquivo Historico de Mocambique*, material from the *Torre do Tombo* and other Portuguese archives destined to supplement Theal's *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, a project, I may add, which will undoubtedly earn him the gratitude of all those interested in the history of the Indian Ocean.⁷

With his present project I must, however, disagree since I have strong doubts as to the scope and usefulness of a scheme tending to make the Central African Archives the centre of an archives organization extending to Madagascar and the Mascarenes Islands, which, although sometimes wrongly called African Islands, do not, in any way, form

7. On this project see the Central African Archives Report for 1949-54 entitled *Archives in a new era*, pp. 46-8.

part of Africa'. Why not look at this matter from an oceanic angle and, following the example of the scientists, work for the recognition of an Indian Ocean community? If scientists have succeeded in setting afoot an organization dedicated to the study of the Indian Ocean as a whole, why should archivists and historians be less willing to work on the same lines? I am putting the question to all my colleagues in this part of the world.

At the beginning of this article I pointed out that the wrong attitude regarding the place of the Indian Ocean in historical study was probably due to the scarcity of general works on this Ocean. But this scarcity is itself due to lack of information on the sources of Indian Ocean history. At the moment the difficulties facing the student setting out to investigate fairly fully even a small corner of this field are simply tremendous, since there is as yet no general guide to the archives of the Indian Ocean nor a handbook of information on the present state of historical studies in this area nor even a tentative bibliography of the Indian Ocean in history. One has only to go through a book like Furber's remarkable *John Company at Work*⁸—one of the few books relating to Indian Ocean history based on an extensive use of primary sources—to realise the difficulties that faced the author from the start in his attempt to get a clear and complete view of the activities of the East India Company in the 18th century. Is it not for us, archivists of the Indian Ocean, to facilitate the production of more works like Furber's, irrespective of any moral judgements any one of us may wish to pass upon the story of European expansion in this Ocean?⁹

Is it not for us, too, to lay the foundations of what I have called tropical archivology and so make a distinct contribution to the progress of archive technique?

8. On this point see especially J. Weulersse (*L'Afrique Noire*, Payot, Paris, 1956, pp. 447-56) whose conclusions may be quoted here: "One important remark has to be made concerning Madagascar and the neighbouring island-formations; it is the striking originality of these territories and their independence vis-a-vis the great neighbouring continent. Independence is even too weak; opposition would be a better word".

9. Holden Furber: *John Company at Work*, Harvard University Press, 2nd edit., 1952. Furber's work was made possible by a John Simon Guggenheim Research Fellowship for the year 1937-38.

10. In this connection I would beg to quote Furber's own remarks: "No one should approach a study of this kind with any sense of bias or prejudice. The eighteenth century is sufficiently remote from our own day to enable us all whether Europeans or Indians, to view its history in an objective and impartial spirit and to refrain from misusing the history of that age for propaganda purposes in the political and economic controversies of to-day".

And even if a gathering of archivists from all Indian Ocean countries had no other purpose but "to strengthen the bonds of friendship among all the peoples around the Indian Ocean"—to use the words of the manifesto issued some years ago by the Pan Indian Ocean Science Association—would not that be, in itself, something worth striving for?

AUGUSTE TOUSSAINT

A NOTE ON THE MELVILLE MANUSCRIPTS IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND

THE National Library of Scotland has in its possession a large collection of Melville Manuscripts which have been acquired by it in several lots. Among them are a large number of papers pertaining to modern Indian history, most of them unpublished so far.

The first Viscount Melville was Henry Dundas a Scots lawyer whose immediate relations and forefathers were distinguished members of the legal profession in Edinburgh. The Dundases of Arniston were a very tight family group and were eminent among the *noblesse de robe* who held a high position among the official society of Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century. Dundas himself devoted his position as Lord Advocate of Scotland and his family connections in Scotland to building up what was called in those days an "electoral influence" in that still electorally backward country; and he seems to have used this to create a position for himself in national politics at Westminster. Dundas came into prominence in support of the much-maligned North Ministry at the time of the War of American Independence, but was also one of the leaders of the group within the government which advocated moderate reforms for the administration of the East India Company's constitution both in England and in India. He was the Chairman of the Committee selected in the spring of 1781 to meet as a Secret Committee to inquire into the scandals created by the recent war in the Carnatic, and by the misgovernment of Sir Thomas Rumbold in Madras, and also into the assorted charges of misdemeanours by the Company's servants. This was a period of discussion about the changes necessary in the constitution of the East India Company, and of investigation into various acts of misgovernment in which some of the Company's servants were alleged to be participating. These criticisms were directed at many types of people ranging from Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, to various speculators, who were using the debts of the Nawab of the Carnatic (Walajah Muhammad Ali) to make a dividend out of the mortgaged revenues of the lands of the Carnatic. It was then the duty of the officials of the Treasury Board, controlled by the First Lord of the Treasury himself, to deal with the affairs of the East India Company in so far as they concerned the government, and these officials could hardly cope with the increased volume of correspondence with the Company that was speedily becoming necessary. They also found it difficult to "manage" the Company's administration due to various reasons. Though Treasury officials like John Robinson or Charles Jenkinson, father of the later Prime Minister,

Lord Liverpool, were insistent like Dundas about the need for moderate reform. Lord North himself was powerless to make a decision. A Select Committee had in fact been set up by Parliament to examine petitions against the Supreme Court in Bengal, but such was the weight of Opposition feeling against the Company that through the influence of a leading member, Edmund Burke, it undertook instead a survey of the administration, security and prosperity of the territories of the old Mughal *Subah* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, much of which had come under the sovereignty of Parliament. "There were few members of Parliament who really made an attempt to understand India thoroughly. On the one side, Burke and Sheridan stand out, on the other Dundas." The "two Committees soon began to exercise a powerful influence on Indian affairs". Since Burke and Sheridan were in opposition for most of this period, except for a brief spell during the Fox-North Ministry, when Dundas seems to have been equally important, Dundas soon became the recognised expert on the affairs of the British administration in India.

It is in these circumstances, Holden Furber notes, that Dundas "began to keep a file of the letters he received from the East. Those that survive for the year 1782 are not very numerous, but they indicate that his compatriots in India looked upon him as a champion of the Crown against the Company and viewed the prospect of his acceptance of a new post as Secretary of State for India with unmixed joy". Dundas himself, seems to have felt, at this stage, that the seat at the Treasury Board which North offered him was no solution for the problems of Indian government; but the panacea he seems to have suggested was the creation of a third Secretary of State to direct the Government supervision of the Company's policies and this supervision would of course be carried out by himself, a solution curiously similar to that proposed for the administration of the British colonies in a previous period of crisis, *i.e.* 1766, when a Secretary of State had been created for the control of colonial affairs. But Dundas was too late for the sort of personal control by a Cabinet Minister that he proposed and

1. Furber, H., *Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville, 1742-1811*, (London, 1931), p. 11.

2. Sutherland, L., *East India Company in Eighteenth Century Politics* (London, 1952), p. 363.

3. Throughout the term of its office, Dundas was in touch with Robinson and the Treasury officials who had the ear of King George the III and it was on the initiative of the latter that the ministry fell.

4. For a brief study of Dundas' career see Furber, *op. cit.* Sutherland, *ibid.*, is also interesting for his influence on Indian affairs.

5. Furber, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

much too early for the acceptance of his theory in legal form by Parliament and governing circles. In 1782, the Secretary of State for Home Affairs was given charge of all colonial correspondence, and temporarily, all the correspondence of the Company that the Treasury had been harassed with. In 1782, Parliament and Crown finally found themselves after much expenditure of East India Company and Tory funds in agreement on the Indian question⁶ and under the terms of the consequent India Act, which goes under the name of Pitt, but was actually framed by John Robinson, Thomas Atkinson and Dundas, a separate Board of Control was set up to supervise the Government's duties of controlling the affairs of the Company. Dundas was the expert on this till 1793, when he became the official President⁷. Dundas was President from 1793 to 1801, and was also Secretary of State for War, and therefore for Colonies, under the terms of an administrative arrangement in 1794, till 1801. The government of India by the British was ineradicably mixed up with motives and patterns common to the government of the rest of the British Empire; and the period of Henry Dundas at the head of Imperial affairs was one when the control of the British Empire from Bencoolen and India through Ceylon and Mauritius to the Cape of Good Hope and the West Indies was in the same hands, due more to reasons of expediency than to constitutional enactment⁸.

It was in these circumstances that the Melville collection was built up. Dundas' son, Robert Saunders Dundas, 2nd Viscount Melville, was also President of the Board of Control for Indian Affairs, for two separate periods in the first and third decades of the nineteenth century. His letters on various affairs will be found tabulated subject-wise at the end of his father's letters which are also tabulated by the Library authorities. An exception, however, is the case of enclosures from India, which according to the filing practice of the Board of Control

6. Laprade, W. T., ed. *Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson* (London, 1922).

7. He became President in virtue of his position as one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State. The previous Chairmen had been Lord Sydney, better known as Thomas Townshend, Secy. of State (Home) in 1782, and William Wyndham Grenville, better known as Lord Grenville, Prime Minister in 1806, who was also connected in this period with colonial legislation in Canada.

8. The interlinking of administrative practice can be studied best in Coupland, Sir R., *The American Revolution and the British Empire* (London, 1930) and in Egerton, H.E., (ed. by Newton, A. P.) *A Short History of British Colonial Policy* (London, 1932).

9. cf. a memo., drawn up by C. Boughton Rouse, the first secretary of the Board of Control, in which he drafted the new procedure adopted by the Board for filing its documents. (India Office Library, London, Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 341, p. 22).

were separated from covering letters, and reference was made easy by a note of the relevant enclosure on the covering letter. It seems striking, however, that the Dundases, father and son were in the habit of keeping their official correspondence in their private archive collections—a practice which does not seem to have been followed by, let us say, the Grenville family which had a similar connection with the Board of Control at roughly the same time¹⁰. Matters of State are discussed in the Dropmore Papers, generally through the medium of official and demi-official letters between ministers and ambassadors; but there is hardly the same copious reference to official figures and statistics that we have for instance in Ms. 1064 of the Melville Mss. respecting cotton tariff policy relating to Bengal and Lancashire in the '80s. The period of the French Wars was a period of multiplication of public duties for a very few British statesmen who held all the strings of power, and it was all that the Grenvilles could do to keep copies of even their demi-official correspondence. The reason for the preservation of the Dundas Papers seems to be, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the lack of space in the Chambers in Whitehall where the Board of Control had to meet for the first few years. Dundas, the expert, probably removed the Indian correspondence he had to deal with to his own house. In 1805, a house was built for the Board, one of its many residences¹¹, but by that time Dundas' impeachment was in full train. It seems probable that he wanted to keep the public papers on his tenure of office by his side to confound accusers. The Melville Papers which remained safely in the possession of the family for many decades were widely dispersed in the twenties of this century. There were four sales of these manuscripts from 1924 to 1929 and these in consequence have been widely scattered in many countries. The National Library of Scotland had acquired a considerable part of the original Melville collection, particularly those relating to the Scottish affairs¹².

