

The Indian Archives

Vol. xx

number 2

July - December 1971



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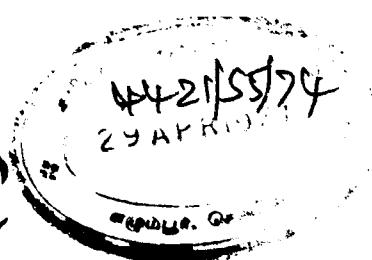
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Western Commercial Enterprises in the East : Some Oriental
Archival Sources, 1500-1858 by *Miss D. G. Keswani*

Meerut Conspiracy Case and its records, by *L. Dewani*

The Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, by *K. R.
Haellquist*

Published by the National Archives of India
A New Delhi

V2.8mN7.
N71-20.2

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THE INDIAN ARCHIVES

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The Indian Archives is a bi-annual journal published by the National Archives of India with the object of stimulating interest in, and imparting knowledge of, the science of archives-keeping and preservation of manuscripts. It contains, besides news notes, book reviews and other useful matter, articles of technical as well as of general interest on records administration, preparation of reference media, editing of records, records of public and semi-public bodies, business firms, universities, and religious and charitable institutions, records of Indian interest in foreign countries, methods of preservation and repair of documents, and microfilming and other forms of documentary reproduction.

Every author, whose contribution is accepted for publication in the journal, is paid a small honorarium at prescribed rates. In addition to this, he is supplied with a copy of the issue containing his contribution, as well as reprints of the latter as per rules.

Annual Subscription

Inland: Rs. 6.00

Foreign: £ 0.70 or \$ 2.16

Single Copy

Rs. 3.00

£ 0.35 or \$ 1.08

All communications, contributions, and books for review should be addressed to:

The Editor,

The Indian Archives,

National Archives of India,

New Delhi.

Volume XX

Number 2

July-December, 1971

Published by the National Archives of India
New Delhi

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THE INDIAN ARCHIVES

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WESTERN COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES IN THE EAST : SOME ORIENTAL ARCHIVAL SOURCES, 1500-1858*

MISS D. G. KESWANI

III

ENGLISH

FOLLOWING closely in the steps of the Dutch came the English, seeking their shares of the wealth of the fabled lands of the Orient. To avoid undue rivalry amongst themselves, the London merchants incorporated themselves into a joint stock company under the nomenclature "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East India". Fortified by a charter granted by Queen Elizabeth on 31st December 1600, they secured the monopoly of English commerce in eastern waters, from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan, for a period of fifteen years.

Their immediate object being the acquisition of spices and pepper, the first voyages of the new entrants were made to Sumatra, Java and the Moluccas. Pushing ahead however haltingly, the English Company succeeded within a short time in establishing several trading posts, the Chief being at the Javanese port of Bantam which remained for some years the centre from where its affairs in the East were directed. But from the very beginning the Dutch were overtly hostile. Not only did they resent the interference by the English in their monopolistic stronghold over the spice archipelago, but they were in no mood to share with their allies the lucrative commerce of which they were gradually dispossessing the Portuguese.

The expulsion of the English traders from the spice islands during the first quarter of the seventeenth century as a result of a series of lethal blows delivered by the new Dutch Governor General, Jan Pieterzoon Coen, culminating in 1623 in the "Massacre of Amboyna", was probably the greatest commercial setback the English suffered in

*The first instalment of this article appeared in the preceding issue of *The Indian Archives*. This is the second and concluding instalment.

their maritime commercial enterprises in the East. But, as it turned out, indeed it was for them a blessing in disguise, though for another half a century or so this was not so obvious.

Finding it increasingly irksome to ply their trade in the far eastern portion of the Indian Ocean, the English had as early as 1608 switched their area of operation to the western coast of Hindustan, where by 1612, through the goodwill of the Mughal Emperor, and later through the strenuous efforts of Sir Thomas Roe, the East India Company had established sound commercial relations with India and had obtained their first foothold at Surat—prophetic perquisite—the full portent of which none could have had the faintest notion at the time. By the time Roe embarked for home (1619) there were regular English “factories” at Surat, Agra, Ahmedabad and Broach.

Sporadic Anglo-Portuguese hostilities, which had resulted in the capture of Ormuz by the English in 1622 for the Shah of Persia, came to a decisive close by 1635 when they were able to establish a better rapport with their adversaries as a result of the Anglo-Portuguese non-aggression pact in the East. Now enjoying from the side-lines the mortal confrontation in maritime supremacy between the Dutch and the Portuguese that was unfolding itself, the English nibbled away intermittently at the Indian territory through the founding of trading “factories” all around the Malabar and Coromandel coasts and on the mainland. Thus emerged Madras (1639), Bombay (1668) brought as dowry by the Princes of Braganza to King Charles II of England and Calcutta (1690), after the English had raised a series of tentative settlements near about these places.

Renewed vitality of the English Company after the affirmation of the Cromwellian Charter of 1657 coincided with the expanding trade of the Company in Indian textiles, particularly calicoes and chintzes from Bengal and the Coromandel Coast for which it found avid customers both in England and on the continent. Even in the Malay Straits experience had shown that in bartering for spices, the Indian piece-goods were more acceptable than the English woollens. This brightening of prospects all round emboldened the English to increase their investments; and very soon they posed a serious menace to the Dutch commerce in the East.

But Anglo-Dutch rivalry was not confined to the sphere of trade alone. In point of fact a far-reaching change in the international balance of maritime power was close at hand, though the echo of the tremendous struggle of Anglo-Dutch wars in home waters (1652-1674) had yet not disturbed the serenity of the Indian Ocean.

Despite their retention still of commercial and naval superiority over the English in the East, these wars imposed an effective barrier on further Dutch expansion. Cumulatively their effect on the subsequent history of Southern Asia was most pronounced, for by exhausting Holland in ships and money, it promoted Britain to the position of premier maritime power with all the prestige in distant regions which that implied.

Through the years, the policy of the English trading syndicate had imperceptibly undergone a process of change till, in the second half of the seventeenth century, instead of confining itself to purely commercial activities, it was making territorial ownership a recognised part of its business. While it had set itself from the first most consciously and deliberately to acquire the bulk of the Indo-European freight, it had no pre-conceived plan of territorial expansion aimed at founding British rule in India. It may perhaps be impossible to pin-point the time when a well-guarded factory became a fort, but there is no gainsaying the fact that the disturbed political conditions, especially in southern India, where the Mughal power wielded an uneasy sway, did much to spur the Europeans to transform their commercial posts into strongholds of defence and political manoeuvrings. Thus these were the germs of a future British empire in the East of almost continental dimensions shielded on its seaward frontiers by its naval might.

At the commencement of the eighteenth century, England stood poised for gigantic strides forward, while the Dutch and the Portuguese had been relegated permanently to the background, clinging tenaciously to their meagre territorial possessions. The French *Campagne des Indes* which had so far remained quiescent in eastern longitudes, content with occasional commercial exploits, was stirring dangerously. And it is this Anglo-French commercial and political rivalry that engrossed the attention of eighteenth century India, with the Indian powers alternatively courting and contending with them.

Archival Sources

The exertions of the English East India Company at acquiring a commercial ascendancy in the East which ended up in carving out an empire for Britain of trans-continental dimensions, have been variously described as “unconscious lapse into greatness” or “blind acquisition. Be that as it may, the Company nevertheless built up an elaborate apparatus for administration over the years, and this resulted in an enormous quantity of records, remarkable for its variety and usefulness. With the setting up of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta as independent presidencies, each with a number of factories subordinate to them, they carried on their business in direct correspondence with the Court of Directors in London. This administrative arrangement continued

practically undisturbed up to the passing of the Regulating Act in 1773 subjecting the company definitely to the control of the Crown. It is the records of this period 1600-1773 of the Company's transactions in the East, as well as those up to 1858 when the Crown took over the direct control which will be reviewed here.

Since the value of records as historical source materials was hardly conceived consciously in the early times, conservation of any particular series depended chiefly on its utility for current administrative work. Consequently it is the seventeenth and early eighteenth century records in India which have suffered most from neglect or wilful destruction.

London

It would perhaps be worthwhile to begin by examining some important collections of papers from amongst the vast body of records in almost continuous order stored in the India Office, Library, London, as that would help to indicate the gaps in the Company records available in India and the East.

Among the most important India Office records are *Court Books*, containing the Minutes of the Court of Directors as well as those of the General Court of (i.e. the assemblies of the whole body of members). While they extend without a break from 1639 onwards, the papers for 1600-1638 are desultory. The collection gives an admirable expose of the trends and proclivities of the home policy *vis-a-vis* the Company. There is no counterpart of Court Books in India. The other three series which merit a mention are: (I) *Letter Books* or copies of despatches sent out by the Court of Directors to all its presidencies; (II) the immense mass of papers known as *Original Correspondence* (commencing with 1602) consisting of letters received by the Company from all its settlements in the East; and (III) *Factory Records* which include Indian records as well as those from Java, Sumatra, Straits settlements and a whole host of other minor factories. Marine miscellaneous volumes contain in addition much valuable information on Company's shipping, investment and other commercial activities.

New Delhi

The National Archives of India, formerly Imperial Record Department, came into existence in 1891 and with the transfer of the imperial capital from Calcutta to Delhi, all the Central Government records were transferred to the present building in New Delhi in 1937.

The official business of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal related mostly to trade and cognate matters in the early days and since it did not require a big organisational set-up, the correspondence used to bear no departmental label or number. It was perhaps around 1704 that the first series of consultations of the Public Branch came into being. As the Company's concerns developed, it necessitated the distribution of its official work to various departments created for specific purposes. Unfortunately no papers earlier than 1748 have survived in the National Archives or in Bengal Government Archives. It is difficult to account for their total disappearance but it is believed that they were destroyed partly by the cyclone followed by the floods which engulfed Calcutta in 1737 and partly by the confusion caused by the occupation of Calcutta by Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah in 1756. This correspondence is, as noticed earlier, available in the India Office and much has been published already.

An indispensable background for any study of English trade in the East and its conflicts with other competitors is provided by the Home Department, Public proceedings, which run into 644 volumes (1748-1859). To give a general idea as to the contents of this correspondence a few random specimens are mentioned: plunder of the English factory at Balasore by the Marathas (1753); translations of several *farmans* granted to the Company by the Mughal Emperors (1762); restoration of Chandernagore to the French (1765); grant of the *Diwani* of the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the Company (1765); slave trade in Madagascar (1765).

An excellent account of the English Company's encounters with Indian as well as rival European powers, both diplomatic and military, emerges from the Foreign Department records, which incorporates those of Select (Secret) Committee, 1757-1762, 1765-1774; Secret Branch, 1763-1859; Foreign Branch, 1783-1842; Political Branch, 1789-1859, and Secret and Separate Branch, 1761-1811. In view of the bulk of the collection, it would not be possible to select items representative enough but some examples casually noticed are: Treaty of neutrality between French at Chandernagore and English (1757); invasion of Bengal by a Mughal prince (1760); opium trade (1757); causes of the battle of Buxar and its sequel (1764-1765); review of situation in India by Lord Clive (1767); proposed expedition to Nepal (1768); Rohilla affairs (1777); diplomatic negotiations with Arabia, Persia, Turkey, Kabul, etc. (1808-1811); transfer of the English settlement at Bencoolen to the Dutch (1825) and mutual obligation of the British, French and Portuguese Governments in India to give up offenders (1840).

The Company's political and diplomatic transactions with Indian powers and other oriental potentates were conducted in Persian. These records in Persian Department span the period 1759 to 1859. Farmans, treaties and Sanads are kept together and go back to 1633. With the creation of the Military Department in 1771, all matters connected with war, strategy, troop movements and other such topics *vis-a-vis* Indian and foreign powers were dealt with there. These records continue to be neglected by scholars though they are bound to be of great interest. Finally the miscellaneous files of the Home Foreign and Persian Departments provide excellent material on certain events in Indian history. A brief reference may be made to Tenasserim Papers, 1830-1859; China Papers (opium war), 1839-1850, 1855, kept along with Foreign Department archives; and Residency records.

Madras

While the site of Fort St. George was granted to the East India Company in 1639, no records prior to 1670 have survived in the Madras Record Office. So long as Madras was little more than a commercial station, its business used to be conducted through one Department, Public; but with its growth into a presidency with a regular secretariat of its own, it was found necessary to create other departments to put the work on a systematic basis. *Government Consultations* kept chronologically under each department, comprise a full record of the activities of the President and Council of Madras from 1672 to 1854 in 5,739 volumes and provide excellent source material on commercial, political and administrative events of the colony. For example the subjects discussed in Public Consultations are: stock of European goods sent from England at various intervals; investments ordered in Indian goods; disputes with local merchants; and trade relations with Surat, Java and Bengal. Military and Secret consultations are teeming with events connected with Anglo-European rivalries in the south.

Another series of *General Letters*, which consists of letters exchanged at intervals between Madras and the Court of Directors (also available at the India Office), is most useful. Letters *To England* in all Departments during 1694-1854 (287 volumes) contain full information respecting the affairs of the Presidency, while those *From England* 1670-1854 (392 volumes) embody instructions of the Court and its approval or non-approval of Madras Government activities. As a series of official correspondence running over the same period as the *Consultations*, these *General Letters* are invested with considerable interest.

Finally a mention may be made of *Factory Records*. In the days when the East India Company was a trading agency and Madras nothing more than a commercial depot, new factories used to be established

subordinate to Bombay, Madras or Calcutta, whenever there was a possibility of augmenting purchases. Subsequently all such records of factories responsible to Madras, were transferred to Fort St. George. Deserving of mention are *Letters Sent* to the subordinate factories and *Letters Received*, as they are illustrative of the Company's commercial character. *Country Correspondence*, 1753-1829, which comprises the whole of the correspondence which passed through the Political and Military departments with the Indian powers and *Negotiations with Foreign Powers*, are other series well worth scrutiny.

Bombay

Surat, the principal seat of East India Company's trade in India since 1612, finds the earliest and the most important place in the Record Office of Bombay, which took over as the capital of the Western Presidency in 1685-1687. Surat annual *Diaries*, the most valuable type of early records commence in 1660 and go right up to 1809 when it had become just a subordinate factory. Bombay diaries put an appearance in 1720 in its only Department, Public. Here are chronicled, apart from the day to day events and topics, Company's investments, abstract statements of the value of merchandise, prices and rates of freight. The business of the Presidency having expanded by 1755, a Secret and Political Department was created. These Diaries, some 496 in number (1755-1820), form an indispensable source material not only on trade and commerce but also on Anglo-Indian-European conflicts. To give an idea as to the subjects discussed here are a few examples: disputes with Travancore regarding collection of customs on pepper and cloth (1798); state of Commerce between India and Persia (1799); critical position of English factory at Basra (1793); liquidation of the Zamorin's revenue balances (1798).

In addition to the Diaries, the other material worth consultation in all the departments is *Minute Books*; *Outwards or Order Books* (letters to outstations); *inwards or Letter Books* (letters and memos received from factories); and Despatches to and from the Court of Directors (duplicated in London). Commercial Department which made a separate appearance from the Public Department in 1786 contains useful information on the Company's commercial dealings. In this connection 26 volumes of External and Internal Commerce (1802-1822) in the Miscellaneous series should not be overlooked. Bombay broke away from the Diary type of record-keeping in 1820 and started compilation of volumes according to subjects. It is to these that the reader is referred while consulting records after 1820.

Apart from the above there is a wealth of material in Factory and Residency records. It consists of diaries compiled at the factories (Surat, Broach, Carwar, Malabar, Sind, Mocha, Bussora, Bantam,

Bushire, etc.) and later transferred to Bombay, but being rather fragmentary in nature, no serious study has as yet been attempted.

Calcutta

Of the records that remain in the Bengal Record Office special mention may be made of Revenue Department (in all its branches) 1775-1815, and 1834-1852 Board of Trade 1774-1835; General Department 1834-1858; Despatches to and from England 1771-1858 (duplicated in London); and records of the provincial councils of revenue like those at Murshidabad, Patna, Dacca, Dinajpur and Burdwan. These archives provide a wealth of details regarding the Company's trade patterns in Bengal and its subordinate territories. Salt, opium, hemp, indigo, tea and grain are some of the articles for which special boards of trade were created to carry on investments.

Various other record offices in India are bound to possess materials of interest on the activities of the English East India Company.

Singapore

The island of Penang was acquired by the English Company in 1786 and this led to regular correspondence between this outpost in the East and India. Then in 1826, as a result of the treaty with the Dutch (1824), Singapore and Malacca were added to Penang which became one contiguous British Colony, the seat of Government being shifted to Singapore in 1836.

The Archives Section of the National Library at Singapore has in its custody an almost complete series of records, running into 580 volumes, of *Straits Settlements Records* (1805-1867). Earlier papers for the years 1786-1795, when Penang was an Indian dependency, are available in the Home Miscellaneous Series of the National Archives of India, New Delhi. Though these papers refer mostly to administration, commerce, tabular trade statements, and statistics, there are interesting side-lights shed on the political and diplomatic questions arising out of the Straits relations with the neighbouring states. Anglo-Dutch rivalry in South East Asia leading to the treaty of 1824 is well depicted in the papers under review. Another series of papers worth mention is the correspondence between the Governor of the Straits Settlements and the Colonial Office, London, from 1867 onwards. The *Blue Book* commenced in 1870 provides comprehensive statistics on such matters as trade and population of the peninsula. At the National Archives, New Delhi, are four volumes of Malacca Proceedings, 1851-1859, kept separately under Foreign Department. These deserve notice.

Ceylon

The connection between the English and Ceylon began with its conquest in 1795-1796 when a force sent from Madras ousted the Dutch who had occupied it for 138 years. The Government Archives Department at Nuwara Eliya houses, in addition to the Dutch archives (discussed elsewhere), a mass of English Company papers from the very commencement of its activities in Ceylon. Of special interest are the Executive Council Minutes (1802-1831); Legislative Council Minutes (1833-1931); and correspondence with the Secretary of State (both inward and outward despatches). Governor's diaries (commercial) 1798-1801, Public 1798-1805, Political 1798-1801, Secret 1798-1805 seem particularly useful. Finally, it appears that the General Department correspondence will yield information on a variety of topics ranging from trade, revenue, and customs to pearl fisheries.

IV

French

The East which had for long seduced the European maritime powers by its spicy charm soon had France also in its coils. Indeed as early as 1503 this desire for eastern trade had manifested itself amongst the French merchants and in 1527 some Rouen adventurers had doubled the Cape of Good Hope and reached Diu, the Portuguese wharf, to participate in the new traffic. But these and other desultory attempts by individual entrepreneurs produced no lasting results. It was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century when Portugal, Holland and England had effected firm footings on the soil of India and the Far East and derived considerable profits, that France was galvanised into action. But it must be conceded that its delayed venture in the East was attributable far more to the preoccupations of its government which had plunged Europe into chaos than to any lack of enterprise on the part of the people. Nevertheless, though last to enter the race for supremacy in the Indian Ocean, their natural genius asserted itself in a manner that speedily brought them on a level with the most securely planted of their rivals.

Colbert, a man of wide vision and grim determination, who had steered France into a position of pre-eminence in Europe, realised the great advantages which had accrued to the Europeans from their possessions in the East; and he made the first serious efforts to secure for France a share in the lucrative Indian trade. Thus came into being in 1664 under letters patent "*La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*" for a term of fifty years with exclusive privileges of commerce from the Cape of Good Hope to the South Seas, to which Louis XIV not only gave his royal patronage but also advanced 3,000,000 livres free of interest for ten years.

To secure a decent port of call for the nascent French navy, an indispensable preliminary to tedious voyages to the unknown Indies, the first expedition was directed to Madagascar (Ile Dauphine). But it was only in 1715, after perilous vicissitudes, that the Company was able to instal a permanent footing on the Indian Ocean in the unclaimed island of Mauritius where the Netherlands had hauled down their flag in 1710 as the island did not seem to them worth the cost of maintenance. This gave France, for the first time, an eastern harbour suitable as naval headquarters. In time it proved a festering thorn in the sides of their other oceanic rivals.

Simultaneously with the above venture the Company had quickly established trading *comptoirs* on the Indian seaboard, at Surat (1668), Masulipatam (1669) and several other minor points. Britain and the Netherlands, which had maintained an uneasy *status quo* among themselves in the East with their respective Asiatic possessions intact and their commercial competition unimpaired, entered into a turbulent period with the entry of France in the Indian Ocean as an English ally in 1673. While the French naval skirmishes against the Dutch off the coast of Ceylon misfired altogether, they were nevertheless able to lay the foundations of their principal factory at Pondicherry in 1674, which though captured by the Dutch in 1693 and restored to them as a result of the treaty of Ryswick, was soon to assume the dignity of the capital of French settlements in India.