The Melville Papers have been tabulated and catalogued by Mr. H. W. Meikle who was Librarian of the National Library of Scotland.

10. We have referred to Lord Grenville's incumbency of the Board. His brother, Thomas Grenville, the donor of the Grenville bequest to the British Museum, was President of the Board for a short while in 1806 in his elder brother's Ministry of All the Talents. A nephew, Charles Watkins William Wynn was President in the 1820s. The Dropmore Papers, or to put it more accurately the papers of J.B. Fortescue published by the Historical Manuscript Commission house the correspondence of the Grenvilles.

11. See Foster, Sir W., *John Company* (London, 1926), chapter on the India Board for a map of Whitehall at this period.

12. The National Archives of India has obtained microfilm copies of most of the manuscripts pertaining to India and these are available for research.

Vol. I of the *Catalogue of Manuscripts acquired since 1925* has extensive entries of papers relating to Dundas' control of Indian affairs and the policies which he formulated. This was published in 1938, and includes only the manuscripts upto Ms. 1074. The rest are tabulated in Vols. II and III which are still in typescript and can only be consulted in the Reading Room of the Library. Vol. IV is also in preparation and is reported to catalogue a few papers of Henry Dundas, though it is not known whether they relate to India. Volume I has been published in a way which will make it very easy for research workers on Indian history to look up references on Dundas; each volume has been given a simple manuscript number; e.g., Man. 1, Man. 1065, Man. 3386, etc. arranged in serial fashion which is continued in the volumes not yet published. A very brief summary of the documents on Indian history is appended below¹³.

Mss. 1-67 contain letters received by the two Melvilles and also copies of replies or drafts of replies; these have been used in Furber's, *Henry Dundas, First Viscount Melville*, already quoted.

Ms. 12, ff. 187 has papers on the administration of justice in India.

Ms. 16, f. 5 contains ten letters of Edmund Burke, mainly on Indian affairs and the trial of Warren Hastings, 1783-91, with the copy of a reply from Dundas, 1787. This material might be of interest in studying the cross-sections of English opinion about the nature of constitutional change in the Company's government in India, considering the fact that Burke and Dundas were the leaders of opposite groups of opinion on Indian affairs, and there were hardly any other groups outside Parliament and the Company which had access to their sources of information. The letters have been studied by Dr. Furber for his study of Dundas' involvement in the impeachment of Warren Hastings; and he has also shown his acquaintance with the letters in his recent article on Edmund Burke and India¹⁴. Dr. Furber writes "In all these writings of the 1780s, speeches as well as letters, it seems to me that constructive thought on India (from Burke) is most difficult to find..... Too often, Burke thought no further than the transfer of British authority in India to hands which to him were virtuous". This criticism of Burke's is in keeping with current trends in the Western writing of British history which is interested in uncovering the fallibility of the motives of radical opponents of British imperialism, and this is probably a useful thing to do in view of the myths which accrete on history; but the

13. This summary has been extracted from the *Catalogue of the National Library*, and I claim no originality for the form of the tabulation, though the comments are my own.

14. *Bengal Past and Present*, 1957, Jubilee Number, Vol. lxvii.

more significant value of these papers seems to lie in the possible re-interpretation of motives of legislation and legislators in this period in the light of the circumstances of society.

Mss. 20-57 are the Secretary's Minute Books which contain summaries of letters addressed to Henry Dundas with his autograph instructions as to replies, 1792-95, 1797-1801 and 1801-05.

Ms. 59 entitled "Miscellaneous Book, Vol. I" is a Letter Book of the 2nd Viscount from 1807-10 containing copies of letters to "Indian officials and statesmen, on civil and military matters".

There is a set of volumes from Ms. 1060 to 1074, which deal almost exclusively with matters of Indian import. These seem, however, to have been serially numbered as they were acquired, and I propose to mention them in what seems to me a logical order.

Ms. 1060 is divided into three general sections. The first one is tabulated as administration, defence, policy and general, 1778-1815, and extends from f.1 to f.120. It contains useful material on the nature of the functions of the Board of Control in foreign policy and inter-departmental co-ordination (ff.30, 35 and 37). The second section is supposed to be the one which deals with the affairs of the Army, 1785-1811 and in 1828. As early as 1785, we have a letter from a Colonel Fullarton from Pondicherry to the President and Council of Fort St. George, which may roughly be analysed under the following heads;

(a) The loyalty of the troops of whatever nationality was liable to be sapped by delay in the disbursement of their pay. (b) There had been a depreciation of currency, which could affect the first presumption by lowering the purchasing power of what they were paid. (c) Retrenchment on the other hand was not very favourably viewed among the troops. (d) The note ends on the warning note of: Look to the loyalty of your Sepoys. (Ms. 1060, ff. 129-34.)

This letter might perhaps be compared with the information furnished to the Home Government on the eve of the Vellore Mutiny of Sepoys of the Madras Army in 1806, though the responsibility for this Mutiny and for the great Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 was fastened by public opinion in Great Britain on a variety of causes like discontent of the princely classes (e.g. the Mysore family in 1806), the influence of Evangelicalism or modernisation or the inefficiency of army leaders. All these causes were contributory factors, but the cause for the precipitation of a revolutionary situation may be found in a correlated study of economic conditions and the material condition of the soldiery. On ff. 135-36, there are copies of letters from Fullarton and other

15. *ibid.* p. 20.

officers of the Southern army on the state of the army's finances in 1791. Ms. 2257 in the Melville Collection is catalogued as containing letters chiefly to the 1st Viscount from Colonel William Fullarton, on Indian regimental and personal matters.

The third section of Ms. 1060 is composed of the letters of George Smith, who was a member of the Bengal Council from 1785-91, containing information or proposals regarding finance, trade, crops, China and general matters. The main interest in this set lies in the fact that the letters were addressed to Henry Dundas or oftener still, his private clerk at the India Board, William Cabell, and there seems to have been a material degree of secrecy maintained in the correspondence. Dundas seems to have been tapping assorted sources of information in the course of his Indian duties". Smith was in addition to his own duties, a merchant who tried to carry on trade with various Asian ports ranging from Tellicherry and Anjengo in Konkan and Malabar, to Canton and Macao. The nature of his attitude to the Company's monopoly regarding the Indian trade will be seen from this extract from one of his letters:

"Should the scheme I have proposed to your Deliberation for the payment of the Company's Debt be adopted, I will engage to provide the Investment of the Sum with goods of this country for a Commissionprovided always that I am supported by Government in the provision of these goods, against the intrigues and machinations of the Board of Trade who for reasons, by this time well-known to you will oppose a Contract of that nature, but "Delendum est Carthago"; that Board abolished, the Company's concerns will soon wear another aspect".

Smith was not content with agitation. We have a letter from Murdoch Brown, Factor at Mangalore to him, dated 30 January 1786, giving details of smuggling cargo into the dominions of Tipu Sultan, where there seems to have been an embargo on private trade in the fashion of the Mughal rulers. Smith also gave Dundas a personal account of how trade barriers in Canton had been breached through "Quankyua" one of the principal traders at Canton". It is curious to find the President of the Board of Control receiving information about free trade smuggling into foreign countries where the Company was supposed to have a monopoly of British trade. The letters of Smith are also full of descriptions of trading conditions in the coastal areas.

16. Ms. 1060, f. 204, *et. seq.*; for secrecy of the correspondence, cf. especially ff. 224-25, letter of William Cabell, from the India Board to George Smith, 21-7-1786.

17. *ibid.* f. 205, George Smith to Dundas, 27-4-1785.

18. *ibid.* ff. 222-23; ff. 226-35.

he visited, notably Ceylon where the Dutch still held sway, Mysore, Malaya and the Canton littoral. About Mysore he writes that Tipu had placed an embargo on the British and Dutch export of pepper, sandalwood, cardamom, or "Plantes" and timbers, "which nearly amounts to a prohibition of the trade, that of his country depending chiefly on barter and money, but rarely its medium" (George Smith to Dundas, 12 March 1785, pp. 210-18) — rather obscure statement which may be studied for an idea of the processes by which commodity production was regulated on an exchange basis.

Ms. 1064 is comprised of two parts, a general survey of trade with India from 1787 to 1812, especially cotton, rice and private trade; and letters on the debts of the Nawab of Carnatic in 1794 and 1808-10. On f. 1, there is some material on copper prices, and on ff. 8-9, 11, 19 and 47 respectively, there are tabulated figures of the "*Average Prime Cost and Sale Amount of Cotton Yarn imported from India in the following Seasons, 1774-1783 (for Bengal and Bombay); the Cost and Sale of the Quantity of Cotton that has ever been imported by the Company from India with an account of the Profit and Loss thereon*"; accounts of the quantity of articles like Barilla, Gum Arabic, Galls, Madder, Valonia, Indigo, etc. (probably used in the manufacture of cotton)—"*imported into Great Britain in the year ending the 5th of January, 1788, distinguishing the places from whence imported*"; and an "*Amount of the Sales of Muslins and Calicoes (including Private Trade from 1783 to 1787 imported from each Presidency in India*". There is much correspondence in this set of papers on the controversy between the cotton manufacturers of Northern Britain, who had recently come to prominence and wholesale buyers from the Company stretching from ff. 3-105. This includes an account of the processes of cotton cultivation, production, and marketing in Bengal (ff. 71-79).

Ms. 1065 bears the imposing title of "a Breviate of a selection of passages from the Company's records concerning the Nabob of Arcot, the characters of his sons, and the attempt to set aside the succession settled by the Mogul's Phurmaund". This is also catalogued as having been received bound. We have already noted that there is some correspondence on the Nawab's Debts from f. 222 of Ms. 1064. This material might be useful to a research worker who wishes to study the relationship of the Board with the debts after Burke's famous speech in the Parliament in 1785 on the Arcot Debts, when he alleged that they were generally in the nature of collusive contracts. The Minute Book of the Board of Control, Vol. 1, available in the India Office Library, London, shows that in 1784, soon after the formation of the Board, its Commissioners

asked for a selection to be made which would be like the one we have noted. The "Breviate" was perhaps prepared from the larger work by Russell, the Solicitor to the Board and his assistants, for the personal use of Dundas, the Indian expert on the Board.