The aggressiveness of France in Europe soon drove the erstwhile enemies into a Grand Alliance to contain French expansiveness. During the long silence of guns in the Indian Ocean in the first half of the eighteenth century, when the English Company had outdistanced their Dutch and Portuguese counterparts in the race for commercial exploitation and territorial extension in Hindustan, the French Company was passing through a period of administrative inaptitude and financial bankruptcy.

Hitherto not a serious competitor in the eastern longitudes, the French Compagnie, after the expiration of its fifty year charter, was amalgamated with the French West Indies concern in 1719 and under its enlarged composition of *Compagnies des Indes* with licence for the entire French colonial trade, made valiant efforts to achieve a position of importance in Asiatic trade. Soon Pondicherry became *avant-grade* in supplying the Indian piece-goods to European markets, a status conceived by Francois Martin, its founder as early as 1677 when he wrote to the Directors that he would be able to send them an annual supply to the value of 1,000,000 livres or more. Calicut, Mahe, Yanam and Karikal were occupied in quick succession between 1721 and 1739 and even Chandernagore (1690) and Surat seemed to shake off their lethargy and become flourishing trade centres. This seemed to have given the French, prestige and power which even the English envied.

It was perhaps around this period, when the Mughal empire in the throes of anarchy was tottering to its fall, and when the general scramble for territories was about to ensue, that the two principal European nations in India reckoned that political preponderance was an essential pre-condition for commercial advancement. Thus it happened that in the second half of the eighteenth century it was a common phenomenon to see the French and the English drawn into conflict with each other as partisans of one or other of the warring Indian potentates. Indeed, their earlier opportunistic approach to political problems and territorial expansion had definitely given place to a consciously cultivated plan to carve out an empire in the East.

The spasmodic collisions between England and France in Europe led to a formal outbreak of hostilities in 1744 and these extended in 1746 to their companies in India as well. The struggles, accompanied as they were by exchange of heavy blows on water, demonstrated the official recognition of the claims of commercial enterprises for the first time. Though the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 left the possessions of the respective Companies unaltered on the basis of *uti possidetis*, it was little more than an armistice caused by general exhaustion. The unofficial war of attrition of 1751-1754 finally merged in the memorable Seven Years War which raised England to the heights of irresistible superiority. From the time that Pondicherry fell in 1761, due to the relentless pressure of English naval power, the French influence in the Carnatic—nay in the whole East—virtually came to an end.

The French flag had now as utterly disappeared from India as from the Indian Ocean. Though Pondicherry, Mahe and some other French possessions were returned to them at the end of the war, they were nothing more than empty shells—the relics of a dream of an empire which was not to be. Subsequent French exploits did not in anyway affect the *fait accompli* of 1661. By 1815, the French and the Dutch had no further illusions as to their capacity to overthrow the English and so they recognised for the first time British sovereignty over India.

Archival Sources:

It should perhaps be stated at the outset that the French records produced by the *Compagnie des Indes* at Pondicherry and elsewhere were transferred at regular intervals to France. Consequently nothing of real worth of the original French records remains in India. Even the few papers described in *Martineau's Inventaire des anciennes archives de l'Inde française* at Pondicherry were removed when the French possessions were handed over to the Indian Government in 1954.

Paris

While it falls outside the scope of the paper to notice purely European sources, a brief mention may be made of the most significant series of the French East India Company which lie scattered in various depositories in Paris. The valuable papers pertaining to the early history of the French in the Indian Ocean are embodied in the *correspondence generale*, India 1666-1740; Series C² 62-80; Extreme Orient and Siam; Series C¹ 22-25; and Madagascar 1642-1674; Series C⁵ 1, at the Ministère des Colonies archives. The bulk of French records concerning their activity in the East in the late eighteenth century, series C² though deposited in the Archives nationales, Paris, remains under the control of the Ministère des Colonies. Forming part of Section Ancienne at the Archives nationales is a huge mass of papers belonging to the Ministère de la Marine. Among these series B¹ (decisions), B² (royal despatches and orders), B³ and B⁴ (campaigns) are particularly useful. Finally, *Fonds Asie* at the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères depot, Seine-et-Oise archives, and manuscript section at the Bibliothèque nationale are other rich sources of information on French eastern affairs.

Pondicherry

After 1742, Pondicherry, the chief trading station of the French on the Coromandel Coast, became involved in a long-drawn out conflict with the English. When Dupleix began to cherish designs of French hegemony over India, political motives overshadowed the desire for commercial gain. This naturally produced a sizable mass of papers. But what remains after the despatch of twelve cases of archives from Pondicherry to France in 1954 are: stray copies of Superior Council of Pondicherry decisions 1774-1777; correspondence (copies) from Karikal; Police Court of Choultry 1776-1899; judgements of the Council of Pondicherry 1735-1815; Police Court 1805-1839; Registry Office papers of baptisms, marriages and deaths and such others.

Madras

The Anglo-French conflict in the Carnatic of the mid-eighteenth century finds a frequent mention in the English records at Madras. There are a multitude of references in the Government Consultations in Public (1672-1854), Military (1752-1854), Secret (1796-1844) and Political (1800-1854) Departments; General Letters to and from England in Public (1670-1852), Military (1755-1854) and Secret (1786-1847) Departments; in the Country Correspondence in the Military (1753-1800) and Political series (1800-1829).

In addition to these regular series of volumes in which is detailed almost the whole course of the Anglo-French war, there are special volumes, classified as Sundry Books which deal with a particular topic or occasion. Under the heading Special Correspondence and Minutes are several volumes of interest *vis-a-vis* the French. Of special note are:

(I) French Correspondence 1750-1760: this correspondence running into ten volumes was carried on between the English at Madras and the French at Pondicherry. There are numerous letters from Dupleix, Godheu, Bussy and Lally; (II) Private Committee on an expected war with France: This correspondence unfolds the intrigues of that critical period (1755-1756) when it was doubtful if the truce with France would become a definitive treaty; (III) Secret Committee at Fort St. George to prepare for sudden capture of Pondicherry (1771); the volume contains all the letters and proceedings of the Secret Committee; (IV) Infringement of the Suspension of Arms with France 1755-1756: the two volumes under this heading comprise the proceedings of commissioners appointed by both sides to enquire into the alleged infringement of the three month's suspension of arms order; (V) Peace of Paris 1763: proceedings of Fort St. George and the commissary appointed by the French for receiving back the French possessions are contained in this volume; (VI) Journal of Lally's siege of Fort St. George, 1758-1759: is a detailed account of transactions during the siege; (VII) Tariffs of prices in French and Danish settlements, 1817; and (VIII) some old French account books from Pondicherry 1776-1778.

Bombay

One major source of research on the French when they were contesting the supremacy in India is traceable in the Secret and Political Department Diaries, 1755-1820. Much information is also to be found on individual French soldiers of fortune who found a suitable outlet for their military ardour in the armies of Indian chiefs. A few random examples give an idea as to the kind of subjects discussed in these papers: growing power of the French at Hyderabad (1756) articles of capitulation of Fort St. David to the French (1758); negotiations between the French and Tipu (1787) slave trade at Mahe (1794); and French in Travancore Raja's service (1797). The Public Diaries; despatches to and from the Court of Directors; Minute books; Inward and Outward Letter Books, are some of the other Bombay record office papers which will provide much useful material on French dealings in Western India.

Poona

The Peshwa Daftar is replete with allusions to French-Maratha relationships and must be consulted for any study of French diplomacy in India. The records of the British Residents at the Peshwa's Court

in Poona from 1785 to 1818 (mostly in English and Persian) unfold the story of French-Maratha alliances against the English. A monumental corpus of Marathi historical records under the title *Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar* in 45 volumes has been published and so has the *Poona Residency Correspondence* in 14 volumes as a supplement to the Marathi series. Some of the entries regarding the French are: French engagements with Tipu (1797); removal of French Officers from Sindhia's service demanded by the English (1799); and secret design of Sindhia and Holkar supported by the French and Nizam (1808).

New Delhi

The spectre of the French ambition in the East long continued to haunt the statesmen in England and Calcutta. India had once again been drawn into the vortex of European Revolutionary Wars and Tipu, the Nizam and the Marathas all took advantage and sought French aid against the English. Consequently English efforts were directed to the immediate purpose of excluding French competition altogether. Scattered among the various records at the National Archives of India is a wealth of material relating to this all-consuming topic—the Anglo-French rivalry in India. The proceedings and original consultations of the Foreign Department (in all its branches) furnish an excellent narrative of the contemporary military and political situation. The policies and intrigues of different parties, their constantly changing relations of amity and hostility, their hastily precipitated wars and improvised peace all find a place in these papers. Some of the typical topics mentioned are: French (St. Lubin) embassy to the Court of the Peshwa for obtaining a settlement at Chaul and a factory at Poona (1777); collusion with Tipu in the battle of Wandiwash (1783); French possessions seized by the English in Bengal (1784); and restitution of Chandernagore and its dependencies to the French (1816). References to French commercial activities can also be found in the Public Department proceedings (1748-1818).

V

DANES

Of the other European powers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who wielded the maritime sceptre to some extent was Denmark, who now turned its wistful eyes on the oriental trade which had hitherto paid such dividends to the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. Constituted in 1616 under a charter approved by King Christian IV himself, the Danish East India Company's first expedition seems to have attempted to establish a settlement in Ceylon for the profitable trade in cinnamon. But the Portuguese, long settled in this branch of

eastern commerce, were loath to let a new rival intrude. Thus it was that after four years of trials and tribulations in the Indian Ocean the Danes anchored finally at Tanjore on the Coromandel Coast whose Raja allowed them to occupy a small village of Tranquebar, on the coast south of Madras, for a consideration. This they later fortified as their headquarters in the East by erecting fort Dansborg. From here the Company carried goods to Macassar and other ports of the Malay Archipelago and gained a sizable fortune.

Encouraged by quick successes, the Danish Company extended its commerce to Masulipatam and later to Bengal where a factory was established at Balasore in 1636. Even the English in 1624 failed to gain a foothold at Tranquebar, so effortlessly had the Danes ingratiated themselves in Tanjore's favours. But due to lack of adequate support from Copenhagen consequent on Denmark's preoccupations in the Thirty Years War, the Company's trade in the East languished. Indeed on more than one occasion they considered abandoning their settlements to the Dutch or the English and withdrawing completely from the Indies.

By 1670 the Danish Company was in such desperate straits, that it had to surrender its charter. A fresh Company started in the same year fared no better, with the result that in 1714 the factory in Bengal had to be given up. On the suspension of the Ostend Company in 1727 an effort was made to revitalize the Danish trade by floating a new Company with a new charter in 1732 and confirming its privileges of monopoly in Asiatic trade for forty years.

Business seems to have improved decidedly, as by 1755 the Danes were able to found a new settlement at Serampore (on the Hugli in Bengal) renamed Fredericksnagore after King Frederick V of Denmark, besides other posts in Nicobar islands and on the Malabar coast. The Company's agents at Serampore and Tranquebar lived under the aegis of a governor responsible to the King through the *Kommerce-Collegium* or Department of Commerce at Copenhagen.

The European involvement in the American War of Independence opened for the Danish Company and other private traders an era of unparalleled prosperity. Profits appear to have been mainly derived from contraband trade in military supplies and China tea which was later smuggled into England where the duties were ruinously high. But with the cessation of hostilities in European waters and the imposition of stringent restrictions on foreign trade in India by the English, now the dominant power, the fickle fortunes of the Danes faded away.

The dawn of the nineteenth century found England and Denmark at war, which extended to the Indian waters as well. Serampore and Tranquebar soon exchanged hands, but the peace of Amiens had them

restored. At the renewal of hostilities in 1808 the English seized the territories once again and it was not before 1815, when the general peace was announced, that the Danes got their Indian possessions back.

The Danish trade had by now dwindled to a mere trickle and their financial position was in the doldrums. Keen to liquidate their factories and return home, the Company tried to sell their Patna factory in 1826. But it was not before 1845 that they were able to strike a bargain with the English whereby they sold Serampore, Tranquebar and Balasore for a sum of twelve and a half lakh of rupees.

Thus came to a quiet end the Danish commercial enterprise in India and the Far East.

Archival Sources

A complete set of Danish East India Company records is housed at the Rigsarkiv, Copenhagen. Indeed they form one of the most important source materials for the economic history of northern Europe in the Seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries. Of particular interest are the Company's financial documents and books of account from "Trankebar". Nearly all Danish government records specifically concerned with East India Company's affairs are to be found under the heading "Kommercekollegiet" in the Rigsarkiv.

Madras

Among the original material available in India of the Danish East India Company is a massive collection of Tranquebar records lodged in the Madras Record Office. After the transfer of the territory to the English Company, its records were deposited with the collector of Tanjore and there they remained until 1891 when they were sent to the custody of the Madras Record Office. This collection comprises nine bundles and 219 volumes and covers the most significant period of the Company's commercial career in India from 1779-1845. The printed catalogue of these papers indicates the range of subjects discussed. Below are given some specimens of the topics covered: protocol of mortgage and title deeds; journal of "Ekvipagemester", Tranquebar, contains list of ships that visited India in 1824; copies of ship documents of "Fredensborg"; police and special court papers; notifications; letter books of the royal government at Tranquebar; registration and valuation protocol; regulations and other orders for Tranquebar (Danish and Tamil); Court decrees; civil suits; and notarius publicus.

The regular series of records at the Madras record office will yield a lot of information on the Danish activities in the South.

New Delhi

The Foreign Department records in Secret, Foreign and Political Branches, at the National Archives, contain a multitude of references to the Danes in India during 1756-1845. There is in addition a lot of correspondence that passed between the Danish authorities at Serampore and Tranquebar and the English Company's government at Fort William in Bengal. To give an indication as to the cases that came for review in these letters mention may be made of the following: dispute with the Danish chief at Serampore over the English Company's right to levy export duties on cargoes sent in Danish ships (1784); restoration of Danish settlements on Coromandel Coast (1816); clandestine trade and detention of *Cronburg* and *Christianburg* ships; declining state of Danish trade (1815); and the sale of Danish possessions to English Company (1845). Another series worth digging into is that of the Public Department (1748 onwards). It contains correspondence of a commercial nature with particular reference to the disputes between the English and the Danish authorities regarding payment of customs duties in Bengal.

Calcutta

Another set of Danish records pertaining to Serampore is a series of 77 volumes now housed in the West Bengal Record Office. They, like their counterpart of Tranquebar papers, consist of notarial archives; deeds of transfer; protocols of mortgage; decrees in civil suits; Police court and Military court files; and documents of judicial nature. A printed catalogue of the papers giving just the barest details is available for research purposes.

VI

Miscellaneous entrepreneurs

The emancipation of southern Netherlands from the Spanish thralldom in 1713 introduced another aspirant in the arena of oriental trade. In spite of the loud clamour of England and Holland, who shared a common desire to weed out all further competition in the eastern waters, the Ostend East India Company was enrolled in 1723 under a royal charter. Enticed by alluring prospects of lucre and quick profit, several Dutch and English merchantmen deserted their companies to join the new venture. With Bankibazar in Bengal as their chief settlement, the Ostend Company soon established lucrative trade relations with India and China. The success of their trade was, however, due largely to extensive smuggling of goods into England. Much exercised at the illicit competition, the English and Dutch retaliated by confiscating Austrian vessels and plundering their settlement. In view of the threatening attitude of the major naval powers,

the Emperor was constrained to suspend the privileges of the Company in 1727. Soon after, the activities of the Company grinded to a halt as a result of the Pragmatic Sanction.

Fifty years later the project of an Austrian Company was revived when William Bolts, a renegade from the English Company, proposed to the Empress Maria Theresa to establish "The Imperial Company of Trieste" under a charter. The enterprise proved abortive and was soon wound up.

On the overthrow of the Ostend Company, a Swedish Company under Henry Koning, an opulent merchant, was launched in 1731 but with a proviso that they avoid interference in Dutch trade. The Company which was in operation for half a century traded exclusively in China tea smuggled into England. Its profits however dwindled and its activities cut short when duties on tea were reduced by the British Parliament in 1784.

With the mention of two Prussian ventures—the China Company (1750) which was a failure, and an Asiatic Company for trading to Bengal (1753-1803) which had some success—the story of attempts made by European powers to share in the trade with the East comes to an end.

[Concluded]

ARCHIVES IN STONE: A CHOLA JUDGMENT

P. SITAPATI

SIR Hilary Jenkinson in his book '*A Manual of Archival Administration*' defines an archival document as one which 'was drawn up or used in the course of an administrative or executive transaction (whether public or private) of which itself formed a part; and subsequently preserved in their own custody for their own information by the person or persons responsible for that transaction and their legitimate successors'. While the modern archival materials are made up of paper, parchment, film etc., the ancient archives use materials such as the bark of trees, leaves of trees such as palms, handspun cloth, metallic materials such as copper, and also stone. The importance of ancient archives in stone and metallic materials should be adequately recognised in a country like India. It is necessary that the archival value of such materials is recognised and steps taken to collect and study them with a critical eye.

This paper deals with one such unique archival document in stone pertaining to the famous temple of Sree Venkateswara, the Lord of Seven Hills, Tirupati, located in Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh. The archival document belongs to the Chola period in the history of south India and is a judgment inscribed in stone.

Sree Venkateswara Temple at Tirupati in Andhra Pradesh is an ancient one. The earliest inscription so far available connected with the temple belongs to the year 830 A.D. The author of this paper has made a comprehensive study of this temple in his monograph *Sree Venkateswara, the Lord of Seven Hills, Tirupati*; (Bhavan's Book University Series, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1968.) Chapter 10 of this book gives a brief survey of the administration of the Tirupati temple.

The unique Chola judgment in stone referred to in this paper is to be found on the north wall in the first *prakara* of the temple of Tirupati. The inscription is in Tamil, and the translated version is as follows :¹

"Hail Prosperity! On the 7th day in the reign of Sri Koppatra-kesari-panmar alias Sir Rajendra-Soladeva, while *Adhikari* (governor) Korramangalamudaiyan enquired into the affairs of the temple from his seat in the assembly-hall built by us in Tiruchchukanur, a *deva-danam* of this God, in Kudavur-nadu, (a sub-division) of Tiruvenkata-

¹ T. T. Devasthanam Epigraphical Series, Vol. I, *Early Inscriptions*, pp. 30-1, Madras 1931.

kottam, (a district comprised in the division) of Perumbanappadi (in the province) of Jayankonda-Solamandalam, having summoned Kadappankudaiyan, the *Siritanattuppanimakan* (subordinate administrative officer) who administered the Kudavur-nadu, and the servants of Tiruvenkatadevar, and called upon them to depose as to the condition of the permanent daily provision (existing) for Tiruvenkatadevar, they stated that, as per the old document registered on stone, the *Sabhaiyar* of Tirumundiyam, a grant to this God, received money and undertook to light 24 lamps, including one light of camphor, but, that the villagers of Tirumundiyam discontinued to burn all of them excepting two lights which they still burn.

2. Thereupon *Adhikari* Korramangalamudaiyan ordered that, with the 20 *pon* being the sum available at Tiruchchukanur and the 3 *pon* remaining in deposit in this deity's treasury (as remuneration) for the *paricharakam* service rendered by them to this God, aggregating to 23 *pon*, (the ghee) might be well packed and transported to Tirumala along with the articles of daily provision, and the servants working in this behalf might be enabled to burn (the lights) without any impediment.

3. Towards this charity of the *nandavilakku*, therefore, to be maintained by the *Sabhaiyar* of Tirumundiyam, the Srivaishnavas ordered that the 23 *pon* belonging to them shall be credited to the capital fund of this God's treasury, (the ghee) shall be transported to this God's treasury, (store-house) at Tirumala and the manager of the temple and the servants of Tiruvenkatadevar alone shall burn the lights, including the *nandavilakku* and one *karpuravilakku*, as long as the moon and the sun last."