Mss. 1066 to 1071 deal with shipping and foreign policy; significantly enough, foreign policy seems to be connected with overland and shipping routes to India. Ms. 1066 is specifically catalogued as containing material on ship-building, sailings, personnel, victualling, cargoes, harbours and the supply of timber in the East; there is also reported evidence on the dealings of the Royal Navy with the Company and other matters connected with Eastern waters. This material stretches from 1786 to 1817, and is also available for 1825. The 2nd Viscount was First Lord of the Admiralty for a long time between his short tenures of office at the Board of Control; if the statistics that Henry Dundas was able to get from assorted sources for his policy on cotton imports and comparative tariffs are any guide, there should be ample and accurate evidence on shipping as well. Ms. 1067 is a separate volume which contains a memorial by J. Prinsep the noted entrepreneur, who had the Company's support in his plans for the expansion of the indigo trade, shipping projects, etc., on "a plan for the naval defence of the British possessions in the East Indies by ships of India construction to be built out of the revenues and to be supported out of the commerce of Asia". This was submitted in 1796, only 11 years after Lord Sydney, the first Chairman of the Board had written as Secretary of State in his first despatch to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury on 18 August 1786 announcing the decision of the British Government to establish a convict colony at Botany Bay in Australia, that "It may also be proper to attend to the possibility of procuring from New Zealand any quantity of masts and ship timber for the use of our fleets in India as the distance between our two countries is not greater than between Great Britain and America".

This is another example of the community of feeling which bound together the administration of the British Empire, however loosely it might be.

Dundas belongs to the early period of British imperial statesmen, who were gradually shaking themselves free from the mercantilist ideas which still influenced theories of government. He matured his

19. Manning Clark. *Sources of Australian History* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 69 & 75.

policy under the strains of the American Revolution, the period of British economic recovery between the wars, and the final shock of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars.

Mss. 1068 and 1069 are not tabulated under the heading of India as they ostensibly deal with the Near East. But a study of the description of Mss. 1070 and 1071 in the Catalogue will show us the intimate connection of the Near East with British Indian foreign policy even a century and a half ago.

"1070 *The Cape Route to India*

- (i) Canary Islands, 1797 (f. 1)
- (ii) St. Helena, 1788-1812 (f. 4)
- (iii) Cape of Good Hope, 1782-1810 (f. 22)
- (iv) Mauritius and Bourbon, 1787-1812 (f. 75)

1071 *The Near East*. (i) Routes to India by the Red sea and overland, the possibilities of a French or Russian attack on India from the north-west, the missions of John Malcolm and Sir Harford Jones to Persia, and affairs in Greece, Turkey and Afghanistan, etc. 1790-1810."

It will be evident that much work yet remains to be done on Dundas as an imperial statesman, and he cannot be neglected, as he seems to have been to some degree, as one of the few people within the penumbra of Pitt during the Ministry of that statesman. Lord Rosebery observes about the latter "Dundas and Grenville were alone admitted to his confidence"²⁰. What is more significant is that Dundas and Grenville among themselves controlled, at some time or the other before Pitt's death, most of the high offices connected with India and the Empire, and that before Pitt or Grenville had left college Dundas was prominent in controlling practically all the Parliamentary influence of Scotland, the Lord Advocate's office in Scotland, and most of the plans for India reform in the period of legislative crisis.

We have finally to deal with a very large section of the Melville Papers, the correspondence between Dundas and various high officials in the Company's service in India. This might contain material of miscellaneous historical interest and needs to be systematically combed for it in the same way as other private collections are being treated by modern historians. Mss. 1-67 have already been dealt with.

Ms. 2257 is listed as containing letters, chiefly to the 1st Lord Melville from Colonel William Fullarton, on Indian regimental and personal matters and the affairs of Colonel Picton, 1783-1807; from and regarding Robert Haldane with special reference to missionary

20. Lord Rosebery, *Pitt*, (London, 1929), p. 109.

enterprise in 1796-97; and from John Wauchope of Edmondstone regarding Major-General Patrick Wauchope, 1807. These extend from ff. 21-59. I have mentioned the first set of letters with reference to the grievances of the Army.

Ms. 2956, ff. 119-37, has letters to Dundas in the period 1793 to 1803 mainly from (so it seems from the internal evidence of these unsigned letters) David Scott, the celebrated Director of the East India Company with whom he was involved over the regulation of private trade towards the end of the tenure of his office.

Mss. 3385-88 consist of letters written by Lord Cornwallis as Governor General of India to Henry Dundas from 1786 to 1794, and also copies of his replies. There are also abstracts of Cornwallis' letters in a separate volume, Ms. 3388. The letters themselves are in Ms. 3385 (there is an additional letter at f. 54 of Ms. 3053), while all enclosures sent by Cornwallis are systematically filed in Ms. 3386. As these enclosures were mostly composed by the Governor General's subordinates, and British officials had the practice of submitting copious reports, there is much evidence on the administration of justice by magistrates in criminal cases in several districts in the year 1789-90. There are also copies of the letters which Dundas wrote to Lord Cornwallis in 1786-92 (Ms. 3387). Taken together, this correspondence forms a useful record of Government cognisance of India affairs in the period of Cornwallis' first tenure of office. They have been extensively used by Aspinall in his *Cornwallis in Bengal*²¹ but with the limited object indicated in the title; some extracts from these letters have been printed in the 19th century collection of the *Cornwallis Correspondence*²² by Charles Ross; but the volume of enclosures we have noted does not seem to have been made full use of, and as the catalogue of the National Library points out, there are errors in Ross' transcriptions, while a new edition is long overdue.

Ms. 3387 is headed "Governor-Generals". It also contains letters from Dundas to Lord Mornington (later the Marquess of Wellesley) 1798-99, and to Sir John Shore, 1793-97, thus forming the continuous record of Dundas' letters to India from 1786-99; though it is unfinished and the last two years of presidentship of the Board of Control are missing. The letters from Dundas to Shore need to be read in unison with the "*Private Record of an Indian Governor-Generalship*" by Holden Furber.

21. Aspinall, A. *Cornwallis in Bengal* (Manchester, 1931).

22. Ross, C., *The Correspondence of Lord Cornwallis* (London, 1859).

The final volume in this type of correspondence is Ms. 3837. This is the correspondence of Sir Archibald Campbell who was Governor of Madras from 1786 to 1789 with Henry Dundas who had practically nominated him to the post. The collection includes lengthy memoranda and minutes by Campbell and others, deals in considerable detail with the civil and military affairs of Madras and covers such subjects as relations with the French, the Dutch and the Indian princes, finance, trade, army appointments and topography; and is arranged in mainly chronological order. The value of such an account for a purely local history of Madras in the years after the governorship of Macartney will be obvious.

It is interesting to note that the private correspondents of the President of the Board of Control for India ranged from a merchant like George Smith through wholesale Cheapside merchants relying on the Company's imports, and financiers like Sir Francis Baring to the Governor of Madras. All of them supplied Dundas with regular information which Dundas was constrained to organize on an extra-departmental basis. One wonders what sort of commentary this provides on the Board of Control.

In conclusion, it seems that there is enough scope for editing these documents. The logical way they are filed at present, would facilitate the task of editing. The Dundas Papers might be a useful nucleus for a few new editions and re-editions of documents on Indian history. Another immediate necessity is for an annotated calendar of papers relating to Indian history in the collection.

BARUN DE

NEWS NOTES

INDIA

National Archives of India

Among the principal non-current records received by the National Archives during the year were those of the Salt Commissioner's Office, 1926-47; Central India States Agency, 1909-54; Rajasthan Counsellor's Office, 1931-54; Regional Commissioner, Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan, 1916-54; Home Department, Political, 1936-37; Ministry of Defence, 1871-1940; 25 Maps of the Miscellaneous Series received from the Survey of India, Dehra Dun; and 250 Bills of Parts A, B & C, States duly assented to by the President.

142 photostats of Mahatma Gandhi's private correspondence with Mrs. Esther Menon covering the period 1917-40 were presented to the Archives by the Danish Government. Among the other interesting acquisitions may be mentioned a letter from Lord William Beresford, Military Secretary to the Government of India, to J. W. Smith, dated 6 December 1888; a copy of Lt. Robert Warburton's Journal on the Kabul insurrection; Lt. Col. Houghton's Journal on the battle of Chareekah; a Journal on a journey from Ferozepur to Kutwas by an unknown writer; and a memoir of Lady Suagge (1826-1914), together with an album containing 31 paintings.

158 reels of microfilms from the British Museum, London, 8 reels from Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, and 92 reels from Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, were received during the year.

There were two sessions of the short course in Archive-Keeping conducted by the Department, and 26 persons took the training. The one year Diploma Course was also conducted with 5 students on the roll. Three students who underwent training in the previous year were awarded diplomas.

The following publications which are in the press made steady progress, viz., Vols. I, II, and IX of *Fort William—India House Correspondence*; Vol. I of *Index to the Records of the Foreign and Political Department*, 1756-80; and Vol. X of *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 1792-93. It is expected that a couple of these would be published during the coming year. Vol. XIII of *Fort William—India House Correspondence* has been got ready and is expected to be sent to the press shortly.

The Department's programme of having all old and important records series microfilmed is going ahead. At present Foreign Department records are being microfilmed.

Over 3,000 books and periodicals were added to the Library. Besides, 309 valuable historical and reference publications were received from the United States of America under the Wheat Loan Educational Exchange Programme. The External Affairs Ministry transferred 883 volumes for accession to the Library.

A number of improvements were effected on the technical side. An oil-fired boiler was installed and the operation of the hydraulic laminating press commenced.

The National Archives of India participated in the All India Educational Exhibition organised in connection with the Ninth General Conference of the UNESCO held at Delhi from 5 November 1956.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Republic of India, paid a visit to the Archives on 19 April 1956, and evinced great interest in the work of the Department.

The foundation stone of the building for the new Regional Office at Bhopal was laid by the Chief Commissioner of Bhopal on 2 March 1956. The ceremony was attended by many distinguished persons including Dr. S. D. Sharma, Chief Minister of Bhopal, and Her Highness the senior Begum of Bhopal. An exhibition of interesting collections of records, maps, plans and seals was held on the occasion.

Indian Historical Records Commission

The thirty-second annual session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at the Senate Hall of the Patna University, Patna, on 27-28 February 1956. Owing to the unavoidable absence of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *ex-officio* President of the Commission, the Public Meeting was presided over by Shri K. G. Saiyidain, Educational Adviser and Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Education. The session was inaugurated by His Excellency Shri R. R. Diwakar, Governor of Bihar.

In his presidential address, Shri Saiyidain, surveyed briefly the achievements of the National Archives of India in the various branches of its activities. While emphasizing the need for a fresh approach to Indian history he said: "The great heritage of ideas, values and institutions which is embedded in our historical records, should be studied with the care that befits a scholar, the objectivity which is characteristic of the scientist and the reverence which a humanist brings to the study of all that pertains to the study of man in his social setting. We have still to embark on the great adventure of writing a really balanced and interpretative history of our people which must eschew both the old sense of national inferiority, which dogged the mind of many of our historians during the last hundred years and the new and rather dangerous tendency to be either parochial or too complacently nationalist in our approach".

The Members Meeting presided over by Dr. B. S. Baliga began with a resolution of condolence on the death of Father H. Heras, one of the oldest members of the Commission, and Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Vice-Chancellor of the Visva-Bharati University, a member of the Commission since 1952.