A study of this document would categorically show that this is an archival document conforming to Jenkinson's definition. This document was drawn up in the course of a quasi-judicial transaction where the provincial Governor or *Adhikari* by name Korramangalamudaiyan sat in judgment over the affairs of the Tirupati temple. The local district officer was one Kadappankudaiyan and this office was then known by the name '*Siritanattuppanimakan*'. The enquiry recorded in the document was regarding the alleged misuse or non-use of funds placed at the disposal of the *Sabhaiyar* of Tirumundiyam for lighting 24 lamps to Sri Venkateswara of the famous temple of Tirumalai; the *Adhikari* after hearing the evidence of all the parties made the *Sabhaiyar* pay into the Lord's treasury—the *Sree Bandaram*, an amount of 23 *pon* and ordered that the manager and servants of the Tiruvenkatadevar should thenceforth burn the lights of ghee (*Nandavilakku*) for the Lord at Tirumalai. It may be inferred from a study of the above inscription that the temple administration during the Chola period consisted of temple servants and a manager, and that

the '*Sabhaiyar*' or Village council of Tirumundiyam village which had been made a trustee to burn lights in the temple of the Lord had failed in its primary obligation resulting in this enquiry and hence the consequent judicial order. This inscription is interesting, as Prof. Nilakantha Sastri mentions that the most striking feature of the Chola period was the *unusual vigour and efficiency* [italics mine] *that characterised the functioning of the autonomous rural institutions*. Prof. Sastri also mentions *Sabhas* of those days in addition to other village assemblies and caste panchayats. It would appear that the Sabha was a village council of brahmins. Perhaps it had also the powers of a caste panchayat. The inscription thus throws light on temple administration during the Chola period generally as well as with particular reference to the Sri Venkateswara temple at Tripuati. It was carried on by managers as in the time of the Pallavas. The Sabhas which were Brahmin assemblies especially where land had been gifted to them, and services enjoined to the temple, as can be inferred from the inscription under study, were also actively associated with the temple. These managers must have constituted the *Sthanattar* i.e. a local temple committee primarily charged with the duty of running the temple on efficient lines. It is however worthy to note that the earliest inscriptional evidence mentioning a *sthanattar* is to be found in a stone inscription pertaining to Tippala-deeswararamudayamahadevan temple at Tiruchanur, in the Tondamandalam area, in the reign of Tribhuvana Chakravarthigal Sri Rajaraja Devar pertaining to the period 1216-54. The archival document in stone under discussion in this paper belongs to the reign of Sri Rajendrasola Deva. As the 7th day in the reign of this king is mentioned in the judgment, we may perhaps presume that it was delivered in the very first year of his reign.

The Rajendrasola referred to could be either Rajendrachola the first or more probably Rajendra II who as a crown prince assisted Rajadhiraja in the famous battle of Koppam on the banks of the river Krishna. Rajendra II was responsible for the miraculous victory in the battle of Koppam and crowned himself king on the battle field when his brother Rajadhiraja fell in the battle mortally wounded. Prof. Nilakantha Sastri gives the year of the battle as 1053-54.¹ From the title of Koppatrakesarippanmar mentioned in the inscription, it can be argued that the lion of '*Koppam*' is mentioned and that the reference is obviously to the Rajendra II and not to Rajendra I as mentioned by Sadhu Subramanya Sastry², the T.T. Devasthanam epigraphist. If this interpretation is accepted, the date of the inscription would be 1054 A.D. If however the word '*Koppatrakesarippanmar*' in the inscription

1. *A History of South India*, pp. 177-178, Geoffrey Camberlege, Oxford University Press.

² T. T. Devasthanam Series, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-31.

is interpreted as 'Ko-Parakesarivarman', as Sadhu Subramanyam Sastry has done, which is also plausible, the reference in the inscription would be to Rajendra Chola I and the inscription would have to be given a date earlier than 1054 A.D. As Rajendra the first succeeded to the Chola throne after the death of his father Rajadhi Raja in 1014 A.D., the inscription would in that case belong to 1014 A.D. The inscription thus would belong to the 11th century A.D. either way.

This archival document is also interesting in that it throws light on the administrative system of the Cholas. From the inscription, it is obvious that the Chola territories were divided into 'mandalas', with Governors at their head, districts or 'Nadus' and further sub-divisions. The *Siritanattuppanimakan* was the title of the office of the subordinate administrative officer-in-charge of the *Nadu* and the name of this officer of Kudavur-nadu was Kadappankudaiyan, as already mentioned. It is also relevant to note that the *Siritanattukuppanimakan* was the officer called to depose in the enquiry by the *Adhikari*. It would appear that he was the officer who got the judgment of the *Adhikari* recorded and implemented. Thus he was not only the district executive officer but also the local keeper of records.

There are several archival documents in stone belonging to the ancient and medieval periods in the history of south India, which throw light on the administration and government of those days. It is necessary that such archival documents get the attention due from archivists in India.

THE MEERUT CONSPIRACY CASE AND ITS RECORDS

L. DEWANI

FEW political trials in the world have excited so much interest as the Meerut Conspiracy Case. The case was unique in several ways. This trial of 1929 which was a sequel to the Peshawar Conspiracy Cases of 1922-23 and Kanpur Conspiracy Case of 1924 was the biggest political trial held in India under the British.

The case started on 15 March 1929 when the British Government in India launched prosecutions against thirtyone persons including three Britishers (Philip A. Spratt, B. F. Bradley and H. L. Hutchinson), 11 Maharashtrians (S. V. Ghate, S. S. Mirajkar, K. N. Joglekar, R. S. Nimbkar, S. A. Dange, A. A. Alwe, G. R. Kasse, D. Thengdi, G. M. Adhikari, M. A. Desai and L. Kadam), 7 Bengalis (L. D. Goswami, G. Chakravarti, Gopal Basak, Radha Raman Mitra, Kishori Lal Ghosh, Shiv Nath Banerji and Biswanath Mukerji) and four Muslims (Muzaffar Ahmed, Shaikat Usmani, Shamsul Huda and Mir Abbul Majid) on the charge that they were members of a conspiracy to deprive His Majesty the King Emperor of his sovereignty of British India within the meaning of Section 121 A, I.P.C. The remaining 6 accused were S. H. Jhabwala, P. C. Joshi, Sohan Singh Josh, Ayodhya Prasad and Gauri Shankar.

According to the Indian communist leaders tried in this case the British Government had twofold aims in view in starting proceedings against them. The first aim was to counter the growing challenge of communism to the West and thus serve the interests of British foreign policy; and the second was to strike at the increasing leftism and militancy of the trade union movement in India. The Government wanted to split away the leftist movement from the main nationalist movement by terrorizing it and damning it in the eyes of Indian People. For this purpose the Government had raised the bogey of communist danger in the country through the introduction of the Public Safety Bill and the Trades Disputes Bill both of which became law in early 1929.¹

The Government of India had however the following two reasons in view for instituting the case: (1) to break up the existing communist organisation in India and to remove the more dangerous leaders; and (2) to expose by means of a judicial pronouncement which would not be questioned, the real aims and methods of the communists and thereby

1. *Communists Challenge Imperialism from the Dock* — Introduction by Muzaffar Ahmad (Being the General Statement of the Eighteen Communist Accused; Calcutta, 1967), pp. iii-iv.

to facilitate further action against associations, such as the Workers and Peasants Parties¹.

On 15 March 1929, warrants were issued against the alleged conspirators and searches and arrests followed soon after from all parts of the country almost at the same time. The police carried away in sacks, correspondence files, news-sheets, old newspaper files, books, registers, diaries, minute books and pamphlets belonging to various workers and Peasants parties trade unions and their prominent members.

The government deliberately chose the small mofussil town of Meerut for trying the accused. There was a difference of opinion among the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council over the selection of this place. It was the overriding necessity of not letting the accused have an opportunity to seek trial by jury that made the government decide upon Meerut. The Viceroy in his telegram to the Secretary of State for India sent on 27 February 1929 expressed his fears: "without considering or realising the consequences, politicians generally agree showing some sympathy with communists. Jurors are affected by such popular sympathy. If the defence took a political line the chances would be that the jury would acquit²" It was feared that in the bigger towns of Bombay, or Calcutta, the main scenes of communist activity, jury decision may go in favour of the accused, and the prevalent special procedure in these towns would make it obligatory for the Government to have trial by jury. The government, therefore, made the conference of the Workers and Peasants Party held in October 1928 in Meerut the ground for convicting those who had allegedly delivered objectionable speeches in the conference.

The real cause for launching the prosecutions was as hinted above, different. The growing influence of communists in the All India Trade Union Movement and their presence on the top bodies of the Indian National Congress as also the unprecedented militancy and radical change in the character and functioning of the trade union movement in the years 1927-28 characterised by serious strikes lasting several months under communist leadership of the famous Girani Kamgar Union in Bombay and elsewhere was something of an anathema to the British Government in India. The Government sought to prove that the Communist International and most important, perhaps, the Red International of Labour Unions, the Communist Party of Great Britain and the League Against Imperialism and four other lesser

1. Government of India, Home Department (Political) File No. 7/19/1933, National Archives of India, New Delhi.
2. Government of India, Home Department (Political) File No. 10/IV/1929 & K. W.

international organisations and more than 50 individuals, most of them abroad, but chiefly, M. N. Roy and C. P. Dutt were the key participants who helped the Indian accused in organising the Communist Party of India and the Workers and Peasants Party with the object of furthering the aims of the conspiracy. Organisations like the Workers' Welfare League of India and Indian Seamen's Union were fully dominated by the communists.

During 1928, when powerful movements of the working class were in progress in various parts of India, the government had been collecting materials well in advance for the prosecutions to be launched against the accused. Lawyers had been commissioned on very big fees to study the material and prepare the case. The government had engaged Mr. Longford James, a renowned barrister of Calcutta High Court at a fee of 80 guineas per day and his junior Mr. J. P. Mitra was paid a fee of 5 guineas a day for the entire period of the trial. In those days the guinea had the constant value of Rs. 17/- and the government paid such big fees whether the court was in session or not and irrespective of holidays. It was estimated that the Government used to pay a sum of Rs. 34,000/- per month to Mr. James alone¹. The communist accused in the case used to pour ridicule on the prosecution counsel by rhyming:

'Hail Langford James
Saviour of Britain's grace
Whose fees are more handsome
than his face.'

However, shortly before launching the proceedings, the government found to its dismay that in the closing months of 1928 it was the nationalist movement led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose which looked more menacing than the communist movement. It was very much handicapped in dealing with such a hydra-headed situation. According to Mr. H. G. Haig, a member of the Viceroy's executive Council, any enactment of special legislation as was urged upon by some of the provincial governments for dealing with communist danger would have further strengthened the bonds between the nationalists and the communists resulting in the situation which the government would not have been prepared to countenance under any circumstances.²

Jawaharlal Nehru, who took keen interest in the organisation of the defence committee for the accused and for sometime in the early stages of the trial was able to get the Indian National Congress also

1. Muzaffar Ahmad, *Op. cit.*, p. v.
2. Government of India, Home Department (Political) File No. 10/IV/1929 & K. W.

interested in the defence efforts, wrote to Walter M. Citrine, General Secretary of the Trade Union Congress General Council of Great Britain in early 1929: "...the majority of the accused know little about communism. This cry of communism is meant to cover a multitude of sins of the government. People concerned with any kind of labour or peasant activity have been arrested and are being tried." Commenting on the prosecution's method of putting forward its case, Jawaharlal wrote to Citrine: "...the counsel for the prosecution held forth as if he was addressing a Hyde Park meeting and the Government of India sent down their head publicity officer from Simla to Meerut simply to organise propaganda."

He added: "the real issue is the breaking of the trade union movement in India."

When the trial ended in the beginning of 1933 several of the accused were given long terms of imprisonment by the Sessions Court which were reduced by the Allahabad High Court on appeal. The trade union movement in India which was sought to be reduced in strength and effectiveness became more militant, and in the year 1929, it had passed into the hands of staunch leftists in the country where even a person like Jawaharlal Nehru could not make his voice heard or views prevail. The almost contrary results produced by the trial caused great disappointment to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India in London. The India Office in its letter dated 17 August 1933 to the Home Department in India observed: "the Secretary of State himself inclines to the opinion that while the original decision to prosecute may have been sound and the prolonged incarceration of the most dangerous communist leaders had undoubtedly been advantageous, the length of the trial and its ultimate result have aroused so much resentment against the government and the law as to obscure the major issues which the prosecution was intended to make plain." The Government of India concurred with the Secretary of State's opinion and attributed the diversion of attention from the main objects to the long duration of the trial, the enormous expenditure incurred in dealing with the case and the substantial reduction by the High Court in the long and drastic sentences awarded by the Sessions Court resulting in the release of several of the accused; they had already undergone the sentences now awarded by the High Court by the time the case was referred to it. It also felt that the climate of opinion created by the Nationalist press in India and the English papers such as *The Daily Herald* and *The Manchester Guardian* in favour of the accused was responsible for public resentment over Government policy. The Home Department admitted that the trial and its

1. Bombay Police Commissioner's File No. 1291/B/I of 1929-30 (Typed copy in Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi).

conclusion had not put any effective check to the growth of communist movement or propaganda. It wrote to the Secretary of State, "Communist propaganda, however, has not ceased and a detailed account of the designs of the Communist International, of the activities of Communist agents, and of recent developments and possible dangers ahead will be found in chapters 19 to 22 of *India and Communism*."

No sooner had the judgment on this case been announced than the reports of the resurgence of fresh troubles began to be sent by several provincial governments. The Government of Bombay while urging upon the Government of India the immediate need of taking a comprehensive view of the growing and real danger of a communist upheaval in the country also cautioned that the government should not rely in future on the ordinary law to prove conspiracy, a lesson learnt from the Meerut case. The Bombay Government wrote on 21st June 1933 to the Government of India: "The problem of dealing with communists and their activities has again been forced on the Government of Bombay by the efforts which have been made for some months in Bombay city, Sholapur and Ahmedabad to bring about a general strike in textile factories. The position which at present exists . . . affords a close parallel to that which existed at the beginning of 1928..." Thus the main purpose of prosecution was defeated and the case produced results which were quite contrary to what the government had intended. As admitted by the C.I.D. in their reports on Communism in India published in 1933, the case had actually misfired.

However, the trial as it jogged on to its anti-climax produced lot of interest inside the country and abroad because of the huge publicity that attended it. The way it proceeded to its dreary end in January 1933, it confirmed the impression of many of its close observers and analysts of its being more like shadow boxing on both sides; still, it was a very trying and exasperating exercise of wits and resources for both the prosecution and the defence.

While some results of the case caused dismay and concern to the British Government, it proved most advantageous from the points of view of the future historian and researcher. The prosecution for its own purpose got collected at one place through searches a mass of material which in fact now constitutes a corpus of literature on the

1. Government of India, Home Department (Political) File No. 7/19/1933, (This compilation by the Intelligence Bureau of the Government of India is no longer treated as confidential and is available in the National Archives of India Library.)

2. Government of India, Home Department (Political) File No. 7/8/1933.

history and growth of communism and trade union movement in India till March 1929.

As was given out in the judgment announced on 16 January 1933, the enquiry and trial together lasting a period of three years and ten months had its printed records covering about 10,000 pages. While the judgment alone covered 676 closely printed foolscap pages and it took full five months for the Additional Sessions Judge to write it, the Sessions Court had to patiently plod along by examining as many as 637 witnesses and had also to scrutinise and file more than five thousand exhibits. In addition to what it cost to the defence the government had to spend over 17 lakhs of rupees in conducting the prosecution.¹

In sheer statistical terms the printed literature of the case alone makes an impressive reading. It is as shown below.

1. Index of prosecution exhibits . . . — 258 foolscap pages
2. Index of defence exhibits . . . — 122 foolscap pages
3. Total number of prosecution exhibits . . . — 4859 pp.
4. Prosecution exhibits printed . . . — 3019 foolscap pages
5. Total number of defence exhibits . . . — 1406 pp.
6. Defence exhibits printed . . . — 428 foolscap pages
7. Speeches of the accused used by the prosecution— 582 „ „
8. English translations of prosecution exhibits i.e.,— 938 „ „
leaflets, circulars, letters, minutes etc. in Hindi,
Marathi, Gurmukhi, Urdu and Bengali (Marathi —242 pp.)
(Hindi —168 pp.)
(Urdu —218 pp.)
(Gurmukhi —82 pp.)
(Bengali —228 pp.)

938
9. Prosecution exhibits as stated above in different Indian languages (printed) . . . — 720 approx
10. Statements made by 281 prosecution witnesses in Sessions Court . . . — 900 pp.
11. Statements made by 320 prosecution witnesses in the Magistrate's Court . . . — 503 pp.
12. Statements made by 36 defence witnesses in the Sessions Court. . . — 110 pp.

1. *The Bombay Chronicle*, 17 January 1933.

13. Statements made by the accused in the Sessions Court — 3092
(in four printed volumes)
14. Opening address by the prosecution Counsel — 34 pp.
15. Orders of the Additional Sessions Judge, Meerut District Court . . . — 70 pp.(approx)
16. Committal orders passed by the Additional District Magistrate, Meerut . . . — 287 pp.
17. Judgement delivered by the Additional Sessions Judge, Meerut District Court . . . — 676 pp.
(in two volumes)

From the researcher's point of view, these records contain a mine of information on M. N. Roy and his political thought till 1928, trade union movement in India, international Communism and its impact on India. Some of the important collections of newspapers files which were seized and used as exhibits by the prosecution can also be found among these records.

Some idea can be formed of the important and valuable contents of these records from the following classification attempted to show in brief the various categories of materials constituting them.

(A) *Correspondence*.—The police had intercepted many letters that passed between the various trade union leaders, leftist and communist workers. Some of them were also seized from houses and party offices during searches. From among the accused the most prominent correspondents were Muzaffar Ahmed, P. C. Joshi, P. Spratt, Kishori Lal Ghosh and S. A. Dange. The other accused whose letters seized were Sohan Singh Josh, M. G. Desai, S. V. Ghate, B. F. Bradley, Gopal Basak, M. A. Majid, Shaukat Usmani, Biswanath Mukerji, and Dr. Gangadhar Adhikari. Letters of many others who were connected with the trade union and leftist movements in one way or another were also seized and form part of these records. M. N. Roy was the most prominent among them. Among other such correspondents may be mentioned Harry Pollitt, F. J. Ginwala, Clement P. Dutt, Surendra Nath Tagore, V. Chattopadhyaya, V. V. Giri, and Jawahar Lal Nehru. Most of the letters are of the period 1927-9 and very useful for a study of the communist party in India during its formative stage as well as for tracing the growth of the trade union movement depicting as they do the efforts made by party workers for extending their activities in various parts of India and linking them organisationally to make it an all-India movement. Amongst them is to be found the famous "Assembly letter"

(so-called as it was read out in the Central Legislative Assembly by the British Government) dated 30th December 1927 written pseudonymously by M. N. Roy to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India and the Workers and Peasants Party but its authorship denied by the accused for tactical reasons.

In this letter were spelled out the objects which the Communist Party of India should keep before itself and the methods it should employ for achieving them. Roy wrote: "As far as the Workers & Peasants Party is concerned, the question is answered, it should affiliate itself with the League Against Imperialism. That will serve our purpose. Through that you will have the relations and aid you need, but you will not be condemned for having relations with Moscow. It is politically important also... The Communist Party must unquestionably be a section of the Communist International. It is practically treated as such, but no formal request to this effect has as yet come from our party in India". Disapproving of the resolution passed at the last conference of the Communist Party of India which indicated that the Indian Communists did not care to be recognised by any foreign organisation, Roy wrote: "You cannot only demand material support, and refuse to abide by the progress and directions of the mightiest world organisation." He added: "those who smell 'foreign dictation' in this organisational principle of a body that carries on a relentless struggle throughout the world are not Communists."

On the question of the status of the Communist Party of India, Roy held the view: "On the question of the necessity of the Communist Party, there is no difference. The difference appears to be in the method of forming the Communist Party. Some comrades at home seem to believe in the necessity of organising the Communist Party legally. The existence of the Communist Party should be known, every worker and peasant must know it, but don't emasculate the party with the banal and cowardly doctrine of bourgeois nationalism that all our activities are overboard, we have nothing to hide... There is no 'fair-play', no gentlemanliness, in the revolutionary struggle."

Pointing out the essential difference between the Communist Party and Workers and Peasants Party, Roy wrote that it was in the form of organisation. "While the former can have only individual membership, the latter will have individual as well as collective membership. The Communists in each Workers & Peasants Party organisation must work as a compact group under the direction of the Central Committee of the Communist Party", he added. Roy found fault with the way the party press was being run. *Ganavani*, the Calcutta Paper of Muzaffar Ahmad appeared to him to be "full of articles written more for Tagorean literary effect than for saying something to the workers and peasants."

In a letter dated 28th January 1926, soon after the first Communist Conference on all-India basis, Shri Janaki Prasad Begarhotta, Secretary of the Communist Party wrote to Shri Ghate in Bombay, "I am sending with this the rules and regulations of the Communist Party of India and you can begin the work... Why don't you write to the president to let you have something out of the Amsterdam money that he carries with him of which he was speaking at Cawnpore. I have a mind to suggest a deputation of some people like Hasrat and Sethi to travel all round India for the collection of funds and organising provincial and local committees to undertake the working of our Programme....."

In a subsequent letter dated 7th February 1926 written by Begarhotta to Ghate, we get an idea of members of the newly formed Communist Party of India, some of whom were members of the All India Congress Committee too, trying to sabotage through various means the attempts made by one Shri Satyabhakta to keep the party under his control and influence. Satyabhakta had already been isolated and deprived of any position of influence in the party at the very first conference of the Communist leaders convened by Satyabhakta. "There is no wonder in Satya Bhakta's refusing to send to you the papers meant for the party. It is all what we apprehended and since it has come without any offensive from us, let us boldly meet it. We will have to utilise quite a different method for the end of Satyabhakta's communist life. You will see that as soon as he is denounced by us he will leave the camp and will perhaps become an anti-Communist even... Let us have all the four centres except Cawnpore organised and let all these be affiliated by us to show our existence much bigger than his, and then we will condemn Satyabhakta in the Central Executive and will place another man in his stead....."

S. V. Ghate wrote to Shapurji Saklatwala, Communist M.P. in the House of Commons, Great Britain, on 1st January 1927, "...our own party which came into existence a year ago, under the most adverse conditions, has not been able to make headway with its programme. However, we have great hopes that with your suggestions and lead we shall be able to do some substantial progress with our work..." Thus guidance was sought not necessarily from the Communist International but from the Communist Party of Great Britain as well.

Non-participation and lack of show of interest and support to the famous Brodoli agitation by the Communist Party of India led C. P. Dutt, the London Secretary of the Workers' welfare League of India and the agent of the Indian Trade Union Movement in Great Britain to write to the Joint Secretary of the Communist Party of India on 28th June 1928 criticizing the party's role of indifference to the agitation. He wrote: "It is true that the movement is sponsored by many elements not at all sympathetic to the real interests of the workers and

peasants, including Gandhi himself, but that is not in itself a reason to declare against it any more than the fact of the participation in it of rich cultivators."

For strengthening the base of the newly founded Workers & Peasants Party in U.P. C. P. Dutt wrote to P. C. Joshi from England on 29th November 1928: "Our strength will depend very largely on how far it is possible to attract actual workers engaged in industry, to help them to organise themselves, and to help them produce leaders of their struggle from their own ranks. The experience of China is of overwhelming importance for us just on this point..."

On 9th March 1929, Muzaffar Ahmad writing to P. C. Joshi expressed his fears about the harm the party may have to sustain on account of petty bourgeois outlook of certain members. In the same letter he also wrote to Joshi in critical terms about Jawahar Lal Nehru's politics. He wrote: "why do you bother so much about what Mr. Jawahar Lal has told you? What more one can expect from a timid reformist like him? In his speech he is very bold about the using of the phraseology reg. the masses of the people, but he is not bold enough to go and work amongst them. We really care little for this kind of reformists. A worse propaganda was made against Lenin and his comrades by the people of this school of thought. How do you expect that we shall be saved by them?..."

There is a letter from Mahatma Gandhi in the correspondence portion of the records addressed to Radha Raman Mitra (one of the accused) on 8th November 1925, preceded by another certifying that the latter had been a teacher at Rajkot Rashtriya Vidyalaya and inmate of Gandhiji's ashram for some time. This letter has not been included in the printed Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi covering this period. Gopal Basak complains to P. Spratt on 11th March 1929 against the breach of party rules. The previous day he had complained to Muzaffar Ahmad about factionalism and bad feeling prevalent among the communist workers at Calcutta. He had asked him; "What are all these misunderstandings for? Social democratic mania or personal ambitions!"

The bureau of the Communist International sent an article on 'How to organise a working class party' with their letter to the Communist Party of India on 13th October 1928. A few similar letters are merely forwarding articles and such-like material. For instance; 'the Colonial policy of the Labour and Socialist International' with forwarding letter addressed to Jhabwala and Dange by Clement Dutt, letter from Juseforwitsch dated 20 October 1928 addressed to S. A. Dange with a note on 'The task of the revolutionary element in India' with an appeal from the Red International of Labour Unions to

A.I.T.U.C.; a letter from M. N. Roy to Janki Prasad Begarhotta dated 6th November 1928 with a note 'Should Communist Party be a secret party?' meant to be published in some leftist periodical.

(B) *Notes and Articles*: Personal papers and correspondence of the accused collected by the police for later use as prosecution evidence contain a number of notes and articles. For instance: Notes in English by P. C. Joshi on Trotsky's *Towards Socialism or Capitalism*, and on 'League of Young Comrades of U.P.'; Notes by P. Spratt on public Safety Bill, on demands formulated for seamen's union, on E. I. Railway dispute, on working class movement (dt. 1st September, 1928), on 'Communism—a guide for reading', on organisation and work of the party, a draft statement on Nehru Committee Report (1928) and a slip urging all members of Young Comrades League to do propaganda in villages; a typed article by B. F. Bradley on 'Bombay Mill Strike' and a note on technical mistakes therein committed by the party; A note-book containing notes in Marathi on 'The Civil War in Bombay' by Amir Haidar; R. S. Nimbkar's article on 'Role of Labour in China'; and S. V. Ghate's signed article, 'The Workers and Peasant Party: What it stands for, its programme and policy': The last one which was later printed in the form of a pamphlet gives us an idea of how this party came into existence. He writes: "...with the idea of bringing the workers and peasants into the national struggle a small group of workers in the B.P.C.C. (Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee) formed themselves into the Congress labour group in order to make the Congress really interested in the working class movement. Later, in the early part of 1927, this group founded the Workers and Peasants Party with a definite and clear-cut programme and policy. The authorship of some of the typed articles seized by the police cannot be determined such as those entitled 'Russia and India,' 'R.I.M. Dock Workers Union'; 'Our attitude to Congress and present Labour Leadership'; 'The lessons of the forty third Indian National Congress'; 'Immediate programme of the Congress Radical Party'; 'Immediate tasks of the Communists' or notes in pencil on jute worker's earlier strikes.

(C) *Speeches*: The police seized copies of all the available prepared public speeches of R. S. Nimbkar, K. N. Joglekar, S. S. Mirajkar and A. Alwe from among the accused. The other accused whose speeches and presidential addresses were used as prosecution evidence were: (i) Sohan Singh Josh—Presidential addresses at First All India Workers and Peasants Party Conference, Calcutta, 21st December 1928 and at second Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha Conference at Lahore on 22nd February 1929; and speeches at Meerut Kisan and Mazdur Conference, October 1928, and Rohtak Kirti Kisan Conference on 10th March 1929; (ii) Muzaffar Ahmed—speeches

at Meerut Kisan and Mazdur Conference, October 1928 and at Dock Workers meeting on 28th October 1928; (iii) Mir Abdul Majid—Speeches at Meerut Kisan and Mazdur Conference, October 1928 and at Lyallapur Kirti Kisan Conference on 29th September 1928; (iv) Kidar Nath Saigal—Presidential address at Workers and Peasants Conference, Meerut, October 1928; (v) S. H. Jhabwala—Presidential address at the Bundelkhand Peasants and Workers Conference, Jhansi, October 1928; (vi) P. Spratt—Youngmen's Conference at Malda on 7th November 1928. In the case of some other accused where the text of speeches was not available *in extenso* reports of them were utilized, for example; speeches of H. L. Hutchinson—at a public meeting held on 2nd March 1929 in Matunga, Bombay, on youth and politics; S. N. Banerji—at the Lilloah strikers meeting on 28 April 1928 at Titagarh; Radha Raman Mitra—at a meeting of scavengers in Calcutta in 8th March 1928; Biswanath Mukerji—at a meeting of railway employees held on 2nd June 1926 at Gorakhpur. Some other speakers whose speeches were included in prosecution evidence but who were not charged with treason were: Prof. Dharamvir Singh—at Meerut Kisan and Mazdur Conference, October 1928; Singaravelu's Presidential address at the first Indian Communist Conference, Cawnpore, 1925; F.J. Ginwala—Presidential address at the Bombay Province Trade Union Conference on 10th March 1928 and Jawaharlal Nehru—Presidential address at Bombay Presidency Youth Conference, 12th December 1928. As for H. W. Johnston only the report of his speech delivered on 18 December 1928 at the All India Trade Union Congress, Jharia, was utilized. The presidential addresses delivered at the annual sessions (from 5th to 8th) of the All India Trade Union Congress also were used as evidence.

(D) *Materials relating to Indian organisations*:—The records naturally contain a large number of reports of trade unions and peasant organisations in India, their proceedings, resolutions, rules and regulations, constitutions and the like. A sample of them is listed below; (i) *Reports*: All India Workers and Peasants Party Conference, Calcutta, December 1928; Executive Committee for 1927-28 of the Peasants and Workers Party of Bengal; Communist Party of India, (1927); All India Trade Union Conference, Cawnpore and Jharia Sessions, 1927-28; Bengal Nagpur Rly. Indian Labour Union (20th December 1926-31st March 1928); Meeting of the Mill strikers held in Damodar Thakarsey Hall, Bombay (June-September, 1928); (ii) *Resolution*: First All India Socialist Youth Congress, 1928, (on the formation of organisation of youths of Marxist views as vanguard of social revolution in India); Workers and Peasants Conference, Meerut (October 1928); Peasants Conference at Garhmukteswar, U.P. (6th November 1927); Bombay Youth Conference, (1928); All India Press Employees 1st Conference (Calcutta, June 1926); (iii) *Proceedings*:

Bengal Jute orkers Association, Garden Reach Workers Union (amalgamated with I.G.N. Rly.), Girani Kamgar Union; (iv) *Constitutions*: Workers & Peasants Party of Bengal, (1928); of Bombay (1928); Bombay Presidency Youth League; Communist Party of India; Bengal Jute Workers Association (1929); Kirti Kisan Sabha, Punjab; (v) *Rules, Regulations, Objects*:—Calcutta Tramway Workers' Union, All India Association of Youth League; Kisan and Mazdoor Sabha, Gorakhpur.

(E) *Reports of International Organisations*: Among the records are to be found reports and similar other material relating to a number of international organisations. There are theses, status, decisions, resolutions, programme and press correspondence of the 3rd Communist International ranging from its second to sixth Congresses and a report on Indian questions discussed at the Sixth Congress (1928). Among other international organisations whose reports are available may be mentioned the Colonial Conference held at Amsterdam (1926), the ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions, the fifth annual conference (1928) of the National Minority Movement and preliminary report of the first World Congress of the Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions. There are press reports of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam (January, 1929) and the Official report of the British Trades Union Delegation to Russia and Causasia (November-December 1924).

(F) *Pamphlets and Leaflets*:—There is a large variety of pamphlets, leaflets, manifestoes, and handbills issued by the Communist party and the Workers and Peasants Party. The manifestoes are those issued, for instance, at the Gauhati (1926) and Madras Sessions (1927) of the Indian National Congress, the Youth Congress in 1928 (issued under the signature of D. Thengdi) and a special one on Hindu-Muslim problem. There are pamphlets and leaflets in different languages. For example, *Biplav Pathe Russiar Rupantar*, and *Kishaker Katha* are in Bengali; *Mehnat Peshaoon ko Sandesh*, *Kisanon Ke liye Apurva Avasar*, *Gorakhpur Zile ke kisanon ko Dr. Vishwanath Mukerji ka Sandesh*, and *Gaon ki katha* (issued at the time of Workers and Peasants Party conference at Meerut in October (1928) are in Hindi. *Mumbaitil Nagrik Ho* and *Jahir Suchana* are handbills in Marathi issued by the Girani Kamgar Mahamandal at Bombay. There are pamphlets in foreign languages on labour movements in China and Philippines.

Some of the pamphlets bear the names of their authors. *Will the Bolesheviks Maintain Power and Imperialism* were extracts from Lenin's work printed in pamphlet form. Similarly, *A week in India* (1928) is by Fenner Brockway; *Some aspects of Indian Socialism* is

by Prof. Jyotish Chandra Ghosh; *Conspiracy of Imperialism in Trade Union Congress* is by S. A. Dange. The talks of V. V. Giri who was President of B. N. Railway's labour union in 1928 were issued in the form of a pamphlet. So was R. R. Bakhle's draft note on labour representation in legislatures which was printed in May 1925.

A leaflet in English issued at the time of the first All India Workers and Peasants Party Conference is entitled *Do you want freedom? Call to Action* is a pamphlet regarding the thesis and report presented to the third annual conference of the Workers and Peasants Party of Bengal held at Bhatpara in 1928 while *Trade Union Movement* is one regarding the thesis presented to the first All India Workers and Peasants Party Conference, December 1928. There are a couple of bulletins issued at the time of the first All India Socialist Congress, 1928.

The pamphlets are no less important than other materials for an intensive study of the beginning of the communist party. Encouraged by the successful resistance offered by the Mill workers in Bombay and elsewhere in 1928, the Communist leaders became hopeful of creating a mass base for the Communist Part. In one of the printed pamphlets issued during this period the immediate tasks of the Communists were outlined. It urged them to strive for "the Union of all Communist groups and individual communists scattered throughout the country into a single, independent and centralised Party." It also called for rejection of the principle of the building of the party on a two-class basis and utilisation of the connections of the existing workers' and Peasants Parties with the foiling masses for strengthening their own party while bearing in mind that the hegemony of the proletariat cannot be realised without the existence of a consolidated, steady fast communist Party, armed with the theory of Marxism. Another task spelled out for them was to expose the National-reformist leaders and carry on a decisive struggle for conversion of the trade unions into genuine class organisations.

Titles of some other leaflets and pamphlets are: *The religion of capital; The politics of oil, Monopoly or How Labour is robbed, Useful work versus Useless toil, The Principles of Socialism, The Logic of the Machine, Trade Union Movement in India, The Strength of the Strong, Elementary Course of Communist Party Training, The World Currents, Communism, Fascism, What Students of other countries have done, Revolution and Independence.*

(G) *International and Indian journals and periodicals:*

Among the foreign and interantional journals issues of which are available among the records for the period 1924-28 may be mentioned *The Workers, Sunday Workers, News Bulletins from U.S.S.R., Soviet*

Russia, The Communist International and Social Economic Labour Review Bulletin of the Red International Labour Union (seven bound books). As for the Indian journals only the following are to be found: *Lal Paltan* (weekly organ of the E. I. Rly. Union, Lillooah in Hindi); *Payam Mazdur* (Message to Workers, a weekly Urdu paper), *Langal* (in Bengali published from Calcutta which was later followed by *Ganavani*), *Kranti* (a Marathi weekly published from Bombay), *Kranatikari* (a Hindi weekly published from Jhansi) and *Chitramaya Jagat* (in Marathi, only the special issue June 1928, devoted to Soviet Russia). Some issues of the weekly bulletin of the Allahabad Youth League are also available.

(H) *Books:*

Apart from the well-known works of Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, M. N. Roy, R. Palme Dutt and such celebrated books as Gorky's *Mother* or John Reed's *Ten Days that shook the World* and *Imperialism* by Emile Burns most of which were not easily available in India then the police seized quite a few other important works. Many of them are now rare such as R. Palme Dutt's *Modern India*. Among other such works may be mentioned: 1. *Russia Under Soviet Rule* by Mme Ellen Vasselinna; 2. *Russians' Path to Communism* by G. Zinoviev; 3-5. *Lenin as a Marxist, The A.B.C. of Communism and Problem of the Chinese Revolution* by N. Bukharin; 6. *The mind and face of Bolshevism* by R. F. Miller; 7. *Towards Socialism or Capitalism* by L. Trotsky; 8-9. *Peshawar to Moscow* and its Hindi translation by Shaukat Usmani; 10. *Students' Marx* by Brochardt; 11. *Karl Marks* by D. Ryazanog; 12. *Whither China* by Scott Nearing; 13. *Hundred Percent Indian*, by C. J. Shah, 14. *Self Educator in Russian* by Louis Segal; 15. *Revolution by Reason* by Oswald Mosley; 16. *An Appeal to the Young* by Prince Kropotkin; 17. *Exploitation in India* by Thomas Johnston; 18. *Workers of the World Unite* by A. A. Purcell; 19-20. *Principles of Satyagraha and Wanted a National Government* by S. H. Jhabwala, 21. *A Short History of the British Workers* by R. W. Postgate; 22. *The Crisis in Russia* by Arthur Ransome; 23. *The Labour Party and the Empire* by L. Haden Guest; 24. *Out of Work* by G. D. H. Cole, 25. *The Socialist and Labour Movement in Japan* by an American Sociologist; 26. *The Crime of Poverty* by Henry George; 27. *Trade Unionism—Past and Future* by Mark Starr; 28. *The League of Nations and the World's Workers* by Kathleen E. Innes, and 29. *Bolshevik Russia* by G. E. Raine. There are English translations of Russian books such as *The Diary of a Communist Schoolboy* or *The Revolt of Potemin*. A number of books in German and French are also to be found. Among the Bengali books may be mentioned *Chitta Katha*, *Bengali Biplab Prachesta*, and *Paribar Goshti a Rashtra*. Shapurji Saklatwala's *Class Struggle in Parliament*, and *India and China* with

his foreward also form part of the records. The author had been prosecuted in Bombay in 1927. A number of works are anonymous. Amongst them may be mentioned: (i) *Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies*; (ii) *Socialism and the Empire* (being a report of the International Labour Party in 1926) (iii) *Revolt of Asia* (iv) *Coming of Socialist* (Indian reprint), (v) *Youth Movement in China*, (vi) *Village Life under the Soviets*, (vii) *New Schools of Russia*, (viii) *How the Soviets work* (ix) *Literature and Revolution*, (x) *Economic Organisation of the Soviet Union*, (xi) *Labour Movement in China* (published by the Communist International) and (xii) *Peasantry and the Revolution*.

The most important and rare among this veritable library on Communism is *Bolshevism* by E. Candler, and anti-Bolshevik study sponsored by the Home Department of the Government of India.

Here, it is apt to add that while the police seized almost everything in their search including the cameras and other personal effects of the accused, not every item was used as an exhibit; in fact a number of personal things belonging to the accused were returned to them. While some of the intercepted letters were withheld others were reposted the addressees after they were copied or photographed.

There is yet another interesting aspect of these records. It is that barring published books or bulky reports etc. which could not obviously be reprinted for use as exhibits, the prosecution exhibits in the form of letters, circulars, notices, articles, speeches and the like were extensively published for the convenience of the prosecution. We therefore find a lot of such material available in print. The same is however not true of the defence exhibits as the government obviously did not want to provide this facility to the defence counsels nor did it want to spent money on publication of defence exhibits like letters, circulars etc. in large number. We, therefore, find a very small number of defence exhibits in print. Excepting books on bulky reports most of the materials in Indian languages were translated into English by the prosecution either in its own interest or on demand by the defence.

Also, in the records themselves is found a printed catalogue of the prosecution exhibits divided according to various subjects dealt with in detail by them like League against Imperialism and its connections with leftist leaders in India, Workers and Peasants Party, The Communist International and the like. This was meant for exclusive use by the prosecution.

Incidentally, it may also be mentioned that some printed material of this case which constitutes a fairly large portion of these records is also available in Delhi, in the office of the Communist Party of India, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Mahavir Jain Public Library, and Meerut

College. It has also been partly microfilmed by the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, while some printed material is available with the persons tried in this case.

But the pity was that all the original valuable material remained inaccessible to the historians and research scholars because it lay buried in 61 and odd *bastas* kept on rickety racks under the most unscientific conditions in the dark and ill-kept stack room of the district court in Meerut. These records which had endured the yearly onslaughts of heat and duststorms and many of them had in the course of last forty years or so given way also were the meek protesters against the neglect and indifference shown so far by the archivists in general and immediate custodians of these records in particular towards what constituted one of the most important source materials of modern Indian history. While the court authorities had at least shown some awareness of history by issuing instructions to their record keeper in the district court not to weed out any portion of these records and to preserve them permanently they had, however, left the more difficult question of their scientific maintenance for posterity's benefit unanswered. Thus, the yearly accretion of dust by these records continued to make the *bastas* in which they were kept weightier and at the same time it also increasingly exposed them to attacks from the usually familiar enemies of records viz., termites, silver-fish and above all the dust which in the case of these *bastas* was perhaps as old as the records themselves.

It was only about four or five scholars who had so far picked their way to these records and, not unlikely, caused some physical damage to some of the more brittle and fragile papers. The fear was that if these records were allowed to remain in the sorry condition in which they till now were, and with a few more scholars allowed to show all their zeal and interest in consulting them, a serious damage might have been caused to most of them.

The Court authorities although willing to extend all facilities to *bonafide* research scholars for consultation of these papers were also very anxious that some archival institution like the National Archives of India or the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library should try to get these records microfilmed. They had, however, been too tied down by the Court rules and regulations regarding preservation of records which do not allow their being taken out of the Court Record Room. According to rules no judicial record or portion of any judicial record can be taken out of court buildings or premises by any ministerial officer on any pretext whatever.¹

¹ *General Rules (Criminal) (With Forms and Appendices)*, 1957 for Criminal Courts Subordinate to the High Court Judicature at Allahabad, Chapter XI, Rule No. 116.

It was therefore extremely important that either the National Archives of India or the U. P. State Archives should take urgent steps to check this process of decay and destruction at the hands of nature of this important source material which lay untapped and which held forth the promise of enriching our knowledge of interaction of various radical movements in India in mid-twenties and late-twenties and how they influenced the subsequent radicalisation of the Congress programme in early thirties with what consequences.