The Secretary then gave the Commission an account of the work done by the National Archives of India during 1955. In view of the importance of regional history for the reconstruction of the history of the country as a

whole, the Commission passed a resolution recommending that "the States where Record Offices have not yet been set up so far be requested to establish Record Offices with facilities for research to *bona fide* research scholars so that the work on the regional history may be expedited". At the suggestion of Dr. S. N. Sen, it further resolved that all those States which found it difficult to establish Record Offices should be requested to transfer their record collections to the Government of India who would preserve them at their respective centres in the same way as was being done in the case of Bhopal records.

Research and Publication Committee

The twenty-fifth meeting of the Research and Publication Committee was held on 28 February 1956 at the Senate Hall, Patna University, Patna, with Dr. B. S. Baliga in the chair. With regard to the publication of records in Oriental Languages, under Scheme III (a) of the publication programme of the National Archives of India, the Secretary brought it to the notice of the Committee that the *Kannada Letters* contained no information of historical value. In view of this the Committee recommended that their publication should be dropped from the publication programme.

The Governments of Assam, Madhya Pradesh, and Jammu and Kashmir set up permanent Regional Records Survey Committees during the year. While considering the reports of these and other Regional Committees, the Research and Publication Committee recommended that the Regional Committees should consist of only such persons as were genuinely interested in historical research and could help in salvaging historical material from private custody. By another resolution the Committee recommended that a list of microfilm copies of records of Indian interest obtained by the National Archives of India from abroad may be supplied to the State Record Offices, Universities, and Research Institutions. In modification of resolution V passed at the 24th meeting of the Research and Publication Committee, it was also resolved that the State Governments be requested to arrange through their Universities and Research Institutions the compilation and publication of bibliographies of their respective regions for the use of students and scholars and that the copies be supplied to all organised State Record Offices, Universities and Research Institutions.

Andhra Pradesh

With the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh from 1 November the Central Record Office, Hyderabad passed over to the new state government.

The most outstanding acquisition of the Office during the year was "Salar Jang Papers", a miscellaneous collection got together by Nawab Salar Jang, Prime Minister of Hyderabad State, 1853-83. The collection includes some papers belonging to Asaf Jahi dynasty and letters written by State

personalities to the Governors General and British Residents and other high dignitaries belonging to both British India and Hyderabad. Most of the papers are in Persian, it being the official language of the State at the time but some are in Urdu and English. The papers are of great historical value as they deal with such subjects as: relations of the English with the French; Hyderabad's treaties with Mysore, Karnatak and the Marathas; relations with Tipu Sultan; appointment of Residents; Hyderabad Contingent Army etc.

Another valuable acquisition is the collection of the *farmans* of H.E.H. the Nizam for 1902-47. They throw a flood of light on the political and administrative history of the State during the period.

The office brought out two publications entitled *Poona Akhbars*, 1782-94, Vol. III and *News Letters from Seringapatam*, 1769-99.

The Regional Records Survey Committee which was functioning in the erstwhile Hyderabad State ceased to exist as a result of the reorganisation of states. It has been considered necessary to constitute one Central Committee for the reorganised State of Andhra Pradesh, with sub-committees for the survey of historical records in the various regions.

Ajmer

The State Government reconstituted the Regional Records Survey Committee with Shri U. C. Bhattacharya, Superintendent, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, as convener and Shri D. Vable, Principal, D. A. V. College, Shri S. S. Mathur, Advocate, and Shri P. L. Joshi as members. A meeting of the Committee was held in the Library of the Deputy Commissioner, Ajmer, on 4 March 1955, with Shri P. L. Joshi in the chair. It was recommended to the Government that a new building to house the pre-1900 records of the State of Ajmer should be constructed as the present accommodation was insufficient. The Committee inspected the old records from Neemuch and other papers stored in the Deputy Commissioner's Office and recommended that steps should be taken to ensure their better preservation. A pilot scheme for weeding useless papers from 1935 to the present day has been put forward by the Committee and is under consideration.

Assam

With a view to remove certain anomalies in the constitution of the Regional Records Survey Committee, the body was reconstituted with effect from 1 August 1955 with Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam, as Chairman, and Dr. P. C. Chaudhury, Deputy Director, as *ex-officio* Secretary, with the headquarters of the Committee at the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Gauhati. The Committee held its first meeting on 21 December 1956 and drew up a plan of work which has been submitted to the State Government for approval.

Bihar

The Bihar Regional Records Survey Committee has unearthed during the last two years many records of historical importance, including a number relating to the Revolt of 1857-58. Of the latter, mention may be made of the correspondence of the Commissioner of Patna Division, 1855-59; correspondence of Sir Edward Lugard, who was commissioned to fight against Kunwar Singh at Azamgarh; correspondence of Brigadier Douglas who fought against the Shahabad rebels; copies of narratives of some compatriots of Kunwar Singh; and diaries of certain officers in the service of the Company at the time. Also deserving of mention are some records throwing light on the state of education in Bihar in the nineteenth century. The valuable collection of Persian manuscripts belonging to Abu Muhammad Bilgrami and Syed Nabi of Koath (District Shahabad) were inspected.

Bombay

Microfilm copies of valuable material have been acquired by the Secretariat Record Office from the Commonwealth Relations Office Library, London; Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague; Bodleian Library, Oxford; Lambeth Palace Library, London; and the Guild Hall Library, London. Of these may be mentioned Letters from India to Batavia covering the period 1621-43 (in Dutch) and translations in two volumes of Biker's *Collecao de Tratados* both from the Commonwealth Relations Office Library, and the original copy of a representation from Dr. St. John to James II on the affairs of the East India Company and the war with the Mughal Emperor from the Bodleian Library.

Madhya Pradesh

The *Bulletin of the Permanent Regional Records Survey Committee for Madhya Pradesh*, 1955-56, gives a descriptive account of the records found in the State during the year. The records of the Hitkarini Sabha of Jabalpur beginning from 1890 noticed in the *Bulletin* are of particular interest. The Committee is engaged in tracing the whereabouts of the old papers of the Christian seminaries and of old noble families of the locality.

Madras

The Secretariat records for 1952, both confidential and non-confidential, were transferred to the Madras Record Office. Besides, certain records prior to 1857 of the former Pudukkottai State and records containing the reports of the Minimum Wages Committee for Employment in Building Operations, Road-making and Stone-breaking and Stone-crushing in Mines and Quarries were received for custody. The preparation of the following publications

is in progress: Handbooks of Madurai and South Arcot Districts, Calendar of Revenue Consultations, 1779; and Catalogue of Books received from the Registrar of Books between 1901-10. The Handbook of Tanjore District and a Supplementary Catalogue of the records of the office are in the press.

Shri S. B. P. Pattabhirama Rao ceased to be a member of the Regional Records Survey Committee, Madras, consequent upon his appointment as Minister for Education, Andhra Pradesh, in November 1956. The Committee held two meetings during the year, one on 17 March 1956 and the other on 1 September 1956 at Madras. A bundle of temple records—5 title deeds (1755-1839)—written on palmyras leaves were examined, and they were found to be of great linguistic, though not of historical value. Since very few new temple records are forthcoming, the special search instituted for them has been discontinued.

With a view to create greater interest among the public and to secure better cooperation, the Committee recommended to the Government that certificates of public service should be issued to those who donated manuscripts and other materials of historical importance to the State or rendered signal assistance in locating them.

Mysore

The term of the Mysore Regional Records Survey Committee was extended by a year from 18 January 1956. In response to the Committee's general appeal, the Agent of the Sravanabelagola Jain Mutt made the *Sanad* given to the Mutt available to the Committee. The *Sanad* was microfilmed and then returned.

Orissa

The District Committees appointed by the Orissa Regional Records Survey Committee held quarterly meetings in their respective areas for preparing quarterly programmes of survey. The acquisitions during 1956 include records relating to Jagannath temple at Puri and other religious institutions, papers of certain zamindar families of Cuttack and Midnapore districts, 8 palm-leaf manuscripts, and some 60 old coins.

Punjab

The Punjab Government Record Office, which is also entrusted with the work of regional survey, has acquired a valuable collection of family papers in the possession of Rai Inderjit Singh Bhandari, Municipal Commissioner, Batala. A note on this collection appears in this issue.

The Regional Records Survey Committee of the State of PEPSU was dissolved as a result of the integration of the State with the Punjab. The work of salvaging the historical materials is proposed to be carried on by the Punjab Government Record Office.

Rajasthan

5,000 files, 1,365 *bahis* of Dastri Records and 685 *bastas* of Accounts, Revenue, Customs and Police Departments were acquired by the Rajasthan Archives Department. Moreover, ten regional offices have been established in the former capitals of the States of Rajasthan and these in turn have taken over the pre-1900 records from the former repositories. The Department has commenced work upon an ambitious publication programme. It proposes to publish 40 *farmans* starting from the reign of Jahangir; the correspondence between Ram Singh I and Jaipur Durbar at the time of Shivaji's visit to Agra; miscellaneous Persian documents selected from the Amber records; and select documents in Rajasthani script.

A thymol fumigation chamber has been constructed to help in the better preservation of records.

Uttar Pradesh

The pre-Mutiny records of Jalaun, Almora, Banaras, Banda and Meerut Collectorates, the central and crown records of the Deputy Commissioner's Office, Lucknow, and the post-Mutiny records of the Commissioner's Office, Bareilly, were transferred to the Central Record Office at Allahabad. They were duly checked, arranged and listed.

Under the publication programme for 1956-57 of the Central Record Office the following books were published: *Historical Papers relating to Kumaun* (1811-59); *Calendar of Oriental Records*, Vol. II; *Press List of Pre-Mutiny Records*, Vol. II; and the *Catalogue of State Papers, 1795-1814*, N.W.P. Judicial Series, (Part I). Besides, the annual report of the Record Office for 1955 was issued. Materials for the following four publications were collected: *Banaras Affairs, 1811-59*; *Calendar of Oriental Records*, Vol. III; *Press List of the Pre-Mutiny Records*, Vol. III; and *Index to the Fort William Correspondence, 1803-07*. These are expected to be sent to the press shortly.

The ninth meeting of the U.P. Regional Records Survey Committee was held at Allahabad on 12 October 1955 with Dr. B. P. Saxena in the chair. The Committee appointed Dr. Saxena to edit *Kumaun Affairs* and Prof. S. A. Rashid to edit Volume II of the *Calendar of Oriental Records*. The tenth meeting of the Committee was held in March 1956. After carefully examining the documents offered for sale, the Committee purchased *Sneh Sagar*, Mahabharat in Persian, *Bhakt Jaimal*, 9 *farmans* and 164 *parwanas*.

West Bengal

The recent accessions of the West Bengal Record Office include 3,925 collections of A Proceedings and 15,407 collections of B Proceedings of the various departments of the State Secretariat for the years 1950-52. A consolidated index to the Proceedings of the Revenue (Misc.) Department covering the period 1917-28 was printed and an index to the proceedings of the Municipal Department 1917-28, was compiled for official use.

The purchase of a building in the vicinity of the Calcutta University for the proposed Central Record Office was approved by the State Government. A scheme for the reorganization of the State Archives has been drawn up and will be implemented as a part of the Second Five Year Plan.

Writings of Gandhiji

The Government of India has decided to publish a complete edition of Mahatma Gandhi's writings, speeches and letters, in three series. The first will be in the language in which the Mahatma originally wrote and spoke. The other two will be in English and Hindi.

INTERNATIONAL

Third International Congress on Archives

The third International Conference on Archives was held in Florence from 25 to 29 November 1956 under the chairmanship of Count Riccardo Filangieri, Inspector General of Italian State Archives. Over 600 delegates from about forty countries participated in the Conference. Three subjects of importance were discussed viz., "New Buildings for Archives" (Rapporteur: Mr. Ingvar Andersson, Director of the Royal Swedish Archives); "Selection of Archives for Preservation" (Rapporteur: Mr. J. H. Collingridge, Records Administration Officer, Public Record Office, London); and "Private Archives" (Rapporteur: Count Riccardo Filangieri). Arrangement was made for the first time for simultaneous translation of the addresses into English, French, Italian, Spanish, German and Russian.

In the discussion that followed, great interest was evinced in the subject of archival buildings, and it was proposed to devote Vol. VI (1956) of *Archivum* to its consideration.

Cultural Committee of the Council of Europe

The Cultural Committee of the Council of Europe has taken the initiative in organizing the microfilming of Library and Archives catalogues and inventories in its various European member-states. This action follows the recommendations of a meeting of specialists held in Dublin in September 1955.

UNESCO Regional Conference

The first regional conference of representatives of the National Commission for UNESCO in Asia was held at Tokyo, Japan, from 28 February to 3 March 1956, and one of its recommendations was that the UNESCO should compile catalogues or bibliographies of documents concerning the history of Asian countries now existing in European archives.

BELGIUM

Archives generales du Royaume

M. Etienne Sabbe, Keeper of Records of the State of Anvers, was appointed Archivist General on 22 November 1955 in succession to M. Camille Tihon.

CEYLON

Central Archives, Nuwara Eliya

Under the Colombo Plan, Mr. S. M. Cockerell of Britain visited the Central Archives and gave intensive training to the staff for three months in the latest methods of manuscript repair, archival hand-binding and related subjects.

Accessions during the year include non-current files from Batticaloa, Mannar and Kalutara Kachchris and Land Commissioner's Department.

A detailed index to the volumes of the three series of *Tombu Registrations* of the Western Sea-board areas of the Dutch period has been brought out recently.

It is proposed to build a new archival repository near the Cancer Hospital in Colombo District.

The work of compiling a descriptive catalogue of collections in private custody has been undertaken under the auspices of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of Ceylon. Many documents of historical value were unearthed in *viharas* and other institutions. They were duly recorded in the National Register of Archives with full descriptions. Documents in an advanced stage of decay were repaired and photo-copied before they were returned to their respective owners.

EGYPT

A Documentation and Study Centre for the History of the Art and Civilization of Ancient Egypt has been established at Cairo. The Centre's main object is to prepare a catalogue in a systematic way of every surviving vestige of Egyptian art. The catalogue, when prepared, will be made available to scholars and research workers all over the world.

MAURITIUS

Archives Department

The quarterly *Memoranda* of Mauritian imprints and the *Annual Report* for 1954 were issued by the Department during 1955. A number of photo-copies of old pictures of Mauritius were produced by the Mauritius Archives Publication Fund Committee. A bibliographical survey of materials relative to Mauritius was carried out and the results are to be published

in the forthcoming volume *Bibliography of Mauritius, 1502-1954*. In order to keep the *Bibliography* up-to-date, it is proposed to issue, as an appendix to the annual report of the Department, a bibliographical supplement incorporating additional materials which come to light from year to year.

UNITED KINGDOM

The Committee on Departmental Records

The recommendations of the Committee on Departmental Records were placed for the consideration of the Parliament early in 1955, and their implications are being examined by the Government. While the Government is disposed to accept the methods recommended for proper preservation of the records of the Government Departments in England and Wales, the proposal that the opening of records to the public after 50 years of their creation should be automatic unless a Department wished any class of its own records to be excluded from the operation of this rule is still under examination.

J. H. Collingridge was appointed to the new post of Records Administration Officer and is charged with the oversight of records before their transfer to the Public Record Office.

Public Record Office, London

The working of the scheme of intermediate repositories is showing good results. As a result of the policy of storing at Ashridge certain classes of records (irrespective of date), for which there is little demand by searchers, 3,678 foot-run of records were transferred there from the Chancery Lane. The total foot-space of records transferred from the Government Departments fell to 1,642 during 1955 from 7,840 feet in 1954. 32 Departments were storing records in the three intermediate Repositories at Hayes, Yeading and Leake Street. The Ministry of Supply and the Treasury Solicitor's Office made use of these repositories for the first time. The total foot-run of shelving filled with records in the three repositories rose from 4,69,000 to 5,72,000.

At the Chancery Lane a new storage room for maps and plans was brought into use; the lower floor is fitted with steel racking for the larger rolled maps; the upper floor with steel plan-presses and a large inspection table. The room is expected to hold 1,500 rolled maps and 6,000 maps stored flat in the presses.

Curia Regis Rolls, Vol. XI and Calendar of *Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Edward III, Vol. XIII, were published during 1955. Giuseppi's *Guide to the Public Records* is being revised, and the text of the new edition is expected to be ready by the end of 1956.

Historical Manuscripts Commission

The Commission's most active work continues to be done mainly through the National Register of Archives, in visits of inspection, in advice

to owners and in arrangements for the deposit of manuscripts in approved repositories. The periodical *Bulletins* of the Register include an annual list of the manuscripts received by national and local repositories. The work of the Register has lately been facilitated by the use of a dyeline photo-printing machine which enables it to reproduce and circulate existing lists or catalogues hitherto not normally available for study.

The sixth conference of the National Register of Archives was held at Vintner's Hall on 22 March 1956. An exhibition showing the progress of the Register's work was arranged for the occasion. At the formal meeting presided over by Sir Hilary Jenkinson, Mr. S. D. Freer, the Assistant Registrar, spoke of the Newcastle Papers, formerly at Clumber and now deposited in Nottingham University Library through the agency of the Register. Other important speeches included one made by Miss Alison Reeve on the records of the Foundling Hospital and another by H. M. Colvin on the National Register as seen by a historian and user of documents. The conference concluded with a speech from the Master of the Rolls.

Society of Archivists

The first conference of the newly reconstituted Society of Archivists was held at York on 13-14 May 1955. An excellent exhibition of documents from the York Diocesan Record Office was arranged on the occasion.

The Society of Archivists has appointed a Committee to deal with the technical aspects of archives administration. The Committee is composed of Roger Ellis, Chairman, Miss E. D. Mercer, Secretary, and three other members. It has on its panel several specialist advisers. The Committee's services would be available to the members of the British Records Association.

British Records Association

The Annual General Meeting of the British Records Association was held on 12 December 1955 with Mr. Evershed, the Master of the Rolls, in the chair. At the annual general meeting of the Records Preservation Section Mr. John Shearman spoke on a new subject of great interest for Archivists—the Archives of Motoring. Several speakers emphasised the importance of such records because of the revolution which had come about in the way of life as a result of the invention of the internal combustion engine. Mr. Shearman expressed a hope that the British Records Association would set up a joint committee with other organizations concerned to encourage the preservation of motoring records. Sir Hilary Jenkinson, thinking the speaker, remarked that the Association could help to find out what the historian wanted to have preserved and where the archivist should look for motoring archives.

At the Technical Discussion Meeting on 13 December 1955 Mr. Tottle brought specimens of apparatus which might be used to test and control the

"climate"—temperature and humidity of a strong room. The instruments included a dehumidifier, a sling hygrometer, wet and dry bulb thermometer, a silica-gel "breather" and an electric convector heater. A brisk discussion ensued regarding relative humidity, mould growth, and air-conditioning in strong rooms.

"The Historian and the Local Record Office" was the subject chosen for the Discussion Meeting of the Association. Sir Frank Stenton who opened the discussion pointed out that, although national and local records were quite distinct, the distinction was one of origin and not of any basic importance. Local record offices had much to offer to the historian, particularly in the field of social history. Mr. Rathbone suggested that local record offices should function as part of a national net-work and avoid division of a record group among themselves. Mr. Reddaway said that the historian could help the archivist by supplying to the record office a copy of his thesis and giving information of important documents in private hands. Miss Sinar added that the historian could help the archivist greatly by telling him what he was working on.

Anglo-American Conference of Historians

The annual Anglo-American Conference of Historians attended by nearly 400 persons was held from 12 to 14 July 1956. The general session was addressed by Professor Herbert Butterfield, the main theme of his address being "George III and the 19th century historians". Twelve papers were read at the different sections of the Conference which were devoted to medieval English, modern British, medieval European, modern European, Colonial, and American history. At the final General meeting Mr. M. F. Bond, Clerk of the Records, House of Lords, read a paper on "Record Offices to-day: facts for historians". As at previous conferences an exhibition of historical works published in Great Britain during the preceding twelve months was held.

Demonstration Bindery

The School of Librarianship and Archives, University College, London, has opened a Demonstration Bindery at the College under the supervision and direction of Mr. Sydney M. Cockerell. The main purpose is to demonstrate to students and librarians the principles of book construction, the strength of materials and the repair of valuable books and manuscripts and to give general assistance in repair and binding problems.

AUSTRALIA

Commonwealth Archives Committee

The work of the Commonwealth Archives Committee is proceeding, and its report on the permanent archives system in Australia is expected early.

The over-all rate of accessioning rose very considerably during 1955-56 in the various repositories. If the present progress is maintained it is expected that within the next two years the main objective—to have in custody all records of the Commonwealth departments up to 1929—will be attained.

A new repository at Karakatta, Perth, has been completed. It will start functioning early in 1957. A survey is being conducted to ascertain whether a repository is required at Hobart.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

National Archives and Records Service

The Supreme Court of the United States has decided to deposit its records in the National Archives, and the transfer of its old records has commenced.

Two pamphlets—*The Archivists' Code* and *Applying Records Schedules*—have been issued. National Archives *Accessions* No. 52, listing records accessioned between 1 July 1953 and 30 June 1955 has been published. With a view to standardize Professional terminology, the National Archives has issued a preliminary draft of the *Glossary of Records Terminology*. It will be finalized after the comments and suggestions of the archivists and records officers have been obtained.

The National Archives and Records Service in cooperation with the Federal Supply Service is developing improved office equipment and supplies needed by the Federal Government. *Federal Standard* No. 95 published during the year established 5-drawer filing cabinets as standard for Government use.