Happily, these records have now found a new and permanent home in far better surroundings where every possible care will be taken to preserve them under most scientific conditions. For salvaging them from their old moorings where they awaited only one future which was slow but certain death the research scholars must offer sincere thanks to the Director, National Archives of India and the Allahabad High Court authorities. By taking them under their custody, the Department of National Archives has set a healthy precedent whereby records of all such political trials when they lose their current value can find a safer and better home in archival repositories in the country.

We end this brief survey of the Meerut conspiracy records with a hopeful note that following this happy precedent, records of other political trials and conspiracy cases will also now find a safer habitat under the benign care of the professional archivists and will thus be saved for posterity.*

*The author is deeply indebted to Dr. G. Adhikari for assistance in preparing this article. It would be also pertinent to point out that a great deal of supplementary material relating to the Meerut Conspiracy Case is available in the Home (Political) Department records of the Government of India at the National Archives of India.

THE SCANDINAVIAN INSTITUTE OF ASIAN STUDIES*

KARL R. HAELLQUIST

Traditions

THE discovery of a piece of Buddhist sculpture dating back to early 9th century during the excavation at the first capital of a united Sweden some years ago, provides a clue to indirect contacts between Scandinavia and India. But the first direct Scandinavian overseas contacts with India started with the establishment of an East India Company in the beginning of the 17th century. Around 1620 the Danes took a lease of Tranquebar from the governor of Tanjore.

It was a famous comedy-writer and historian in Denmark, Ludvig, Holberg, who wrote the first Scandinavian book with Indian history as its basis. According to Professor Kristof Glamann, Holberg's "Heroic Tales" was not only the first Danish—and Scandinavian—work taking its subject from Asiatic History but also heralded a new epoch in European civilization as Holberg's work was a forerunner of Voltaire's "*Eassai sur les Moeurs*" which also deals with the Orient.

The interest in trade voyages and missionary activities stimulated the scholarly interest in India and other parts of Asia. At the Copenhagen University there was a flourishing oriental philosophical school. The first prominent Danish scholar in this field visited Tranquebar in the early 19th century. Among Danish historians there has been a special interest in the India trade in the period 1772-92, *l'époque florissante*, when private trade with India was permitted. (The latest contribution, a monograph published by the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, is mentioned below).

Since the early 19th century several Swedish scholars have been working in the field of Indology and Comparative Religion. Parts of Mahabharata were translated into Swedish in the 1840's, of Rig-Veda and of Kalidasa's dramas and poems two decades later. Since then, Indology has been an established subject at several Swedish and other Scandinavian universities. There are Indological departments, and at other university departments and institutes individual scholars have been working on Indian studies. Gradually it was realized that a coordinating institute was needed.

Background

In 1963, at a meeting of the committee for cultural affairs in the Nordic Council (composed of Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and

*This article is partly based on the Newsletters published by the Institute.

Iceland) it was agreed that special attention should be paid to the expansion of Oriental and African Studies in Scandinavia. It was also agreed that this expansion would gain by intimate cooperation between the countries. A group of experts in each country was asked to report on the state of research and urgent requirements at various universities and institutions. At the end of the year the group recommended the establishment of an institute which could encourage, co-ordinate and support activities carried on in each individual country. The recommendation was accepted by the Ministers of Education and Culture. In 1965, and a committee of Professors Soren Egerod and Kristof Glamann (Denmark), Pentti Aalto (Finland), Georg Morgenstierne (Norway) and Bernhard Karlgren (Sweden) was appointed to make precise suggestions about the new institution. The constitution proposed by this committee was accepted, and the governing body of the new Institute met for the first time in early 1967. Two distinguished scholars from each of the countries Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden have been appointed by the Ministries of Education. Iceland is also entitled to appoint a member, but has not yet done so.

Inauguration

Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies was officially opened in September 1968 by the Danish Minister of Education and the inauguration ceremony was attended by Vice-Chancellors, professors and scholars from various Scandinavian universities, the Corps diplomatique of the countries of Asia and various friends and sponsors. The Minister of Education spoke about the value of increased Scandinavian co-operation. The Vice-Chancellor of the Copenhagen University talked about the excellent traditions of oriental learning in all the Scandinavian countries and the value of inter disciplinary efforts. He referred to the new institute as "a sanctuary for the growth of mutual enlightenment and education in Asian studies."

"The Institute is to serve as an instrument of original research and at the same time act as a centre of documentation and information. It will concern itself with the history, geography, economics, languages, and social sciences of Asia. In order to accomplish these tasks it has already been staffed with scholars representing more disciplines than any other organisation within the university: a historian, a philologist, an archaeologist, a jurist, a linguist,—and more scholars with different backgrounds will undoubtedly soon be added...

The Institute will promote the exchange of students and scholars, and hold Scandinavian and international conferences. More precisely, small groups of scholars and experts will be brought together in order to discuss particular subjects. At the same time it is hoped that through courses and documentation the fund of knowledge assembled

in this place may be drawn upon by groups who have their existence outside our own system of circulation; that the Institute may thereby strengthen the understanding of the cultural development, social order and mode of life peculiar to the peoples of Asia.....

Utilitarian objections are always irrelevant in research but results of research have often unexpected practical value. The Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies could not have been founded if in the past the principle of academic freedom had not been accepted for every branch of research that called forth the devotion of scholars.".....

One afternoon of the seminar following the inauguration was devoted to South Asia. Professor Holden Furber, University of Pennsylvania, spoke about "Madras Presidency in the Mid-eighteenth Century", and Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, New Delhi, on "Educational Policy in India".

Location

Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies is sited in Copenhagen at Kejsersgade 2. It is overlooking the Grey Friar Square laid out on the site of a medieval monastery facing some beautiful 18th century baroque houses. The Institute has been housed in a block belonging to the University of Copenhagen along with other institutes of Oriental studies. The location of SIAS in the immediate vicinity of the others has been arranged in order that they may all benefit from each others book—and MSS holdings.

It contains a library, a lecture and conference room, a catalogue room, offices for the permanent staff and a reading room, where journals and newspapers can be found on the open shelves. Two microfilm readers and two microfiche readers are at the disposal of students and visitors using the reading room. A copying machine is installed and copies can be obtained at low cost.

Collections of research material, books, journals and weeklies are available and lectures, courses and other activities are arranged. The Institute is trying to act as a channel of communication through which information can flow to scholars in Scandinavia about vital and interesting work carried out by their colleagues abroad, and vice versa.

The Institute is an independent institution, financed by contributions from Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. The expenses are paid by the Governments and worked out in proportion to the size of their various populations.

Director and Staff

At the first meeting of the governing body, Professor Soren Egerod was appointed director. At the following meetings Fellows were

elected. The fields covered by Fellows of the Institute are the following: Karl Reinhold Haellquist: Indian politics of the 20th century, Benedicte Hjejle: Indian history, 19th century; Trygve Lotveit: Modern China; Poul Mohr: Chinese law; Asko Parpola: Indology; and Per Sorensen: Thai prehistory. The Board of the SIAS consists—as mentioned earlier—of two scholars from each Scandinavian country. The Research Staff consists of 3 Danes, 1 Finn, 1 Norwegian and 1 Swede. Two Indian scholars, R. Panneerselvam and P. R. Subramanian, both graduates of the University of Kerala, have in turn been elected to a Research Fellowship at the SIAS on Danish Government grants to work in the South Asia Programme. They have been elected and sponsored by the International Institute of Tamil Studies in Madras. Dr. Panneerselvam has indexed names and titles of gods and persons which appear in the Tamil inscriptions published in the volumes of South-Indian inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India. With the assistance of a teacher in computer linguistic in the East Asian Institute, he prepared a computer concordance for two of the Tamil Sangam texts. A collection of Tamil documents in the Danish State Archives has been catalogued by the two Indian scholars. The documents are mostly letters addressed to the Danish officials in Tranquebar by their Indian subjects. The words are written down as they were pronounced and thus give interesting information about 18th century language. Some provincial archives have asked for help in cataloguing or in determining the origin and contents of manuscripts. In the provincial archives of a town in Northern Sweden for example, some Bengali MSS have been examined by Dr. Parpola.

A librarian and two assistant librarians have been assigned to the Institute by the Royal Library in Copenhagen in order to look after the oriental collections deposited with the SIAS and to build up the library. Three full time secretaries are employed at the Institute

Documentation

Among the large number of activities suggested was the recommendation that the Institute should act as a centre of information and documentation where the efforts made by individual libraries and universities could be coordinated and where new enterprises within the field of Asian studies could be encouraged and initiated. The library of the SIAS has been built up in close co-operation with the Royal Library in Copenhagen which already possesses large quantities of books bearing on most aspects of the history, arts, economics, and politics of Asia. In view of the limited financial resources it has been decided that the Royal Library shall continue as the major depository for books on Asia. But to make use of the expertise available at the Institute its Fellows act as consultants to the Royal Library, advising

on the acquisition of books within their particular fields of study. The Royal Library has deposited part of its valuable oriental collections with the Institute.

The library of the Institute itself would concentrate on bibliographies, handbooks, scholarly works of major importance, journals, registers and collections of valuable research material.

An essential part of the Institute's service function is to ensure that full information is available concerning the literature which exists about Asia in the more prominent libraries and centres of learning abroad. To meet this demand some important catalogues and bibliographies have been promptly acquired. Among these are Library of Congress, National Union Catalogue; University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, Library Catalogues; India Office Library, Commonwealth Relations Office, London, Catalogue of European Printed Books; University of California, Berkeley, East Asiatic Library Catalogue. A Series of bibliographies bearing on particular regions and aspects of Asian civilization have also been bought. These include works describing and listing primary source material available in the countries of Asia. For scholars interested in knowing about the work carried on at other universities and centres of learning, newsletters and bulletins from these institutions are kept in the library. A particular effort is made by the Institute to keep in touch with similar institutions abroad. Among the important collections of source material bought by the Institute may be mentioned: microeditions of the Census of India Reports, (1872-onwards) and the Gazetteers of India, imperial, provincial and district series (1124 vols.) Some minor collections such as The India Register. The India Office List and Reports of the Indian National Congress, 1885-1921, have also been acquired by the Institute. As the Institute has also been called upon to take part in broader educational enterprises a collection of documentary films has been built up. Some of them were presented to the Institute by the Information Service of the Government of India. To further the cause of documentation a Union Catalogue is being worked out to inform visitors about all holdings of books and documents in the various libraries in Scandinavia. In the Institute's own library tapes are being kept up to date regularly. New tapes are made for each broad subject division by adding new accessions. A quick-reference subject index has been compiled, which makes the library's holding in any particular subject easy to find, but a detailed index still remain a desideratum.

A catalogue of scholars and research institutions working in the field of Asian studies has been worked upon and about 2,500 entries have been made. To further the contact between Scandinavian scholars a select Bibliography of Scandinavian Orientalists is planned. From time to time unofficial lists called "Current Research on Asia", containing

the names, addresses, and topics of research of various groups of scholars are published. The temporary nature of the information makes it desirable that these lists should be issued promptly and that fresh questionnaires should be issued at certain intervals. A computer will be used for a more sophisticated use of the information contained in the questionnaires. The list of Scandinavian scholars includes about 250 scholars.

Research Projects

The instalment of a Dura Tempowriter at the Institute has led to an increased interest in the uses of electronic data processing for research purposes. The Dura Tempowriter is an ideal machine for the making of indexes, concordances, and many other types of textual work. It is proving equally useful to the staff at the SIAS and to visiting scholars and students. A concordance to the early Tamil Sangam literature, an edition of Jaiminiya Srautasutra, a character index with Chinese and English equivalents for the text of the four Buddhist *sutras* which comprise the majority of the Tangut blockprints of the Mongol period, are examples of what has been done with the aid of the tempowriter. In all the experiments with writing tapes for the computer, problems of transcription have to be solved, and the experience gained will lead to more efficient methods of reading and writing of Asian languages. A Concordance of Sanskrit words occurring in the Titles of the Buddhist Canon, has recently been enlarged by Mr. Eric Grinstead to include a translation into English of the Sanskrit words and a quick-reference listing of all words in the titles of works in the Chinese Canon. Mr. Grinstead has been working in New Delhi on the preservation of the texts of the Buddhist *sutras* blockprinted in the Tangut kingdom of Hsi-hsia. Copies of these are kept in the International Academy of Indian Culture.

Early in 1969 Dr. Asko Parpola, a Fellow of the SIAS, announced that the work of deciphering the inscriptions of the Indus civilization on which he and a few other Finnish scholars had been engaged for some years, had come to the turning point. An interim report of their findings was published by the Institute as No. 1 in the series of Special Publications. The Finnish scholars are convinced that the language spoken and written in the Indus valley was proto-Dravidian, and that affinities exist between that culture and those of the Dravidian-speaking Southern India. For the better understanding of the early languages and cultures of Tamilnad various research schemes have been designed. It has decided that for the analysis of the language the most important research tool would be a Tamil laxicon converted into machine-readable form. Punched on tape all the schemes have been designed in order to create some useful quantitative data. A concordance of the available Harappan inscriptions will be published later this year. Dr. Parpola has continued his work

on the decipherment during a recent stay in India, and plans to present some of his findings in a book which will appear at the end of 1971.

The Institute has established a field station in Thailand to provide facilities for Scandinavian scholars to carry out research in that country. It is situated in the northern provincial town of Lampang, and is capable of providing accommodation for about 20 scholars. There is a library, a lecture hall, camp equipment for scholars who are likely to do considerable field work, technical aids such as tape recorders, cameras, typewriters, and archaeological excavation equipment. Several Scandinavian scholars have expressed their hopes that a similar Scandinavian research field station will be established in India. To support and stimulate further research in Scandinavia on Asia scholarships to students and scholars have been granted.

As there is a demand within Scandinavia for books and articles on Asia written in one of the Scandinavian languages and as teachers find it particularly difficult to provide their students with this sort of literature, the Institute has started publishing another series in cooperation with our publishing firm Studentlitteratur.

Guest Lectures, Conferences and symposia

The invitation of foreign scholars to lecture at Scandinavian universities is highly desirable—although sometimes difficult to finance. Particularly in the field of Asian studies where only a limited number of topics can be covered by the regular teachers there is a need for guest lectures. Several guest lecturers have been invited to lecture at some leading universities in Scandinavia. Thus Professor Ashin Das Gupta, (Calcutta) has delivered lectures on The Eighteenth Century Crisis in India, Professor V. P. Dutt, (University of Delhi) on China's Cultural Revolution and on India's Foreign Policy with special regard to China, Professor W. H. Morris-Jones, Director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, on his methods of analysis of the 1969 Indian elections and his research projects on political recruitment and on the relationship between votes of all parties in India and the socio-economic characteristics of the districts containing the constituencies, Professor Paul Thieme (University of Tübingen) on the History of Indian Religions, Speculation and Magic in the Upanishads, and on the God Varuna and Truth, etc.

In 1970 the Institute acted as host to the Second European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies. 75 scholars attended the conference. The majority came from Europe—from 24 different universities and research institutions—but some were from India, Pakistan and U. S. A. The papers were concentrated on three major themes: The Effect of Political, Institutional, and Administrative Factors on

Social and Economic Change, Indian Nationalism, and the Identification of Regional Groups. As an indicator of European concern with the affairs of South Asia, the conference was encouraging. The first European bi-annual Conference was held in Cambridge, and the third will be held in Heidelberg.

Teachers' Courses

In the last few years Basic knowledge of Asia, its history geography, and social and political institutions have received greater attention in the school curricula both at primary and secondary level, of all the Scandinavian countries. There is, however, a shortage of qualified teachers and good and reliable books and other sources of easily accessible information. To tackle some of these problems Scandinavian Ministries of Education, education boards, UN-Associations and Unesco National Commissions have applied to the Institute to co-operate with them in the arrangement of regular courses for teachers on various regions of Asia. Three courses on India have been arranged so far. Besides, a special India programme was arranged in Copenhagen, where Indian music was played, a film by Satyajit Ray and documentary films were shown, a book exhibition was arranged by Asia Publishing House, a lecture was given by Dr. Romilla Thapar, and Indian tea was served. The Institute has taken part in an 'Information about India' campaign running for more than a year in Denmark, and Fellows of the Institute are co-authors of a textbook called Jai Hind. Institute has taken part in many courses arranged by the Overseas Services, Scandinavian Associations for International Co-operation, Development authorities, UN-Associations etc.

In his inauguration speech—partly quoted before, the Vice-Chancellor of the Copenhagen University had said:

"The demolition of old barriers between different branches of research and education gets more and more urgent and this is equally true for the divisions between technology and the humanities and between political and natural sciences. The breaking down of the barriers creates new perspectives for a broader understanding, and a wider research. The more one is pushed towards specialization by the acceleration of knowledge, the more important it becomes to create fertilising influences of mutual co-operation". This is what the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies stands for—in co-operation with other similar institutes and learned societies in Asia and in other countries.

Publications

The Institute is publishing a series of works of a scholarly nature and dealing with subject relating to Asia. The Swedish firm Studentlitteratur, of Lund, is acting as publishers. The Board of the Institute

acts as an advisory Committee. The volumes published in the SIAS Monographs Series are:

Reading on Asian Topics. Papers read at the inauguration of the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies. 131 pp. 1970. £ 1:65, \$ 4.

Ole Feldbaek: *India Trade under the Danish Flag 1772-1808 (European Enterprise and Anglo-Indian Remittance and Trade.)* 359 pp. 1969 £ 3:75, \$ 9.

Owen Lattimore: *History and Revolution in China*, 46 pp. 1970. £ 0:75, \$ 1.75.

Eric Grinstead and Yoshiko Iizuka: *Guide to the Chinese Decorative Script*. 35 pp. 1970. £ 1.40, \$ 3.50.

Peter Hardy: *Partners in Freedom—and True Muslims. The Political Thought of some Muslim Scholars in British India 1912-1947*. 63 pp. 1971. £1:25, \$ 3.

Books which will appear in 1971 or beginning of 1972 in the Institute's Monographs Series are:

Klas Markensten: *Foreign Investment and Development. Swedish Companies in India*.

Asko Parpola: *Time and Eternity. A Reconstruction of Harappan Hinduism*,

Asko Parpola, Seppo Koskeniemi and Simo Parpola: *The Indus Inscriptions. A Critical edition and concordance*.

Eric Grinstead: *A Concordance of Sanskrit Words in the Titles of the Buddhist Canon; Symposium on Chinese Grammar*.

Soren Egerod: *The Poem in Four Songs. A Northern Thai Tetralogy*.

Otto Chr. Dahl: *Comparative Indo-Malayan-Polynesian Linguistics*.

Several reprints of articles written by the Director or Fellows of the Institute in various journals have been published in the Joint Reprint Series. In the beginning of each year the Institute is publishing a Newsletter, edited by Dr. Benedicte Hjejle.

SOME PORTUGUESE SOURCES FROM GOA FOR SOUTH ASIAN HISTORY IN THE 17TH CENTURY*

B. G. TAMASKAR

WITH the kind and grateful courtesy of Chevalier P. S. Pissurlencar, late Director of the Portuguese Archives at Goa, I secured some contemporary Portuguese source-materials on Malik Ambar (1595-1626 A.D.), the celebrated Premier and Regent in the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. In this paper I venture to present such portions of these sources as do not deal directly with Malik Ambar but shed considerable light on Mughal India, politics in Ceylon and Christianity in Japan at the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The sources cited here manifest the keen and vigilant watch of the Portuguese on the contemporary political developments, not only in India but also in its various adjacent parts and countries in order to safeguard their interests.

The following excerpt reveals the financial transactions of the Portuguese in India towards the end of 1598 A.D. :

"I consider it a very great service that you tell me you do not intend to bestow emoluments in excess of the (authorised) salaries or in our other expenditure, as I have forbidden it. But you say that after your arrival you bestowed some insignificant sums on three persons whose names you give me, which happened to be promised before the new regulation by which I forbid it. However, I require you to observe the regulation in its entirety, without any exception. And you did well in getting registered in the book of accounts the 30,000 cruzados which I have authorized to be spent in favours. I also require you to send me every year a statement of the income from revenue in that year, which you say you have already asked that Chief Secretary of the Accounts Department to see to. It should be divided into clearly defined items, and should note the increase in revenue from each item, when it is formed out a new; if there is a fall, which I hope will not happen, the causes which contributed to it should be noted." Written in Lisbon on November 21, 1598.

The Portuguese in India were intent on a defensive alliance among the Deccan sultanates against the Mughal imperialism in 1598 A.D. This is evidenced in the following document.

*The author is highly obliged to Mr. Fausto P. Gomes, librarian of Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Bombay, for translation of this material, to Rev. Antonio D' Costa, S. J. Director of the Institute for its thorough check-up, and to Nagpur University for financial support towards it in the summer of 1968.