Theodore R. Schellenberg, Director of Archival Management, was awarded a 1955 merit citation by the National Civil Service League.

Library of Congress

The Library was the recipient of several collections of personal papers. Of them, mention may be made of the papers of Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg, late Air Force Chief of Staff; Gen. George Van Horn Moseley of World War I fame; Gen. Charles P. Summerall also of World War I, and James J. Davies, Secretary of Labour, 1921-30. Naval Historical Foundation papers, placed in the Library on long-term deposit, were augmented by further important additions, viz., 20 papers of Josiah Fox, naval architect who helped in designing the frigates authorized by the Congress in 1794; 41 letters of Capt. Horace Bucklin Sawyer, 1813-38; 45 papers of Commodore James Barron, 1831-49; and about 650 papers of Commander Arthur Stanley Riggs. The Library has also received the papers of late Samuel Whittemore Boggs, Geographer of the Department of State, 1924-54 and an authority on the cataloguing of maps and on international boundaries. Other accessions included the papers of Oscar Terry Crosby, Asstt. Secretary of the Treasury under President Wilson, and the papers of Julius A. Krug when he was

with the Federal Communications Commission, the Tennessee Valley Authority and the War Production Board, 1942-45. Transcripts of documents in the Archives at Simancas and other Spanish repositories are among the 4,500 manuscripts of the late Hispanic American scholar, William R. Shepherd, presented to the Library.

Lester K. Born, Co-ordinator in the Library's micro-reproduction project, has resigned from the Library to serve as Cultural Affairs Officer, United States Embassy, Manila, P. I.

German Foreign Ministry Documents

German Foreign Ministry Archives lodged in England during World War II will be shortly repatriated to Germany. Parts of these archives which cover the period 1867-1920 are now available in the form of microfilms from the University of California Library, Berkeley. The selections which have been microfilmed centre round Anglo-German and German-American relations in the Bismarck period.

PRESERVATION AND PHOTODUPLICATION

Listomatic Camera

The Kodak Listomatic Camera facilitates the publication of repetitive lists such as catalogues, bibliographies, lists etc. This camera enables the user to maintain the entries on individual tabulating cards in a standard card file, where revisions, additions, and deletions are done in the usual manner. To publish the list the prepared cards are run through the machine. The camera automatically photographs the listing in columns of pre-determined length, at approximately 230 cards per minute on a continuous 400-foot roll of film. This film, after normal photographic processing, is cut into columns, made up into page formats and used as the negative from which to make standard offset printing plates.

New Microcard Reader

The Microtext Publishing Corporation, New York, has manufactured a new, inexpensive, pocket-size, compact microcard reader, with which the user can read microcards whenever he desires. The reader has a wide field 12 × lens, and weighs 7 oz. with batteries.

Collating Machine

The British Museum has installed in the Department of Printed Books an electrically operated collating machine. Two theoretically identical copies of a book are opened at the same page, placed on baize-covered platforms under a powerful lamp. The platforms are adjusted by hand-operated gadgets and are moved in such a fashion as to produce coincided image on a central screen. When the images are alternated rapidly, so that they appear to the eye to be superimposed, any difference in setting between the two copies leaps to the eye.

BOOK REVIEWS

Trade and Finance in the Bengal Presidency, 1793-1833, by Amales Tripathi (Orient Longmans, Calcutta, 1956; pp. 289; price Rs. 20).

One of the most disheartening gaps in Indian historical and economic scholarship is in the field of economic history. Our historical scholars have done valuable work in reconstructing the story of our political and social development, and our economists have often engaged themselves in the study of the history of particular segments of modern economic life. But we do not yet have a comprehensive and integrated economic history of the country. In regard to the ancient and medieval periods, this gap has mainly been due to the lack of source material which would be adequate for the building up of a comprehensive and chronologically flowing story. All that is possible perhaps is the reconstruction of the picture of the economic life of the people at particular stages, as in case of Moreland's works or of some recent research publications dealing with ancient India. It is a continuous or near-continuous series of such pictures that create economic history and it is doubtful if it will ever be possible to write a real economic history of India in the pre-British days.

This, however, does not apply to the British period, and if Dr. Tripathi's work is a guide, it appears that extremely valuable investigations can be undertaken on the basis of published reports and unpublished documents relating to the working of the East India Company in India and of the other related or interested organisations. The only noteworthy attempt that was made in the past to utilise this material, particularly the parliamentary papers, for writing a systematic economic history of India was that of R. C. Dutt, while all others who used this material wrote on selectional problems, like those of land revenue settlement. A few of our younger scholars had tried to widen the coverage, but they were handicapped by the fact that most of the source material was not available in India.

Dr. Tripathi's attempt is notable because of the thoroughness with which he has examined the source material, including the documents relating to the Agency Houses, and the open academic approach with which he has tried to analyse the data. R. C. Dutt did an outstanding piece of work, but his two books did not really become economic history, first because they did not have the comprehensive coverage without which history is never meaningful and secondly because he was seeking throughout to prove a particular thesis. Dr. Tripathi has, on the other hand, tried to cover his subject very fully, and he has allowed the facts he has marshalled to speak for themselves and to present their own picture.

The picture that has emerged is exceedingly complex, and is intriguingly interesting because of its complexities. Instead of a simple bold-line picture of a cool, calculating foreign power seeking to establish political and economic domination over a poor, incompetent and divided people, we get the picture

of the interaction of numerous conflicting interests, a complex polygon of forces bringing about a result which is far removed from what it would have been if any one of these forces had been absolutely dominant. There were the broad general conflicts between Parliament and the East India Company, and between private trade and Company trade. There were superimposed on all this the clashes of interest between the Agency Houses and other British interests, between the owners of India-built ships and those of British ships and between British and non-British trade. There were intertwined with this complex network the opposing interests of many different private groups in India and in England and the personal rivalries among the policymakers both in Calcutta and in London.

It was within the unstable and uncertain structure resulting from the operation of all these forces that trade took place, capital came in for local investment, profit remittances were made, expenditures were undertaken and money borrowed and lent. Dr. Tripathi has taken great pains to emphasize the important role of profit-remittances in trading and other policies. An economist who tries to apply his present-day technique of balance-of-payments analysis to the situation described by the author will of course be baffled. He will note the difficulties of the 'transfer problem' for a country which was a net importer of gold, but it will not be clear to him why the problem of profit-remittance was difficult, if profits arose from the export trade itself and were earned in foreign currency. It would seem that there would be a 'transfer problem' to the extent that profits arose in India, or in the rupee-account trade; it is possible that these profits were substantial, and if some future research scholar would isolate the net foreign currency earnings from East India trade (Company and private) from the rupee earnings, it may become possible to undertake an interesting study of India's balance of payments problems in the early 19th century.

It is here that the reader—or at least the reader who is primarily an economist—has his greatest difficulty, and it is probable that Dr. Tripathi also faced his most important obstacle in isolating meaningful categories from the accounts kept by the East India Company. It is extremely difficult to get a coherent meaning out of the Company's accounts as presented in the book. There is first of all the problem of currency conversion, of comparison, for different places and times of the value-categories stated in the local and current rupee, the *sicca* rupee and the pound sterling. The solution of this difficulty will be laborious, but not absolutely unmanageable; it is the other difficulties which create greater problems. One of the most important of these is terminological. Terms like 'investment' were used in the Company's accounts and reports in senses which are narrower or wider than, and sometimes absolutely different from, their accepted meanings. The very important category 'profit' has nowhere been defined and one gets little indication of the way in which profits were computed. Besides, one does not get any idea about profits as a percentage of the capital invested, or even as a percentage of 'investment' in the Company-account sense. The budgetary accounts also leave the economist unsatisfied, because

he is not quite clear about the exact residue which is described sometimes as a 'territorial surplus', or about the major components of the so-called 'extraordinary receipts'.

What has been said above is not intended to include the deficiencies in Dr. Tripathi's work, but rather to emphasize the difficulties he must have faced and submitted to. The difficulties of definition have naturally created difficulties of comparison. One of the most conspicuous gaps in the picture presented by Dr. Tripathi is that while there is a profusion of detailed trade statistics for particular time-segments, for particular ports and sometimes for separate destinations and origins, one looks in vain for a simple continuous time-series which seeks to relate significant aggregates for all the years and for the entire period. It is not possible for the reviewer to judge how difficult the task of deriving such a time-series would have been, and it is easily possible that the presently available data can provide nothing more than what the reader gets in Dr. Tripathi's book. There is, however, a very good case for a thorough examination of the available raw data by trained statisticians, and it is not unlikely that both historians and economists will benefit from such basic work.

The economist gets in Dr. Tripathi's book, much that is highly interesting to him and notes that many of the problems of the present-day world were troubling people in the early 19th century. Alternatively, it is possible that inconvertible currencies, trade and payment restrictions and the new monopoly elements have combined to transplant the mid-twentieth century to the early nineteenth. One notes the extent to which what is known now as 'switch trade' was carried on a century and a half ago. One notes how the grant of favourable rates of exchange to the lenders to the government created in effect what would now be described as a multiple currency practice. And one also gets interested in the sensitivity of the bond market to the accumulation of short loan funds in the hands of private traders in India. In these many small details of information, the economist gets an appetising foretaste of a variety of fare which he hopes will be available some day in its rich plenty.

Dr. Tripathi's contribution towards the building up of a full economic history of India is undoubtedly great. If the book appears at times to be too full of facts, it has to be remembered that some one has to take the first and essential step of collecting the facts and putting them together. One can legitimately expect that the present book will not be the last work of Dr. Tripathi on this subject. As it stands, the book provides history as history always is, a story of many strands, some harmonising and some at cross purposes with others, appearing to baffle all attempts to discover a unitary or general theme. It is, however, possible to hold that the historian's task does not end with the detailed narration of a complex story. It is worthwhile in almost all cases to seek to find out what may be called the trend-elements—the course of the curve that is compounded of the innumerable component curves which fluctuate or move, explicable

at times and with inexplicable erraticness at others. Once the details have been collected, the very important task of inference and interpretation remains to be undertaken. The high order of ability shown by Dr. Tripathi in collecting and presenting his data makes one confident that he is pre-eminently qualified to satisfy his readers' further expectations by his future work.

BHABATOSH DATTA

Imago Mundi, A Review of Early Cartography, Vol. XII, Edited by Leo Bagrow (Holland, 1956; pp. 192, plates 32; price 62 guilders).

Volume XII of *Imago Mundi* provides a rich feast for all who are interested in the science of cartography, or the art of map-making, or the adventures of travellers and navigators who had the privilege of contributing to man's knowledge of the world we live in. The maps described and reproduced come from all parts of the world, and date from the 14th to the 18th centuries. In spite of the age of the original maps, the legibility of the reproductions is remarkable, and the coloured map of the world by Cornelis Danckerts makes a beautiful picture.