1. *Arquivo Portugues Oriental*, IX, Fasc. 364, p. 924.

"You also tell me that after arriving in India you continued to persuade Idalcao (Adilkhan) how necessary it was for him to give up his amusements, trying to convince him by arguments how certain was his ruin if he did not go to the aid of Melique (Malik Abmar). And you say that you found his subjects, and they were many, in agreement with you, and those of them who are in the neighbourhood of this island of Goa are in good relation with us. I thank you very sincerely for your fine care and tact. For many are influenced more in this prudent and tactful way than in other ways which yield poor results." Written in Lisbon on November, 21, 1598.

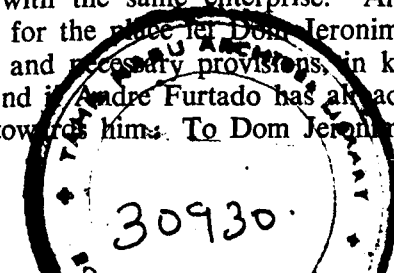
The following excerpt unfolds the military activities of the Portuguese in Ceylon towards the end of 1598 A. D.:

"Moreover, you have resolved to avail yourself(?) of Andre Furtado de Mendonca because of his qualities and experiences and because he is feared by the natives of those regions owing to his victories in Jafanapatao [Jaffanapatam]. He is also well liked by the soldiers. You thus wish to enable Dom Jeronimo d' Azevedo who was there and has been asking for it insistently, and is somewhat rough with the soldiers, to come back and rest. And you have resolved to send with Andre Furtado 500 Portuguese Soldiers over the above those who were already there, which was what could then [safely?] be done. You also gave him as much money as you possibly could. Though all this was less than what Andre Furtado was asking, still it was much more than Dom Jeronimo's estimate of the cost of Continuing the conquest.

And all persons of importance who have some experience of that island tell you that the land is mountainous and affords no scope to an army to wage continuous war, and the inhabitants themselves admit it. Consequently, the Singhalese will get tired and disheartened. Thus with very little risk and with ease you will gain your object.

As to my instructions in this matter, I refer you to my earlier express orders, as I have said above. And because of the successes gained by Dom Jeronimo d' Azevedo in these campaigns which were entrusted to him and because of the experience he has acquired, it is my will that he should continue with the same enterprise. And if Andre Furtado has not already left for the place, let Dom Jeronimo remain in charge, and send him men and necessary provisions, in keeping with his request for the same. and if Andre Furtado has already left you should act in the same way towards him. To Dom Jeronimo

2. *Ibid.*, Fasc. 3. p. 929.



you should show the esteem which his services deserve.”³ Written in Lisbon on December 10, 1598.

The following excerpt manifests the fear in which the Portuguese were held in India during the Mughal ruler Jahangir's visit to the West Coast and the scarcity of water in Gujarat during the height of summer of 1619 A.D.:

“In conformity with what your Majesty told me to write in one of your letters of this year, I thought of giving you in this present letter a description of the Kings of these regions and the policy which each of them follows towards us, in order that your Majesty may be aware of it.

Last year I wrote to your Majesty how the Mughal ruler Sahimoxa [Salim Shah i.e. Jahangir] came at the time to Cambay [Gujarat] to have a look (as people said) at the sea, which he had never seen before. His coming indeed caused me concern, because I did not know with what intention he was coming, and the force he brought along was large. However, his withdrawal soon after showed that our apprehensions were baseless and that he came merely to have a look at the sea. When he came, he brought along some of his sons and more than fifty-thousand cavalry, and many elephants and other domesticated animals. He visited some of his ports and maritime cities, and after passing a month and a half in this manner he turned back. After going a few days' journey he experienced scarcity of water, for it was the height of summer, and on top of this many of his people began to die. So he returned to Amedava [Ahmadabad] where he passed the winter [rainy] season. In September he proceeded to Mandou [Mandu] which is also part of his kingdom; and there he finds himself at present.”

From the following extract, it is evident how the Mughal emperor, Jahangir endeavoured to make the Deccan Sultanates subservient to his imperial authority.

“..... Accordingly he [Jahangir] did send his ambassadors. Malique [Malik Ambar] replied to them that as he had for neighbour Idalxa [Adil Shah], who was a powerful king, it was only proper that *he should be brought into this negotiation* [*Italics author's*]. He would first discuss the matter with him, and only then would he inform the Mughal about their common decision.

3. *Ibid.*, I, Fasc. 336, pp. 933-34.

4. *Documentos Remetidos da India*, Tomo V, Lisbon, 1935, Document 1115, dated the 29th February, 1619 A. D.

Thereupon the ambassador himself went to Visapor [Bijapur] to deal with Idalxa on the subject of his embassy. On observing these delays, the Mughal was about to march into the Deccan with all his forces, but an ambassador of Idalxa named Bichitarcao, who is posted to his court, intervened saying that it was not proper for such a powerful King to rush headlong because of such a small thing. He offered to go to the Balagate [Balaghat] himself and treat of this matter with Idalxa, saying he felt confident he could bring him to comply with his demand. With that, the Mughal quieted down, and the ambassador left to go and meet his King in order to bring about what he had promised; and [at the time of writing] he was still on the way.

Idalcao had written beforehand to Melique that as the Mughal was pressing his demand so much and had sent an embassy for the purpose so that it was evident he could not give up his demand, he was of the view that the two fortresses [possibly Daulatabad and its vicinal fort] should be surrendered to him.”

The Portuguese were ever eager and anxious to bolster up the independence of the three Deccan sultanates, without being actively involved in the contemporary politics and without resorting to armed defence, as far as possible and kept keen vigilance on political developments and events. It can be gleaned that as early as 1619 A.D. there were perceptible dissensions among the Mughal Princes aspiring for the division of the Imperial territory :

“And as the policy of this Muslim [the Mughal emperor], who is a bad neighbour and does not know how to live at peace, will always be detrimental to us. I am taking suitable steps. I have a spy at the court of Melique whose task it is to influence the policies of these two rulers, Idalxa and Nizamoxa [Nizam Shah]. And even though Idalxa is cowardly and timid, I shall endeavour to meet every situation in the manner most conducive to your Majesty's service, depending on my information of how this affair is developing.

The Mughal, it is said, had sent for some of his chief officers to take counsel with them on how to divide his kingdom, while he was alive, among his five sons. And it is said that he was determined to leave the eldest, who is called Sultan Cossors [Khusru], enthroned or at least declared to be his heir, and he should have Dely [Delhi], to which are attached Agra and Lahore, which are the most important cities. With these cities would go the entire area of their jurisdiction. To the second son called Sultan Paruse [Parwez] he would leave Bengalla with whatever there is on that side. To the

5. *Ibid.*

third son who is Sultan Coromo [Khurram] the kingdom of Cambay whose capital is Amadaua [Ahmadabad] and all that he has conquered in the Deccan and what he still intends to conquer of it; and I am told he has charged this very son with the task of conquering it and also intends to leave him the former kingdom of King Miran and of Borampor [Burhanpur]. And to the fourth son, who is called, Sultan Serier [Shaharyar] the kingdom of Cassunur [Kashmir]; and to the last, who is known as Sultan Tacata [Jahandar Shah] that of Panjaua [Punjab]. And even though nothing of it has yet been decided, it is easy to see that if it were so, this division would be very advantageous to us, for the kingdom will be divided and there will be many masters, and it is said there will be many wars among them. It will then be possible for King Melique to recover the territories which were wrested from him.

This Mughal King is at peace with us and he observes the one which he recently signed with Viceroy Jeronimo D' Azavedo after the recent revolts. All the same one cannot trust the sincerity and word of these Kings; *they keep faith only when they cannot give effect to their evil designs*, [Italics author's] all the more so since they are being incited by the English and the Dutch. And now, only a days ago, he took it very ill that we did not comply with his request to issue a pass to one of his ships which was due to sail from Goga to Mecca. I am giving a detailed account of this to Your Majesty in another letter which is going along with this one. I wish to make it clear nevertheless that there was no great change in his attitude towards us."

The following excerpt throws lurid light on the manifest weakness of the contemporary ruler of Bijapur, namely, Ibrahim Adilsah II.

"It is many years now that he is on the throne, and his chief occupation is music to which he is very much given. And thus the musicians and singers eat up a great part of his revenues and exercise great influence over him. He transferred his court to a new city which he built and named Nauraspor, and he has been residing there for eight or nine-years. It is one league distant from Visapor, where the Idalxa have always lived. They say he is raising fortifications against any eventuality of war."

The Adils'ahi tried to strengthen his position by matrimonial alliances with the neighbouring rulers (1619 A.D.) :

"Last summer, the King gave in marriage two of his daughters to the kings Nizamoxa and Cotubux Qutbssah of Go[l]conda, and

6. *Ibid.*,

7. *Ibid.*

sent them to their husbands with a large retinue and nobles of repute and with many gift for both. Thus he has these two neighbouring kings as his sons-in-law; and this is advisable at least in view of the affair of the Mughal, seeing that in spite of this he is very powerful."

The political conditions obtaining in the vicinity of the Portuguese territory near Goa in 1619 A.D. are highlighted as follows:

"In Ponda, in place of Xerife Melique [Sharif Malik] who is now dead, Mirasmamedo Hady [Mirza Muhamad Hady] is governor of the Kokan. He is the son of Āgā Raja, governor of Dabul [Dabhol]. He is a young Muslim of very bad character and ruinous to his people because of the violence he does to married women, and other things of the sort. But in his policy towards us he conducts himself well and up till now has not done anything that could be detrimental to Your Majesty's interests. King Cotubxa of Golconda, who was formerly friendly to us is at present at variance with us for having admitted the Dutch to his ports, with which they are trading. And the passes which he formerly sought from us, in order that his ship might sail the seas, he no more asks for. But merchants of both sides come and go without any hindrance, and judging by what I was told he desires to renew the good relations which we had with him.

The [ruler] of Bisnaga [Vijayanagar] is also at variance with us in the same manner for having sheltered the rebels in his territory and in Peleacate [Pulicat?]; all the same he has friendly relations with the city of Sao Thome [Mylapore] and the inhabitants of both sides carry on trade among themselves. About the affairs of this King I report to Your Majesty in another longer letter, where I speak of the affairs of Palecate".

The Portuguese did not confine their searching curiosity to political developments in India, but cast their watchful glances on the neighbourhood of this country also. The following is an extract on the political events of Ceylon in 1619 A.D. :

"Because the King of Jafanpatao died and the son who survived him was too much of a child, the kingdom was being governed by [the regent] Chagaly, who is descended from the same royal family. At present, however, he exercises no authority, because two or three of the principal Mudaliars have rebelled against him. They penetrated at times with arms into the palace where the regent resided with the intention of killing him. He has therefore sought shelter in an elephant

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

enclosure by a church which the Fathers of St. Francis have there. The said governor sent word to me asking to support his authority and giving me an account by letters of the circumstances in which he finds himself.

Desiring to meet the situation in the manner most conducive to Your Majesty's service, I communicated the matter to the Council of State, and it appeared to me and to the councillors that time had now offered us the occasion to be able to put into effect Your Majesty's instructions, namely, to incorporate them into our dominions, and not to allow a King there, and to appoint there a captain as in other fortresses. In this way we shall be free from many things which were prejudicial to the interests of Your Majesty and the safety of our possessions in Ceylon, because the ports of the said kingdom were avenues by which aid, gunpowder and ammunitions used to reach Candea [Kandy]. Other reasons were also taken into consideration in the said Council. It was decided to despatch Francisco de Miranda Henriques for the purpose. I had sent him to Malabar as captain-general with the intention of transferring thence to Sao Tome to be captain-general of that city in place of Ruy Dias de Sampaio who had been recalled because of the complaints being made against him. He was instructed to leave the matter for the future and go first with his fleet to Jafanapatao and give effect to the plan mentioned above with the speed which the affair required, since it was not possible to raise another fleet with the necessary expedition because of our lack of ships. I am waiting for Francisco de Miranda Henriques to come with the merchant fleet from Cochin to decide whatever is most conducive to the service of Your Majesty. It is likely that at this juncture that kingdom may be incorporated into our dominions, and with that, all the irregular traffic which was passing through these ports with considerable danger to our position in Ceylon will be halted."¹⁰

The interests of the Portuguese in India extended as far as Achin, Johar and even China, particularly for their proselytizing activities:

"The King of Cochin is [as always] at peace with us, and of his policy towards us I am giving an account to Your Majesty in some other letters. He is still at war with the Zamorin, and in this matter I proceed as Your Majesty directs me. The Zamorin has no friendly relations with us for he has no settled policy. Accordingly we are at variance with him. Last winter there came to this city Uniare Charare, his minister, who, out of treasury of Your Majesty, is every year given a pension of 100 pardaos. He sent word saying that he was coming by order of his King to negotiate a peace with

¹⁰ Ibid.

us. I asked him to show me his documents. He replied that he was shipwrecked on his way hither and lost the documents and whatever else he had. Thereupon he despatched one of his Nairs, along with a native whom he was bringing in his company, in order to fetch other documents. They say that the Zamorin refused to issue when asked for. And this is what Father Jacome Finicio of the Society [of Jesus] has reported. And he [the Zamorin] felt very annoyed, saying that though Uniare Charare was coming on his own business, he pretended to be an ambassador in order to gain credit. He added that if I wished to make a treaty I should write to him. Thereupon no further steps was taken in the matter, nor did I give the said Uniare a hearing, and thus he went back. About the ruler of Benguel and the war he is waging with Ventacapa [Naique Venkatappa Nayak], I am giving an account to Your Majesty in another letter that has gone by this post. Therefore I pass over the matter in the present one. And I am doing the same in yet another letter with regard to the King of Candea and affairs of Ceylon, and the condition in which the island finds itself, as also the state of our dominions there. [In that letter I have also written] how I sent thither Constantino de Sa de Noronha as captain-general in place of Dom Nunes Alveres Persira to whom Your Majesty has given charge of our dominion of Mononotapa.

The rulers of Achem [Achin] and Jor [Johore] are friendly to us, and in other letters, I am giving an account to Your Majesty of my policy towards them.

With the accession of the present ruler of Japan it was hoped that the persecution which his father had started against the Christians and the Religious who are to be found in his dominions would abate. But he has turned out to be a greater tyrant and persecutor than his father, and since he came to power he has martyred four Religious of the four Orders of St. Francis, St. Domio, and of the Society [of Jesus], one from each of them, and thirteen Japanese Christians besides. He also banished many of them, besides cutting off their hands and feet and perpetrating many other cruelties against them, as several persons who find themselves in those parts inform us through letters. Nevertheless the said Religious continue to stay there in disguise hoping that God will help, either by making the King change for the better or by *placing another in his place* [Italics author's], for the present one is very ill, and there is hope that he will not live long. And Lopo Sarmiento de Carvalho, who last year sailed to Japan, went personally on an embassy to the said ruler, to convince him to permit the Religious in his kingdoms and *[to grant] the permission to build churches and to continue the propagation of the Gospel* [Italic author's]. He also [wished to ask him] to exclude the Dutch from his ports, and tell him what kind of

people they are. However, although he performed his task with zeal for the service of God and Your Majesty, and spent in this mission a lot of money so that he may be treated with respect, he was unable to achieve any of these aims. May God provide a remedy for all the troubles of that Kingdom in order that *Christianity may once again flourish* [Italics author's], and the Kingdom derive much benefit therefrom.

The Ruler of China does not treat the Christians and Religious who find themselves in his kingdom less cruelly than the one of Japan. For of the five churches and as many houses which had been raised with promising beginnings of Christian communities, I am told that none stands today. All were razed to the ground by orders, and many of the Religious are under arrest. The Christians, being more tender in the faith than those of Japan, are very much terrified. But for all that, *the Religious have not given up ministering to the Christians* [Italics author's] in the hope the God will see to it all"¹¹

There is an incidental reference to Ormuz also as follows :

"Matters relating to the Shah of Ormuz and his King I am dealing with in another letter which goes with this post."¹²

In conclusion, it may be stated that the above documents yield some interesting information on the Portuguese administration, their attitude towards the Deccan Sultanates and the Mughals, their activities in S.E Asia and lastly, their interest in S.W. Asia also. Similar Portuguese sources on the contemporary history of the Deccan and the Mughal India still await the labours of learned scholars.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

A NOTE ON BOOK PRESERVATION—A NATIONAL PROBLEM

AVINASHI LAL

ONE of the fundamental duties of a librarian is conservation of the materials in his custody for the best and maximum use of the readers. Materials in a library, like other forms of matter have a natural tendency towards decay. But it is possible to retard this process and prolong their life.

Paper which was invented by the Chinese in 105 A.D., has been in use for writing since in ancient times. The first doubt about its durability was raised in the twelfth century by the Emperor of Occident, Frederick I, Barbarossa. He prohibited the use of paper for deeds because of its easily perishable nature.

The problem of book preservation became acute with increased production of poor quality paper to meet the demands of publishers. John Murray in 1823 pointed out that a century more would not witness the volumes printed within the previous twenty years. He attributed this to the use of impure pulp and overbleaching. In the year 1897 J. Y. W. MacAlister, Librarian of the Leeds Library, told the Librarians' Association, that even if untouched, most of the books on the shelves would not outlast the present generation of readers. In 1907 Cyril Davenport commented that the books existing in his time would not be available for reading a century hence.

The use of alum in rosin sizing and use of mechanical wood pulp for production of paper have further contributed to book deterioration, and the magnitude thereof is quite appalling in the 20th century. Detailed study in this respect has been done by W. J. Barrow's Laboratory, Virginia U.S.A., of non-fiction books. They have found that about 65% books of the period 1701 to 1750, 58% books of the period 1751-1800, 68% books of the period 1801-1850, and 45% of the books of the period 1851-1900 are in the low strength and weak categories, which means that they need restoration. For the books of the period 1900 to 1939 they have found that 39% are in weak category, 49% are low strength, 11% are of medium strength, and 1% are in high strength category. A few samples of the books for the period 1940 to 1949 were also examined from which it was estimated that 57% of them would be in the categories which would require restoration.

If we take the progressive rate of increase in book production from year to year the magnitude of the problem of preservation assumes gigantic dimensions. The consideration of this problem at a national level is, therefore, necessary, and a concentrated scientific approach in tackling it with the best modern scientific methods by technical persons in the line is one of the first requisites.

Indian conditions for preservation of books are somewhat different from those in the western countries. The variations of climatic conditions, viz., temperature, humidity and atmospheric pollution, are different during the different parts of the year and produce their effect accordingly on the aging of paper and other materials. Humid climate encourages fungus growth and insect attack and is thereby responsible for decay. A multipronged programme is, therefore, required to tackle the problems of preservation of books. Half-hearted, confused approach to such a vital problem, by non-technical or neo-technical personnel without the background knowledge of the causes of decay and their control, can only aggravate the problem rather than solve it.

A national programme of book conservation requires to be worked out in collaboration with all the parties concerned and connected with the production of paper, books and their handling. A committee for such purpose should include publishers, paper manufacturers, scientists, librarians, conservators, entomologists, engineers, book-binders and restorers. The role of specialists, who can undertake research programmes for development of new scientific methods of book preservation, cannot be ignored. Such a joint collaboration has proved quite fruitful in the United State of America, U.S.S.R. and Great Britain.

The objectives of an efficient preservation programme may be stated as below:

- (1) It must preserve all books of significant value for the longest possible period with the help of the present technological knowledge.
- (2) It must establish a Central Preservation Agency where at least one copy of each book must be preserved which should not be lent out. In the absence of air-conditioning the location of such a book repository should be at a place less exposed to natural hazards. Mr. Chapman, in 1920, was so much agitated at on the condition of books in the Imperial Library, Calcutta as compared to those at other places that he wanted to shift it about 500 miles away.
- (3) A copy each of all the important newspapers and periodicals must also be preserved at this Agency.
- (4) It must have in its possession all the materials published in India by Indians and also about India by foreign publishers.
- (5) The Central Preservation Agency should also be responsible for the preservation of manuscripts on *talpatra* (palmleaf), *bhurjpatra* (birch bark), and cloth.
- (6) There should be a committee of specialists to suggest further materials for preservation in accordance with their importance and relative condition.

(7) Although the preservation of originals is more important than that of their photocopies, yet there should be an extensive programme for photocopying of all the important, rare and original books, to reduce their handling to the minimum and ensure their longer preservation. Microfilming of all the deteriorated materials must be done and ready availability of microfilm or photostat must be ensured.

(8) The said Agency should give a helping hand to private individuals in the preservation of their own collections. It should not only be able to disseminate technical know-how but should also be able to give technical help in the form of materials and chemicals to such private individuals at a very reasonable cost, if not free.

(9) The Agency should have a well equipped research laboratory for conducting research and evolving the best possible methods for book preservation under Indian conditions.