The volume opens with an important professional review of the various forms of projection used in early maps, a subject that is generally most alarming to the unprofessional map-reader. Herr Keuning starts with a list of treatises on map projections that have been published in Europe and America between 1815 and 1938, but points out that these give but little attention to maps of the 15th and 16th centuries.

The 16th century saw the birth of many new maps, stimulated by the recent discovery of printing and, in 1511, by the first publication of Ptolemy's maps, whose various projections of his own design are here described. It was in this century that the famous Dutchman, Gerard Mercator (1512-94), devised his unusual projection for the special needs of ocean navigation, disregarding the distortion of shapes and areas. By adjustment of the ratio between scales of latitude and longitude he was able to show the position of all points, not only according to their correct geographical coordinates, but also with their correct mutual directions and distances apart. A reduction of one of his maps of the world faces page 104.

M. Marcel Destombes gives a most interesting account of a Portuguese chart of the southern hemisphere, found in the Topkapu Saray Library at Istanbul amongst ancient documents collected by the 'Turkish Sultans'. This is described as "The Chart of Magellan" and is proved from internal evidence to have been made for Magellan's historic voyage from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean cutting off the hazards of rounding Cape Horn by the safer passage through the strait that now bears his name.

A reduction of this circular chart faces page 65. It extends to the equator, but shows nothing of Australasia. It shows with a wealth of names the coasts of southern Africa that had been discovered between 1484 and 1500 by Diogo Cao, Bartholomeo Diaz, and Vasco da Gama. It shows

Madagascar which had been discovered by Alvarez Cabral in 1500. The Indian Ocean is named Mare Indicum. It shows the Atlantic coast of South America, first discovered by Cabral about 1500, with an abundance of names northward from Cape Santa Maria in latitude 23°S. It continues south without names, but bearing a legend attributing its discovery to Magellan. Nothing whatever is shown of the Pacific coast or of Magellan's later discoveries.

The only other geographical information on the chart is a part of the Malay Archipelago that is reproduced on a larger scale facing page 87. This shows considerable detail and many names, including the eastern end of Sumatra, here named Camatora, the Sunda Strait, the north coast of Java, and the string of islands eastward to the Celebes and the Spice Islands, or Moluccas, showing Amboina and Banda amongst others. A unique feature of this map is the location of the zero meridian of longitude to pass through the Moluccas, about 127½ degrees east of Greenwich, and this was done with a purpose.

In 1514 the Treaty of Torsedilas of 1494 was confirmed by the Pope, and "the Pole's line", 370 leagues west of Cape Verde Islands, or about 47½ degrees west of Greenwich, was declared to be the line of demarcation between Spanish and Portuguese possessions, Portugal to the east, Spain to the west. This line passed through the heart of Brazil, and if the Moluccas fell 175 degrees further west they would lie just five degrees inside the Portuguese hemisphere. Possession of the Moluccas, or Spice Islands was the main subject of controversy between Spain and Portugal from 1515 to 1530.

When in 1511 the Portuguese admiral Alphonso d'Albuquerque conquered Malacca in the Malay peninsula, he sent an expedition to explore the islands further east, and a second expedition reached the Moluccas in 1515 by way of the north coast of Java. Portugal claimed possession of all land discovered and occupied by her nationals in the East Indies, whatever the longitude.

Ferdinand Magellan had accompanied one of these expeditions to the Moluccas as a Portuguese officer, but after his return to Europe he had renounced his Portuguese service for that of Spain, offered his services to King Charles V of Spain to lead a Spanish expedition from the west with the view to proving the Spanish claim to those islands. He was assisted in his preparations by the Portuguese astronomer Ruy Faleiro.

Leaving Spain in August 1519 Magellan led his small squadron down the east coast of South America, and after trouble with mutinous officers made a memorable passage of the Magellan's Strait, of six weeks duration, to reach the Pacific Ocean. In March 1521 he brought his two remaining ships to the Philippines where he was killed in a scuffle with the islanders. His ships continued the voyage westward to complete their circumnavigation round the Cape of Good Hope, but as they passed the Moluccas, Magellan's papers were seized and sent home to King John at Lisbon.

A conference was held at Badajoz in Spain in 1524, attended by the most renowned astronomers and cartographers of the two countries, commissioned to trace a second demarcation line and to establish the true longitude of the Moluccas. This failed to come to agreement, and the dispute was settled in 1829 by the capitulation of Saragossa, under which Spain surrendered her claim to the Spice Islands in return for the payment of 350,000 golden ducats. A new demarcation line was provisionally traced to fall 17 degrees east of the Moluccas.

After discussing the known details of this story and making a detailed comparison with the maps of this period, M. Destombes comes to the conclusion that the Topkapu Saray chart was drawn by Pedro Reinell, a Portuguese cartographer, between 1522 and 1524, being copied from one drawn by himself in 1519 and that the set-up and projection had been laid out by Ruy Faleiro. Both of them are known to have taken part in the conferences before and after Magellan's expedition. M. Destombes finds this the first map to give so good a view of the southern hemisphere, and the only known Portuguese chart of the period between 1520 and 1530. It contains the original record of the discovery of the Cape Horn extremity of South America, and "is a capital document for the history of geographical discoveries and projections". The article concludes with a comparative table of all the place names with those of other maps.

On pages 139 to 149 is an account of the celebrations in Venice during 1954 of the 700th anniversary of the birth of Marco Polo, with an account of his several journeys to China between 1271 and 1292. Marco Polo drew no maps himself. His manuscript narratives were written during ten months imprisonment at Genoa, and were not incorporated into any maps until 1375, when the Spanish cartographer, Jaffuda Cresques made use of them in his Catalan Atlas of Charles V. Between 1450 and 1459 a map of the world embodying all the geographical information and all the place names contained in Marco Polo's narratives was prepared by Fra Mauro of the Monastery of Murano, an island near Venice.

On pages 157 to 159 Nicholas Poppe gives the history of two maps of Central Asia that are here reproduced. Early in the 18th century, when Charles XII of Sweden was defeated by Peter the Great at Poltava in the Ukraine, 1709, two Swedish officers, Philip Johan von Strahlenberg and Johan Gustav Renat, were taken prisoner and exiled to eastern Russia. Strahlenberg later returned to become an authority on the peoples and languages of eastern Russia. Renat, an artillery sergeant, was captured by the Kalmucks and held prisoner in their country west of the Caspian sea for seventeen years before returning to Sweden in 1734. He brought back with him two maps of Central Asia which then remained unknown to science for more than a century till 1878, when they were found in the library of Linköping by the Swedish novelist Strindberg. Both maps were of Chinese origin; the first, R-1, had been copied by a Kalmuck from a Chinese original, and was presented to Renat by the Kalmuck ruler. The second, R-2, had been obtained from Chinese troops who had attacked the Kalmucks.

These two maps are the oldest known maps of Central Asia of Mongol origin. R-1 extends from the city of Samarkand on the west to Khami on the east; from the southern borders of Khotan northwards to the river Irtysh. In other words, from longitude 70° to 91° East, and latitude 39° to 50° North.

R-2 stretches from Turfan on the west to the river Tula in the east; from lake Koko Nor on the south to the river Kemchik in the north; longitude 79° to 107° East, and latitude 37° to 51° North. R-2 is particularly interesting because it shows a considerably greater amount of geographical knowledge than possessed by contemporary European authors.

This volume contains altogether 28 articles describing early maps of North America, Europe, North Asia, and in one case North Africa, which is of interest in view of the Portuguese decree of 1504 "forbidding any private person to produce or own any maps or globes representing the lands situated beyond the Congo" (page 67). There is an interesting note on early watermarks and another on the length of the league, or Portolan mile, of Mediterranean charts. The twelve books reviewed were published in America, Italy, Israel, Holland, and Japan. The chronicle of map sales and exhibitions covers Austria, England, Germany, Italy, Sweden, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and Venezuela. The bibliography notices 150 books or articles published during 1954, amongst which we notice an article by V. S. Agarwala on Ancient Indian Geography, appearing in the *Bulletin of the National Geographical Society of India*, published at Banaras.

Imago Mundi is of so very great interest that it would be of great help if the Editor could provide a subject index to every five or ten volumes. The Editor would, I am sure, rejoice to receive descriptions and photographs of any map or portion of map of India or South Asia earlier than the 18th century.

A few hours spent browsing through this magnificent volume will prove richly rewarding to any student of either geography or history, and show how immensely these two branches of science can be illuminated by a study of Maps.

R. H. PHILLIMORE

The Bombay Dockyard and the Wadia Master Builders by Ruttonjee Ardeshir Wadia (Bombay, 1955; pp. 401+xx; Price Rs. 22.50 in India and Rs. 25 abroad).

It is a fascinating but authoritative study of the growth and development of the Bombay Dockyard written round the activities of the Wadia family who under the leadership and inspiration of the first "Black" Master Builder, Lowjee Nusserwanjee Wadia, played a notable part in the construction of ships for the English East India Company as also for the British Royal Navy at Bombay. What might have been a chronicle of dry details, collected from various sources, including the published and unpublished records in the Bombay Secretariat, the National Archives of India, and

the Commonwealth Relations Office in London, has really been transformed into a romance by reference to the role of the founder and other members of the family in the changing fortunes of the Bombay Dockyard and, for the matter of that, in the history of ship-building in modern India.

The book is divided into two parts. The seven chapters of Part I deal with the history and the acquisition of Bombay by Britain, Indian shipping and ship-building, the Indian Navy, the docks and ship-building in Surat, and the development and administration of the dockyard at Bombay. The author has quoted the prophecy attributed to the Portuguese Viceroy Antonio de Mello de Castro, "I foresee that India will be lost the same day on which the English nation is settled in Bombay", and has shown how the possession of Bombay enabled the British to develop their naval strength and spread their empire in South Eastern Asia.

The main interest of the book, however, centres round the contributions of Lowjee Nusserwanjee Wadia, and of his descendants, to the building up of the British shipping in Bombay which are dealt with in Part II. Of particular importance to the East India Company were the services of Jamsetji Bomanjee Wadia. Death only separated him from the Bombay Dockyard which he helped to develop with great zeal and devotion during his connection with it extending over a period of 50 years. He raised the reputation of the family to its zenith during the 29 years he served as the Master Builder.

From 1736 right up to 1857 the post of the Master Builder in Bombay Dockyard had been held by the members of the Lowjee family. The son succeeded the father not so much by hereditary right as by virtue of merit and approved ability which enabled them to maintain the progressive trend throughout these long years. With the disappearance of the East India Company, the activities of the Bombay Dockyard were much reduced and ultimately, on 30 April 1863, the Indian Navy ceased to exist. The post of the Master Builder of Bombay Dockyard was abolished.

Let it not be supposed that the family of Lowjee has been always in affluent circumstances. Like the "Black Zamindar" of the East India Company in Calcutta, the "Black Master Carpenter" of the Company in Bombay received a very poor salary in relation to the responsibility of his position. In view of the meritorious services Lowjee and his two sons had rendered not only to the Government of the Company and to the British Navy but also to all private shipping, their salaries were increased in 1764. Lowjee was henceforth to get Rs. 50 and his two sons Maneckjee and Bomanjee, who also later rose to be Joint Master Builders, were to get Rs. 30 and Rs. 25 per month respectively. The Company of course rewarded them for specially meritorious works by the presentation of *shawls*, silver rules and medals on which the names of the recipients were inscribed.

The introduction of steam for propelling vessels through water and the use of iron for building ships changed the whole character of the art of

ship-building, and the old practices of the Bombay Dockyard had naturally to be modified. But the Lowjee family may well be proud of their achievements in ship-building.

Like the famous muslin cloth of Bengal, whose superiority led the English manufacturers of cloth to carry on an agitation to shut out the Bengal cloth from the English market, the ships made in Bombay had to face a tumultuous agitation from the ship-builders of London. Books on the impolicy of employing India-built ships in the trade of the East India Company were presented to Members of Parliament. But the vessels built at Bombay by the Parsi Master Builders, whether for the Navy or for private owners, could hold their own by the superior quality of their construction and by their durability and fitness for service under all conditions.

Among the many interesting episodes narrated in the book is the competition between the mighty oak of Britain and the fine teak-wood of the Malabar forests of India as to which was the more suitable material for the building of ships. The story of the "Trincomalee", renamed the "Foudroyant", the oldest ship in the world, "still afloat and still in active use", made in Bombay and launched in October 1817 has been a challenge of the enduring Indian teak to the glories of the British oak.

The book is profusely illustrated. There are 58 photographs, besides a useful map. One would very much wish that such a book would be free from printing mistakes. Unfortunately some have crept in. But Mr. R. A. Wadia has rendered a distinct service by bringing out a book which bears ample evidence of his painstaking research and is a valuable contribution to the history of ship-building in Bombay and in India.

SUKUMAR BHATTACHARYA

Maharaja Ranjit Singh by Sita Ram Kohli (Allahabad, 1956, pp. 210; price Rs. 6.50).

In this nicely balanced and well-documented study of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (in Hindi) the learned author—Principal Sita Ram Kohli—tells us almost everything worth telling—the evolution of Sikh fraternity under the hegemony of the first five Gurus known as "Deg ke dhane" (the heroes of spirituality); the first great Sikh transformation from a religious fraternity into a militant sect—first defensive and later aggressive—under the hegemony of the last five Gurus known as "Deg aur Teg ke dhane" (the heroes of spirituality and sword); the political condition of the Punjab before the debut of Ranjit Singh; his accession to the *Gaddi* of the Sukherchakian Misl; his early life; his marriage and its political significance; his rise to power, conquests and domination in the Punjab; the second great Sikh transformation into a well-knit political entity under the Maharaja's leadership; his foreign relations and policy towards the neighbouring independent states, notably towards the East India Company; his system of administration with reference to his fiscal policy, treasury and military machine; and also his religion and his

attitude to religions other than his own. The book has 19 chapters and in addition there are six Appendices throwing light upon his *Durbar* and *Durbaris*, his European officers—their names and salaries; his family and the like. It is gratifying to learn that the author has thrown in his critical observations here and there, and in doing so he has taken into consideration the views of the other authors on the subject, directly or indirectly. He has also thrown welcome light on some most striking features of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's life and administration.

This does not, however, mean that everything is perfect. One criticism that can be directed against the author is his silence on some important aspects of the Maharaja's governance and policy, notably his North-West Frontier Policy and administration; the evolutionary career of the Sikh military system and machine since the days of Guru Har Gobind Singh; a general survey of his civil administration including judicial system. The legacy of the Sikhs has not received at the hands of the author the attention it really deserves.

Another criticism against the author is that the arrangement of the subject-matter of the book leaves much to be desired. A good deal of the subject-matter of Chapters XVII and XVIII could have been more suitably embodied in earlier chapters. It would be, in my view, much better to divide the account of the Maharaja's government into two parts *viz.*, "Efficient Parts" and "Dignified Parts" and to describe these separately and a little more comprehensively and critically.

The language of the book is simple, the flow is spontaneous and the subject has been presented in an interesting manner. Mistakes of language are conspicuous by their absence but the general get-up of the book leaves much to be desired and mis-prints are many.

From this brief and general survey of the various aspects of the Maharaja's career, private and public, and of some of his institutions covered by this study, it is obvious that the author has the gift of going straight to the core of the subject and presenting essentials as a welcome and interesting whole, leaving out the non-essentials. The book has supplied the much-felt need of the Hindi-reading public and is easily one of the best books on the subject. I am, however, not quite sure if it could be very suitable as a text-book but it would undoubtedly be a desirable addition to every library.

GANPAT RAI

The Public Records of Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1923 (Cape Town, 1956, pp. xxxviii + 282).

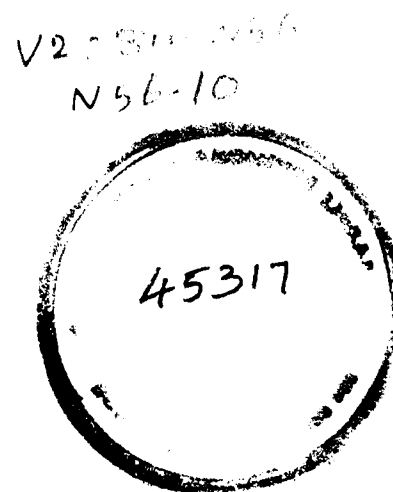
The Central African Archives has brought out a useful guide to the Public Records of Southern Rhodesia which makes known for the first time the records pertaining to the years 1890-1923—the period of Southern Rhodesian history when the country was administered by the British South African Company.

The constitutional history of Southern Rhodesia may be said to commence with the signing of the Moffat Treaty in February 1888 by the British Government on the one hand and Lobengula, the permanent Chief of the Matabele nation, on the other. Rhodes' dream of bringing these parts of South Africa under the hegemony of the British became a reality when the British South Africa Company was incorporated on 29 October 1889 with the sole purpose of establishing European rule and economic enterprise in these backward regions. The political history of Southern Rhodesia follows the usual well-defined pattern under the aegis of the Company, culminating in the grant of responsible government to Southern Rhodesia. The colony was formally annexed to the British Crown under the new constitution of 1 October 1923.

It is the voluminous collections of records of this period, namely the administration of the British South Africa Company, that form the subject-matter of this guide. After a brief but adequate introduction describing the skeleton structure of the Company's administrative machinery, the author V. W. Hiller, who is also the Chief Archivist of the Federation of Rhodesia, surveys the records, giving the necessary details, and adds historical notes on the various departments and offices which came into being from time to time. An outstanding feature of this guide is its carefully chosen illustrations which bring to life the significant land-marks in Rhodesian history.

This idea of bringing out a records guide referring to a particular period of history is worthy of note. It serves to focus attention on the wealth of material available on a certain topic in an archival repository.

A
DHAN KESWANI





38,400 letters filed in a shoe box!

Microfilm your documents and save 98% space

SOUNDS FANTASTIC — but it's true when you microfilm your documents! Ordinarily, 38,400 letters would fill a standard-size filing cabinet. Microfilmed, the same number of letters can fit into a drawer no bigger than a shoe box!

And look at the advantages... you save 98% of filing space... your files are readily available for quick, easy reference... you protect your valuable documents from tampering or careless handling.

Throughout the world, government and business organisations use 'Kodak' Document Copying Equipment for recording their documents and filing them the modern way. Write to us for advice and complete information.

Kodak Limited (Incorporated in England with Limited Liability)
Bombay - Calcutta - Delhi - Madras

K. 4489

Indian Records Series

INDIAN TRAVELS OF THEVENOT AND CARERI

(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

DR. SURENDRANATH SEN, M.A., Ph.D., B. Litt (Oxon.)

Pages LXIV + 432 20 Illustrations and 3 Maps Price Rs. 20.

The works of Thevenot and Careri were translated into English in 1687 and 1704 but a careful comparison with the original French and Italian texts revealed several omissions and inaccuracies. Every effort has been made in the present publication to make the necessary textual improvements.

The accounts of these two travellers are of undoubted value as raw materials of social and economic history of seventeenth century India. Having nothing to fear or to expect from the powers that were, they could fearlessly tell the unvarnished truth regardless of official frowns and favours. But they had their limitations as well. Their knowledge of the country and its people was in most cases superficial. They suffered from the common credulity of their age and were not always in a position to verify or test the accuracy of what they were told. This is, however, not to minimise the value of their accounts of India. As a contemporary source of Indian history, they will always remain indispensable.

The twenty illustrations in the volume have been reproduced from the early editions of these books in the original, as well as their English editions.

Copies available from :

THE DIRECTOR OF ARCHIVES
National Archives of India,
New Delhi (2).

CALENDAR OF PERSIAN CORRESPONDENCE

Vols. VIII & IX

Volume VIII, 1788-89

EDITED BY

DR. B. A. SALETOR, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), D.Phil. (Giessen)

Size: Super Royal Octavo

Pp. XI + 648 + IXIII

Price Rs. 20/- or 31 sh.

Volume IX, 1790-91

EDITED BY

DR. S. N. SEN, M.A., Ph.D. B.Litt. (Oxon.)

Size: Super Royal Octavo

Pp. XX + 344 + XXXI

Price Rs. 15/- or 23 sh. 6d.

The series "Calendar of Persian Correspondence" gives a summary in English of Correspondence in Persian between the Governor General and other agents of the English E. I. Company on the one hand and the Indian and other Oriental rulers and dignitaries on the other. It starts with the year 1759 and the seven volumes published earlier, with the two now issued, bring the letters up to 1791. They give a panoramic view of the political situation in India, besides throwing important sidelights on the social and economic condition during the years they respectively deal with. In the letters appearing in the two volumes under consideration the utter impotence of the titular Emperor at Delhi, the ignominious dependence of the Nawabs of Bengal and the Carnatic on the Company's liberality, the subordinate position of the Nawab of Oudh, the gradual decline of the Nizam's authority, and the momentary brilliance of Sindhia, Tipu's valiant but unsuccessful effort to assert his position etc., are all reflected with remarkable lucidity. Above all these powers looms the Company like a menacing cloud waiting to spread and obliterate the rest. Everybody with any claim to importance finds a place in the canvas, the frequency and duration of his appearance depending on his standing as well as on his intimacy with the Company's Government. These letters are therefore invaluable as a source material of Indian History and are expected to prove as useful to scholars as the volumes published earlier.

The introductions which survey the history of the period in the light of the material contained in the letters, as also the short notes on personal and place names occurring in them, and the exhaustive index and glossary enhance the value of the volumes.

Copies available from :

The Manager of Publications, Government of India,
Civil Lines, Delhi.

SELECT CONTENTS OF BACK NUMBERS

- Please write to :**

**The Chief Editor, *The Indian Archives*,
National Archives of India,
New Delhi (2).**

[illegible]