It is possible that conservators, howsoever radical in their outlook, may criticize such a programme with such wide-ranging objectives as being too ambitious, but none will deny that the problem deserves to be tackled seriously and expeditiously. We have to invest in this programme now so that future generations may have and retain their cultural heritage.

PRIVATE PAPERS

SOME HISTORICAL FACTS HIGHLIGHTED IN DHIRENDRA KUMAR'S COLLECTION

JATI RAM GUPTA

THE Historical Documents Purchase Committee, set up by the Ministry of Education, Government of India, recommended at their 22nd meeting held on 3rd July 1971 the acquisition of 26 documents offered for sale by Shri Dharendra Kumar of Lucknow. The documents were, accordingly, purchased by the National Archives of India, New Delhi. These documents, most of them attested copies, are in Hindi and Persian languages. They can be classified into *shuqqas* (royal letters), *rubakarries* (proceedings of a cause; communications), *parwanas* (orders), *tamassaks* (bonds) etc. They throw light on some aspects of the history of Kumaun from 1742 to 1873, on the internal commotions and external aggression in this Himalayan region.

Internal Commotions

I. Nawab Wazir's influence in Kumaun

Perusal of the documents confirms that the Mughal rule had extended to the Hills of Kumaun and that the Rajas of Kumaun used to pay tribute to the Mughal Emperors receiving in return *khilat* (dress of honour) from time to time [Document I, dated 30 *Rabi I, Julus* 25 of Muhammad Shah (1155 A.H.) corresponding to 5 June 1742] and protection against internal commotions and external aggression. As time went on, the influence of the Mughal rule decreased and the neighbouring chiefs and local leaders began to interfere in the internal affairs of Kumaun. The result was that Kumaun remained in the grip of Chaos and warfare for a long time. Party factions became supreme and peace for the masses had become a dream. The Joshis, who had entrenched themselves in the region, wanted to establish their supremacy. In 1788 Mahendra Chand, son of Mohan Singh, was the ruler of Kumaun and Lal Singh his adviser and minister. An arch enemy of the Joshis, Lal Singh decided to crush their power and with this end in view he went in 1789 to secure help from the Nawab Wazir of Oudh Asafud-daulah (1775-98) who was at that time hunting in the jungle at Khera near Haldwani. On help being promised Lal Singh acknowledged the Nawab Wazir as *de jure* sovereign of the Tarai on behalf of Mahendra Chand agreeing to hold that region as lessee and pay a fixed amount of revenue into the treasury of the Nawab Wazir regularly. Thus Mahendra Chand from his capital at Almora began to rule as a tributary of the Nawab Wazir the *parganas* of Nanakmata, Kashipur, Rudarpur, Bibheri, Kilpuri, Samba etc. situated in the Tarai.

The *Amils* of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh began to harass Raja Mahendra Chand by demanding 'grass and fuel' by way of cess. The Raja, Consequently, lodged a complaint with the Nawab Wazir who issued strict orders to Rai Shambhu Nath, *Nazim* of Bareilly, to direct the *amils* concerned to refrain from all interference in the said *parganas*. (Document 2, dated 25 *Rabi I*, 1210 A.H. corresponding to 9 October, 1795). During the regime of Nawab Wazir Ghazi al-din Haidar (1814-27), the *amils* again started interfering and collected by force a large sum of money on account of 'grass and fuel'. Raja Mahendra Chand's widow had now succeeded him and she protested to the Nawab Wazir who instructed Mirza Mahdi Ali Khan, *Nazim* of Katehr (Rohilkhand) to take prompt action in the matter. The *Nazim*, in his turn, issued necessary orders to Mirza Husain Ali Khan. On whose behalf Rai Ratan Chand informed her about the action taken by the Nawab Wazir and asked her to receive back the money, forcibly collected, from the court of the *Nazim* of *Katehr* after executing the requisite deed. (Document 2(B), dated 20 November, 1820; Document 13, dated 22 November, 1820.)

II. Dispute between Lal Singh and the descendants of Raja Mahendra Chand

Besides his widow, Raja Mahendra Chand had left behind two minor sons, Kanwar Pratap Singh and Kanwar Bhagwan Singh. Lal Singh, in his capacity as adviser and manager, took possession of all the documents relating to the *zamindari* of all the *parganas* in the Tarai from the widow of Raja Mahendra Chand under one pretext or another. When the two Kanwars came of age they aspired to take the management of the said *parganas* in their own hands but Lal Singh refused to hand it over to them. He was, somehow, dismissed and the Kanwars managed to take over the *parganas*. Lal Singh, however, claimed the *parganas* as his own property. Thus a dispute ensued between Lal Singh and the two Kanwars which was referred to the Collector of Bareilly. The cause of the Kanwars was supported by Lachhman Singh, Ram Kishan Pande, Radha Kishan, Bhup Singh *Chaudhari*. Rai Shivraj Singh, Chiranji Lal *Thanadar* etc., while that of Lal Singh by Har Sahai *Mukhtar* and Jaini Lal *Qanungo*. Finding the case complicated, the Collector of Bareilly further referred it to the Sadr Council at Calcutta and Kanwar Pratap Singh himself went to Calcutta to explain the facts to the authorities concerned. (Document 2(A & C) dated 9 October 1795 & 14 November, 1820; Document 6, dated 5 August, 1820; Document 7, dated 28 August 1820; *passim*. He returned from Calcutta in 1821. Unfortunately documents on how the issue was settled are wanting.

*External Aggression**I. Gurkha Invasion*

The disturbed conditions of Kumaun attracted the attention of the Gurkhas who invaded it under the command of Ran Bahadur Shah in 1790. Unable to face them Raja Mahendra Chand fled to Kilpuri and the Gurkhas captured Almora in 1790. The news of the Chinese invasion of Nepal made the Gurkhas retreat to defend their own country. In 1795 the Gurkhas under Amar Singh Thapa's command marched on Kilpuri and seized it. Ghazi al-din Haidar, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, ordered Rai Shambhu Nath to march against the Gurkhas. Accordingly, Rai Shambhu Nath reached Kilpuri, routed the Gurkhas and laid the foundation of a town called Asafabad in *Pargana* Kilpuri and instead of Kilpuri the *ilaqa* of Jhajhat (sic) was assigned to Raja Mahendra Chand. (Document 15, dated 30 November 1820).*

II. Occupation of Kumaun by the British

In the Gurkha war in 1815, Almora was taken by the British and the Gurkhas under Bam Sah vacated Kumaun which was entrusted to the rightful ruler. In 1855 Raja Nand Singh of Almora was informed that the Governor-General would hold a *darbar* at Almora on the 30th and 31st October and that the elite of the *ilaqa* could attend the *darbar*. (Document 24, dated 8 October, 1855). In 1873 Lala Bhagwan Singh was appointed *Tahsildar* of Garhwal (which then formed a part of Kumaun Division) at a monthly salary of Rs. 100 with an establishment involving monthly expenditure of Rs. 231 (Document 25, dated 30 December 1873).

The importance of the documents lies in the fact that we find in them well portrayed the influence of the Nawab Wazir in Kumaun on the one hand and the designs and interference of Nepal and the British on the other. If Nepal quit Kumaun, the East India Company stepped in and dominated Kumaun for long, making it a part of United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh) afterwards. The dispute between Lal Singh and the sons of Raja Mahendra Chand is an event seldom narrated in published works.

*This is the date of the endorsement on the document and not of the Nawab Vazir's actual orders.

NEWS NOTES

INDIA

National Archives of India

DURING the period covered by the present issue, the National Archives of India received for custody a considerable volume of non-current public records. 23,000 files of the Railway Board (1944-45) however, constituted the largest bulk of it. Also received were, 1,837 files of the Legislative Department (1870-1920), 1,359 files of the Foreign & Political Department (1933-47) and 653 files of the Community Development and Cooperation Branches of the Department of Agriculture (1931-32) from the Ministries of Law, External Affairs and Food & Agriculture respectively. From the Ministry of Home Affairs were received authenticated copies of 399 Bills passed by the various State Legislatures and assented to by the President of India.

Five collections of records in microfilm were received from the India Office Library and Records, London. Comprising 35 microfilm rolls in all, they cover the private papers of H. M. Durand, Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department (1885-94), two Secretaries of State for India, viz., Earl of Birkenhead (1924-28) and Marquis of Zetland, (1935-40), Earl of Northbrook, Governor General of India (1872-76), and William Foster, Registrar and Superintendent of the India Office (1907-27).

The National Archives of India also acquired 4 strips of microfilm and 22 photoprints of portions of some rare books and manuscripts in the State Library of German Democratic Republic. These were presented to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Ministry of Education & Social Welfare during his visit to that Library.

Under its records management programme this Department appraised 26,453 non-current files of the Departments of Finance and Education, Health and Lands. Out of these 8,472 files were marked for permanent retention.

Considerable progress was made in working out the Department's plans for compilation of reference media for public records and private papers in its custody. A cyclostyled descriptive list of the Secret Department Records for 1783 was brought out and issued. An inventory was prepared of 13,271 files of the Central Board of Revenue (1923-44). The Department also prepared check-lists of 20,561 non-current files of the Establishment and Public Branches of the Home Department (1860-1945) and 480 documents belonging to the collection of Dadabhai Naoroji Papers; subject-lists of 1,169 letters of P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer

collection, 820 documents of Dadabhai Naoroji collection, 1,065 papers of Pandit Banarasi Dass Chaturvedi collection and 312 documents of Pandit Padmakant Malaviya collection; and, descriptive lists of 1,277 Persian Letters Received (1822-25) and 246 Mughal seals. Finding aids were also prepared for microfilm copies of Durand Papers and certain documents on Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

The Department attended to enquiries from public and private agencies on different subjects involving search among manuscript and published sources in its custody. Some of the interesting subjects on which information was supplied were those relating to the treaty of Sagauli (1816) with Nepal, the Indian Red Cross Society Act (1920), the Todas of the Nilgiris and the career of the civil engineer James Dredge (1794-1863) with special reference to the bridges he designed.

Technical service to the offices, institutions and individuals for the preservation of their books and manuscripts was continued. Some manuscripts belonging to the Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi were repaired and laminated. The manuscript of late Jai Shankar Prasad's *Kamayani* was microfilmed. Six old files of the newspaper *Independent* in the custody of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi were bound. Technical advice was given to the Directorate General of Supplies and Disposals, New Delhi; National Archives, Colombo; Haffkine Institute, Bombay; Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, Darjeeling; Military College of Telecommunication Engineering, Mhow; Central Indian Pharmacopoeia Laboratory, Ghaziabad; State Archives of Andhra Pradesh, and Orissa; and Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd., Hardwar. Besides, photoduplication service was rendered, among others, to the Agricultural Economics Research Centre, Delhi; Shri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry; State Archives of Uttar Pradesh, Allahabad; Ministry of External Affairs, Gazetteers Unit of the Ministry of Education & Social Welfare, and Embassy of Afghanistan in India, New Delhi; and the Universities of Delhi, British Columbia and Heidelberg.

Under the publication programme of the Department, printing of *Fort William—India House Correspondence* Vol. VII (Public, 1773-76; Hony. Editor: Prof. R. P. Patwardhan), Vol. X (Public, 1786-88; Hony. Editor: Dr. Raghubir Singh) and Vol. XI (Public, 1789-92; Hony. Editor, Dr. I. B. Banerjee) neared completion.

As regards training in Archives-keeping, a batch of seven trainees who were admitted to the one-year-diploma course in Archives-keeping in October 1970, completed their training in September 1971. A fresh batch of sixteen trainees joined the new course which commenced during the period under review.

Regional Office, Bhopal—The usual work of checking arrangement, repair and cleaning of the records of the former princely state of Bhopal was continued. Besides these, the Regional Office prepared lists of 1,451 files of the Political Department of the erstwhile Bhopal State and 1,364 files of the Department of Finance and Commerce (1860-1923) of the Government of India.

Indian Historical Records Commission

The 41st session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held under the auspices of the Government of Kerala on 9-11 October 1971 at the Kanakakunnu Palace, Trivandrum. It was generally acclaimed a very successful and useful session.

The inaugural function took place on the afternoon of 9 October 1971. While Shri C. H. Mohammed Koya, Minister of Education, Kerala, welcomed the delegates, Shri Venkata Viswanathan, Governor of Kerala, inaugurated the session. The Presidential address of Prof. Syed Nurul Hasan, was read out by Prof. O. P. Bhatnagar, a senior member of the Commission, as Prof. Hasan was unable to attend the inauguration. Dr. S. N. Prasad, *ex-officio* Secretary of the Commission then submitted his report on the development of the archives in India during 1969-71. After the Secretary's report, Dr. George Jacob, Vice-Chancellor, Kerala University, inaugurated the exhibition of historical documents. The public function closed with a brief but warm vote of thanks by Smt. Padma Ramachandran, Education Secretary to the Government of Kerala who is *ex-officio* Director of State Archives.

The Business Meeting of the Commission was held on 10 October 1971 at 9.30 A.M. at Kanakakunnu Palace, Trivandrum with Prof. Syed Nurul Hasan in the Chair. Before the formal agenda was taken up, Dr. S. P. Sen moved a resolution on behalf of the members of the Commission felicitating Prof. Hasan, on his appointment as Union Minister of State. Prof. Nurul Hasan has been a prominent member of the Indian Historical Records Commission for the past many years. Prof. O. P. Bhatnagar, seconding the resolution expressed the hope that in spite of numerous pre-occupations and wider responsibilities the Minister would continue to support the Indian Historical Records Commission in their programmes. Prof. Hasan thanked the members for their kind sentiments. The following were some of the recommendations made by the Commission at this meeting:—

- (i) The Government of India be requested to sanction adequate staff for compilation of reference media of the records in the custody of the National Archives of India.
- (ii) In the interest of preserving completeness of official records of historical value, weeding of records at the various levels by untrained persons be stopped.

- (iii) The State Governments be requested: (a) to transfer all their District records which are more than 30 years old to their State Archives and (b) to declare their Director of Archives to be the inspecting authority for all records including those of the local bodies in the State.
- (iv) The Archives Departments in India should take early steps to compile lists of their old publications which are still in demand and try to get a limited number of their copies reprinted.
- (v) The concerned authorities of temples, *gurudwaras*, churches, *khankahs*, *waqfs*, etc., be requested to allow *bona-fide* research scholars to consult their documents for research purposes, and the scholars who are allowed access to these records may, if necessary, voluntarily prepare the lists of these records.
- (vi) The authorities of the temples, *maths*, churches, mosques, *gurudwaras* etc., be requested to ensure proper preservation of their records and if possible, to deposit them with the various Archives or learned institutions for safe custody.
- (vii) The Universities be requested to provide facilities for archival training during the 5th Five Year Plan period with financial assistance from the University Grants Commission.
- (viii) All pre-1925 records relating to Kashmir in the custody of the National Archives of India be thrown open for research to all *bona-fide* research scholars without any restrictions.
- (ix) The State Governments and Union territories be requested to initiate a programme on regular basis for weeding out all non-essential records with a view to economy in the work of preserving their permanent records. The concerned governments may consult, if necessary, the National Archives of India for this purpose.
- (x) All the State Archives should provide facilities for the supply of microfilm or typed copies of 'open' records to *bona-fide* research scholars on payment without any undue delay.
- (xi) The State Governments be requested to open Regional or Divisional Archives in each Commissioner's Division, where the non-ephemeral records of all the collectorates etc., in the Division may be collected and preserved under the overall control and supervision of the respective Directors of State Archives. This is absolutely essential for the purpose of not only preservation of papers, but also for promoting the writing of regional history.

- (xii) The authorities of the National Archives of India and of the State Archives be requested to make available to *bona-fide* research scholars residential accommodation at reasonable rates and the Ministry of Education may be requested to consider construction of hostels for them at New Delhi and the State capitals.

In the forenoon of 11 October 1971 a discussion meeting was held on 'Religio-Political Movements in India in the Nineteenth Century' at the Kanakakunnu Palace, Trivandrum. It was presided over by Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, a senior member of the Commission. Five papers throwing light on the different aspects of the religio-political movements in the nineteenth century India were read and these work followed by lively discussions.

At the end of the discussion meeting Dr. S. N. Prasad pointed out that with the current session the existing terms of the Indian Historical Records Commission was expiring and that he was not sure whether 'Discussion Meetings' as such could be held at the next session which would be convened in accordance with the new, revised constitution of the Commission. He suggested, however, that in case the practice continued, a subject for discussion could be chosen in advance. Accordingly it was decided to discuss 'Agrarian Movements in India from 1857 to 1947', at the next session of the Commission. Dr. Prasad also reminded the delegates that the Commission's main aim in inviting these papers was to focus attention on the hitherto unknown source materials.

National Committee of Archivists

The twenty-fifth meeting of the National Committee of Archivists was held at 10 A.M. on 12 October 1971 at the Kanakakunnu Palace, Trivandrum, presided over by Dr. S. N. Prasad, Director of Archives, Government of India. Action taken in respect of setting up archival laboratories in the various States and the question of import of preservation materials was reviewed at the meeting. The following recommendations were made: (i) A delegation of all Officers-in-charge of the State Archives under the leadership of the Director of Archives, Government of India, be deputed to Moscow to attend the 7th International Congress on Archives to be held there in August 1972; (ii) the Government of India, Ministry of Education & Social Welfare, be approached to include archivists among delegations sent to various foreign countries under Cultural and Educational Programmes with a view to enabling them to get experience of archives administration in other countries; (iii) in view of the increasing difficulties of finding experts with adequate knowledge of Persian and other old Oriental languages and the undoubted value of records in these languages available in

various archival repositories, selections from or descriptive lists of them be prepared by all the archival repositories concerned on a priority basis to make their contents available for research; (iv) the State Governments be requested to conduct through their State Archives a short two months' course in archives-keeping for the benefit of the record clerks and record assistants employed in the Secretariats and the District and Taluka Offices of the State Governments; (v) in the interest of efficient archives service the National Archives of India should be made an Attached Office of the Ministry of Education & Social Welfare, and the Archives Offices in the States should be made independent departments of the respective State Governments and not be linked with Archaeology and Museums.

The meeting ended with a vote of thanks to the Chair and the host.

National Register of Private Records

Advantage was taken of the presence of representatives of various State Governments who were attending the Indian Historical Records Commission session to hold the 2nd meeting of National Register of Private Records, at Trivandrum on 12th October 1971 under the Chairmanship of Smt. Padma Ramachandran, *ex-officio* Director of Kerala Archives. Representatives of the State Governments of Orissa, Gujarat, Goa, Madhya Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Maharashtra, Punjab, Tripura, Mysore, Tamil Nadu, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh participated in the meeting of members, while Manipur was represented by a couple of observers. After reviewing the action taken on the decisions at the first meeting, Dr. S. N. Prasad urged the State Governments to intensify their efforts regarding location and preservation of private records. Such State Governments as had not yet either prepared schemes or provided funds for the project of national register were to be urged to do so. It was for the State Governments to decide whether the scheme should be a plan project or provided for in their regular budgets. Dr. Prasad stressed the need for duly transmitting reports on documents located for inclusion in the National Register. The Chairman's suggestion to examine the possibility of associating State Governments with the Documents Purchase Committee of the National Archives of India and to supply them with copies of purchased documents if required was accepted. It was decided to continue the practice of bringing out volumes of the private Register in cyclostyled form. Dr. Prasad referred to the Bill likely to be introduced in the Lok Sabha for prevention of migration of records by amending the 1947 Act regarding export control of antiquities.

Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi

The following collections of private papers were obtained by the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library during the period under report:—

- (i) *Papers of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy*: The collection is broadly divided into two categories: (a) medical papers and (b) Papers relating to the political and social activities. (a) The medical papers contain correspondence with patients (1933-44), medical notes, pamphlets and correspondence with various medical associations and institutions. (b) The papers on political and social activities of Dr. Roy relate to the Indian National Congress, Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, Swarajya Party, Calcutta Municipal Corporation, Calcutta University, Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust, Bengal Gymkhana Club and Imperial Library Council.
- (ii) *Papers of Shri D. G. Tendulkar*: This collection covers a period of forty-five years (1922-69) and includes Shri Tendulkar's correspondence, diaries and materials for biographies of Mahatma Gandhi and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Letters of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Prof. Albert Einstein and Romain Rolland are noteworthy items of this collection.
- (iii) *Papers of Sir B. P. Sinha*: Comprising 27 files of correspondence and copies of a number of speeches, this collection mainly concerns the period between 1929 and 1961 and relates to Sir Bijay Prasad's activities as the Minister for Local Self-Government (1930-36), Minister for Revenue (1937-41) of the Government of Bengal and President of the Bengal Legislative Council (1941-47). His correspondence on relief to the victims of riots in East Bengal which he rendered in his capacity as the Minister for Revenue constitutes an important subject of this collection. It also includes letters of H. S. Suhrawardy, A. K. Fazlul Haq, Govind Ballabh Pant and Subhas Chandra Bose. A few papers of this collection pertain to Sir Bijay Prasads' activities as president of the British Indian Association, President of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and Managing Agent of the Indian Steam Navigation Company.
- (iv) *Papers of Shri A. C. N. Nambiar*: It is a small collection of twenty-five letters being Shri Nambiar's correspondence with Jawaharlal Nehru during 1947-62. Information contained in them on the growth of basic industries in India, role of Russia in Asian affairs and roads in the border areas may be found useful.

- (v) *Papers of Shri Nalini Ranjan Sarkar* : This is also a small collection of 34 letters and 15 pamphlets belonging to the period 1936-52. Containing letters of Jawaharlal Nehru and Rabindra Nath Tagore, the collection pertains to the problems of West Bengal and the economic situation in India.
- (vi) *Papers of Shri Ganpat Rai* : About one hundred and thirty letters included in this collection refer mainly to the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha towards the Khudai Khidmatgar Movement in West Punjab. A few photographs, a printed copy of the judgment of the Gandhi murder trial and letters of Jawaharlal Nehru, V. D. Savarkar and M. R. Jayakar are among the contents of this collection.

While the above papers were acquired in original, the following collections were obtained in microfilm.

- (i) *Papers of Maulana Mohammad Ali* : More than two thousand letters of this collection cover the period 1902-31 and relate, among other political developments, to Khilafat Movement and problems of running the journals *Comrade* and *Hamdard*.
- (ii) *Papers of Dr. B. S. Moonje* : This collection of twelve microfilm rolls supplements the originals of the papers of Dr. Moonje for the period 1936-48 already acquired by the Library. The rolls relate to the period prior to 1936 and bear on the Hindu Mahasabha, Round Table Conference, Joint Parliamentary Committee etc. They also include diaries kept by Dr. Moonje during 1926-36.
- (iii) *Papers of Shri V. D. Savarkar* : The third instalment of the microfilm of Savarkar Papers, obtained during the period under report, covers the period 1924-45 and consists of 8932 documents. The affairs of the All India Gurkha League and Hindu Mahasabha are among the important subjects dealt with in this collection.

(iv) *Records of the Indian Association* : This rich and significant collection contains microfilm copies of the Annual Reports (1876-1947), Proceeding Books (1897-46) and Proceedings of the general meetings (1914-44) of the Association.

(v) *Records of the British Indian Association* : This collection consists of the Annual Reports (1852-1934) of this Association which represented the land-owning classes in Bengal. The collection complements the printed reports of the Association for 1935-50, which also have been obtained.

Institute Of Historical Studies, Calcutta

The Institute brought out in December 1971 its publication entitled *The Sino-Indian Border Question : A Historical Review*. It is a collection of papers that were read at the fifth Annual Conference of the Institute held at Patiala in December 1967. In spite of continued financial difficulties the Institute made commendable progress in implementing its plan of publishing *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Vols. I—IV which are expected to come out of the Press during 1972-73.

The Ninth Annual Conference of the Institute was held at Tirupati (Andhra Pradesh) on 5-8 October 1971 under the auspices of Shri Venkateswara University, Tirupati and under the chairmanship of Dr. R. C. Majumdar. It was inaugurated by Shri B. D. Jatti, Lieutenant Governor of Pondicherry. More than 150 delegates representing different Institutes attended the Conference. The main theme of the papers in the conference was the North and South in Indian History : Contact and Adjustment; subordinate themes were : The sources of the History of Andhra Pradesh and Historian's Bias. In all 25 papers on these subjects were read and attended with lively discussions.

Archival Activities in the States

Andhra Pradesh

State Archives.—The non-current records that were received for custody by the State Archives during the period under review include 1316 files of Board of Revenue, 25,135 fly-leaves, 742 files and 35,252 Government orders of the different Secretariat Departments, 3 *muntakhabs* of the District collectorate of Hyderabad, 1,953 *Siyahas* (1390-1 A.H.) of 150 bundles of electoral rolls and 442 volumes of gazettes. 26,195 files of the Revenue, Home, Health and Municipal Administration Departments were appraised out of which 224 were marked for permanent retention.

The finding aids prepared during the period include a list of 15,668 files of the Salarjung Estate records. The work of compiling catalogues of Hamid Siddiqui Collection, Hakim Nizamuddin collection, Syed Asadullah collection and Muhammad Shareef collection and a descriptive list of the documents in the State Archives that pertain to the reign of Shah Jahan was continued.

Under the publication programme of the State Archives two monographs were sent to the Press. These are: (i) "Finances and Fiscal Policy of Hyderabad State, 1900-1956" by Dr. B. K. Narayan

and (2) "The Rate Schools of Godavari" by Miss J. Mangamma. Printing was continued of *A Brief History of Andhra Pradesh* and *A Guide to the Records in the State Archives*.

Under the Research Fellowship Scheme of the State Archives 15 full-time and 14 part-time research scholars continued their research.

Oriental Manuscript Library and Research Institute.—136 palm leaf and paper manuscripts and 14 volumes of paper manuscripts received from Vizianagaram and Simhachalam respectively were added to the holdings of the Institute. 50 other manuscripts were catalogued during the period while progress was made in the preparation of a descriptive catalogue of 30 Arabic manuscripts in the Institute.

The Institute made progress in the printing of the following :

(i) *Radhavamasidhara vilasa Natakam (Yakshaganam)* (ii) *Gita Govinda-Gitasankaram*, (iii) *Srungara-Padala*, (iv) *Naradeeyapuranam*, (v) *Indumati Parinayam*, (vi) *Vaikrita Candrika*, (vii) *Kaseeyatra Charitra* (English translation), (viii) Two unique copper plates of Vijayanagar period and (ix) *Sitakalyanam*.

Arunachal Pradesh

(North East Frontier Agency)

Regional Records Survey Committee.—A five-member Regional Records Survey Committee for Arunachal was set up during the period under review. The Committee decided to survey the entire State with a view to tracing records of historical importance. It was also resolved to set up district units of the Committee to facilitate the work.

Assam

Secretariat Record Office.—18,234 non-current files of the different departments of the Government of Assam were accessioned during the period under report. The Office attended to 2,392 requisitions for supply of files. It weeded out 1,237 files after appraisal of a total number 2,373 non-current files from among those in its custody.

An amalgamated Index to the Government of Assam Proceedings, 1962-63, a descriptive list of 5 volumes of pre-1874 records of the Government of Assam and a hand-list of 3,531 files of the Commissioner's records were prepared during the period. Progress was made in the preparation of the Amalgamated Index of Proceedings of the Government of Assam for 1963-64.

Goa

Historical Archives of Goa.—A binding unit was added to the Historical Archives of Goa. To its library were added 150 publications including a few rare books on archives, art and archaeology. Besides supplying information to individuals and institutions on various subjects from among the records in its custody, the Archives attended to 130 applications for certified copies of documents from among the notarial deeds, inventory proceedings, village community records and quit-rent lease records deposited with it. It provided 6 research scholars with all facilities for consulting records.

Jammu & Kashmir

State Archives Department.—During the six months under report the State Archives Department traced out from among the records in its custody extremely valuable information and maps pertaining to inter-state and internal boundaries and supplied the same to the Survey of India, Dehra Dun. Besides, it attended to 358 requisitions for files from the various agencies of the State Government. 21 researchers availed of the facilities provided by the Department for consulting records in its custody.

While the Department took up indexing of records, it accessioned 12,952 non-current files of the different Departments of the Government of Jammu & Kashmir during the period under review.

Kerala

The State Archives.—The State Archives played a very important part in organizing the 41st session of the Indian Historical Records Commission which was held at Trivandrum on 9-11 October 1971. The Archives participated in the exhibition of historical documents on that occasion. It also took part in the All India Science and Industrial exhibition at Tiravalla in November 1971.

During the period under review the State Archives was engaged in working out an elaborate plan of survey and appraisal of non-current records of the various agencies of the State Government prior to their transfer to it for permanent custody. The Offices and establishments that were covered during the period are as follows:—

(i) Taluk Offices, Devikolam and Tirur; (ii) Principal Munsiff's Office, Chenganoor, (iii) Sub Divisional Magistrate's Court, Chenganoor; (iv) Forest Ranger's Office, Konni, (v) Customs Office, Cochin, (vi) Additional District and Sessions Court, Pasur, (vii) Collectorate, Kozhikode, (viii) District Information Office, Kozhikode, (ix) Divisional Forest Office, Palghat, and (x) Public Department.

Under its scheme for compilation of finding aids, the State Archives prepared a list of 70,200 *cadjan* records of the Travancore High Court. The private papers acquired by the State Archives included autobiographical notes of the last Maharaja of Cochin and manuscript of an unpublished work entitled "*The Rajarshi of Cochin*" by late I. N. Menon belonging to the royal family.

Maharashtra

Department of Archives.—During the period under report two regional Offices of the Department of Archives were established at Nagpur and Aurangabad.

The Department received for custody during this period 294 non-current files and 338 maps and 1,326 files, from the Collector's and *Tehsildar's Office* respectively, at Nasik. 47 non-current files of the Tahsil Office at Seogaon were likewise received by the newly established regional archives at Aurangabad.

The Department has been eminently successful in its efforts to collect private records of historical value. About 40,000 documents bearing on the religious history of Maharashtra were obtained from the Jairam Swami Math, at Wadgaon. Besides, it acquired the papers of the Deshmukh family of Mahad, and Ghatge family of Satara. 10 *rumals* consisting about 10,000 documents being the family records of the Adgaonkar Deshpandes of Nagpur and 13 manuscript *pothis* were received for custody at the regional office at Nagpur.

Microfilm copies of about 1,200 documents of the Gangakhed records in *Modi* script were obtained from the State Archives of Andhra Pradesh.

Under its publication programme the Department of Archives has brought out the *Maharashtra State Archives Bulletin No. 8, Descriptive Catalogue of the Papers in Shahu Daftar*, Vol. I, *Descriptive catalogue of the Papers in Nivdi (Chitnishi) Section from the Kolhapur Records and Selection from the Kolhapur Records*, Vol. I. An English translation of Bhimsen Burhanpuri's *Tarikh-i-Dilkusha*, a volume commemorating the birth centenary of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and the *Maharashtra Archives Bulletin No. 9* are in the press.

Orissa

The State Archives.—242 'A' class were received for custody by the Orissa State Archives during the six months under report. These include 9 files on Surendra Sai, the leader of agrarian unrest in nineteenth century Orissa. About 92 items of private papers of historical interest were also obtained during this period. The State Archives

continued the work of indexing the Balasore Revenue Records. Besides, a number of rare and valuable books were added to its Library.

Punjab

State Archives.—The accruals of the Panjab State Archives include 68 manuscripts and 13 historical documents besides 896 publications of different varieties. 4,709 files of the erstwhile Patiala and East Punjab States Union were chronologically arranged and paginated, while 3,437 files of the same provenance were sorted out. 8,531 non-current files of the Law Department received for custody were checked and repaired. 2,772 files of this series were listed. A catalogue was prepared of 252 manuscripts in Persian, Arabic, Urdu, Punjabi and Hindi acquired by the State Archives.

The State Archives carried out examination of records at the district and sub-divisional offices at Gurdaspur, Kapurthala and Patiala and certain offices at Chandigarh and advised the appropriate authorities in respect of their preservation.

Rajasthan

State Archives.—Under its publication programme the Rajasthan State Archives sent to the Press a descriptive list of 487 Reports of *Vakils* of the erstwhile State of Jaipur. It also made progress in the compilation of the second volume of *Rajasthan Through the ages*.

Tamil Nadu

Tamil Nadu Archives.—The records for the year 1967 of the Public, Education, Public Works, Rural Development and Local Administration, Food, Revenue, Industries, Labour and Housing, Finance, Law and Home Departments were transferred to the Archives for custody. *Public Despatches from England*, Vol. 60 was published while printing of Vol. 62 of the same series and the classified catalogue of books registered with the Registrar of Books for 1921-25 neared completion. The classified catalogue of books for 1926-30 was sent to the Press and the same for 1931-35 was made ready for the press.

34 research scholars were given access to the Tamil Nadu Archives during the period under report.

Uttar Pradesh

State Archives.—Considerable progress was made in checking verification, classification and arrangement of records in the custody of the State Archives. 372 volumes, 8,346 files and 508 bundles were checked and arranged and 4,200 items were inventoried. Photocopies were prepared of 128 documents. 16 research scholars availed of the facilities afforded by the State Archives for consulting records.

Under its publication programme, the State Archives got ready for the Press the following of its proposed publications.—(i) *Mughal Farmans in the custody of the State Archives, U.P.* and (ii) *Papers relating to Female infanticide in N.W.P. & Oudh.*

West Bengal

State Archives.—The accruals of the State Archives of West Bengal during the period under review include 3,476 non-current files of the Judicial (1964) and Home (1962-65) Departments and 381 copies of the different issues of *Calcutta Gazette*. Under its programme of the compilation of reference media the State Archives prepared indexes to the records of the Education (S.A.) (1968-70), Revenue (Cinchona) (1921-28) and Public Health (1919-23) Departments. It made noteworthy progress in the preparation of descriptive lists of the records of the Departments of Revenue (1784) and Revenue (Judicial) (1790). 7,947 non-current files of different Departments in its custody were appraised with a view to weeding out records of ephemeral value. Necessary facilities were afforded to 31 research scholars who came to the State Archives for consulting records.

INTERNATIONAL

Unesco

From 12 to 15 May 1970, ten archivists from U.S.S.R., U.S.A., U.K., Germany, Hungary, Italy, Ghana, France, and Spain, including office bearers of the International Council on Archives, met at Unesco Headquarters, Paris, to define guidelines for Unesco's policy on archives development. While stressing close co-operation between Unesco and the International Council on Archives they recommended that Unesco should concentrate its efforts on the planning of archival development, research and assistance, preferably on a regional basis. Particular attention should be paid to technical guidance in reprography and in the protection of the archival heritage of mankind. All possible means should be used to persuade governments of the necessity of archives and records management for all round development, and the use of archives should be encouraged through the production of national or regional guides, other finding aids and through the provision of reprographic facilities, educational services and documentary exhibitions.

The importance of expanding microfilming activities with a view to microfilm publication should be considered. The implication for archives of the use of computers and records in machine-readable form should be studied.

The experts suggested priority to: a preliminary survey of the archival situation in the Andean Group of five Latin American countries, followed by a meeting of experts on archival planning; establishment of a regional archival training centre for English-speaking tropical African countries at the University of Ghana at Accra, to be sponsored by Unesco; regional organization for archival training in the Arab countries, in South-East Asia and in other developing areas; and a long-range programme for the systematic recording of the oral traditions of nations in these areas. These proposals are likely to be included in Unesco's future programme for archival research and development.

Round Table on Archives

At the twelfth Annual Conference of the Round Table on Archives held in Jerusalem (Israel) from 1st August to 3 September 1970, 39 participants representing twenty-nine directorates of archives, national associations of archivists and archival institutions as well as two United Nations Agencies and three non-governmental organizations discussed the archival treatment of the masses of printed and duplicated documents, produced by public administrations; and the function of the modern archivists in research and public administration. It was agreed that only by permanent co-operation with the administration in devising filing schemes and controlling files at their very creation, so-to-say would it be possible to transfer the bulk of duplicated documents to the archives, properly arranged within the record groups to which they belong and in a minimum number of copies. The conference noted the modern archivist's double function not only as a servant of researches acting as a catalyst in promoting national self-identification in developing countries but also as a records manager who brought about effective administration and assisted systematic planning of development in all branches of public life by a well-organized and efficient records management with close liaison and cooperation with administrators.

Earlier at the eleventh Round Table on Archives held in Bucarest (Romania), from 23 to 27 September 1969 seventy participants representing thirty-three directorates of archives and three United Nations Agencies attended. The agenda comprised two topics: the archives of administrative services at the regional and local level; and the preservation and restoration of archives. It was agreed that the value and use of such regional and local archives would be realized only through an increased exchange of finding aids among regional archives, the preparation of guides on special subjects and, especially,

the closure study of the local aspects of the history of administration and institutions. In the discussion of the preservation and restoration of archives it was urged that the problem of documentary restoration was too urgent in developing countries for individual experimentation in special techniques or for the application of time—and money-consuming procedures. It was, therefore, recommended that a general type of restoration workshop be developed which would serve as a model for all archives services faced with the mass problem and guidelines for it included in the manual on archives restoration being prepared by Mr. Y. P. Kathpalia, Scientific Officer at the National Archives of India, under contract between Unesco and the International Council on Archives.

International Council on Archives

The first and the eighth volumes of the *Guide to Sources of African History* compiled by the International Council on Archives under the auspices of Unesco and relating to sources in Germany and Scandinavia respectively, are now available in microfiche, and orders can be placed with Inter Documentation company AG, order Department, Poststrasse 4, Zug, Switzerland. The Guide facilitates access to all available sources of African history. Each depository library is described, and a description of the collections and series contained in each is also given. The entries are so designed as to enable research workers to pursue their investigations in the subjects in which they are interested. Save in exceptional cases the actual documents are not described and therefore, it is not an inventory of documents but a handy reference aid for the contents of the depositories in the context of African history.

Canada

Public Archives of Canada.—Accessions in 1970 include records of the Departments of Trade and Commerce, Immigration, Labour and External Affairs and the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963-70). The Picture Division of the Archives has been enriched with the Manoir Richelieu collection consisting of 2500 oil paintings, water colours, drawings, lithographs, engravings and maps on Canadian history; negatives from Alexandra Studios, Toronto; Expo '67 photographs from the National Film Board; and Duncan Cameron's photographs from Capital Press Ltd., while the Map Division has accessioned architectural archives for the first time. The latter Division has published a descriptive catalogue of country atlases. The Archives has initiated a programme of acquiring private records on labour. The Public Archives is also responsible for preserving video tapes of television programmes on both Government and private

networks. Progress has also been made in developing a data base to be used in automating the control and retrieval of public records in Government departments as well as in the Public Archives.

Bertrand Russell Archives.—The Mac Master University is bringing out a quarterly bibliographical journal devoted mainly to Russelliana.

Eire

A significant step in the development of archives in Ireland was taken on 9 December 1970 at a meeting in University College Dublin attended by archivists, librarians and interested persons from all over the country, which led to the institution of the Irish Society for Archives. Objects stated in its foundation document are: (i) to promote preservation, salvaging and use of archives and increased access to them; (ii) to undertake the study of archives and dissemination of information about them; (iii) to increase public interest in all matters pertaining to archives; (iv) to co-operate with concerned institutions and individuals. A committee representing archival interests in the 4 provinces of Ireland and the main institutions viz. the Public Record Offices of Ireland and Northern Ireland, the State Paper Office and the National Library of Ireland was elected and given the task of preparing a constitution for the Society. The officers elected were: Prof. R. Dudley Edwards, Chairman; Patrick White, Secretary, Lt. Col. O'cathain, treasurer.

France

Manual of France Archives.—There had hardly been any archival manuals in France excepting such 19th century publications as *Manuel de l'archiviste des prefectures, des mairies et des hospices* (Champollion—Figeac, 1860) and *Traite theorique et pratique des archives publiques* (G. Richou, 1883). The Association of French archivists, therefore, decided to fill up this all-important desideratum on 15 June 1961. The plan of its contents prepared by the publication committee comprising Messrs Marot (Chairman), Bautier and M. Duchien was accepted by the general assembly of the Association in 1962. The Manual entitled *Le Manuel d'archivistique de L'Association des Archivistes Francais* has now been completed and published by the Direction des Archives de France and available at S.F.V.P.F.N., 13, rue du Four, Paris-6, at a price of 55.70 F. (de luxe edition) or 46.40F. (ordinary edition). Forty-two contributors, each a specialist in his own field have written different chapters. The joint venture has been divided into 6 parts: (i) introduction, (ii) archives in general, (iii) special categories of archives, (iv) preservation, (v) scientific cultural and administrative role of archives and (vi) three complementary essays on 'departmental' archives.

The Archives nationales has published the inventories of family papers of Rohan-Bouillon and Siey s families and of the documents in Madagascar-Cape of Good Hope correspondence in the Colonial Archives series. The Departemental Archives of Bouches-du-Rhone, Finistere, Gard, Herault, Bas-Rhin, Haut-Rhin, Haute-Saone and Tarn have similarly published inventories of many record groups in their custody while the Departemental Archives of Dordogne and Vosges have published brief handbooks to their respective archives. The Ministry of External Affairs has brought out Vol. XXIX relating to Turkey in the series 'Selections from instructions to French ambassadors during the period between the treaty of Westphalia and the French Revolution', fifth volume in the first series of documents on the origins of the second world war covering the period 13 November 1933—13 March 1934 and sixth volume in the second series on the same subject covering the period 1 June—29 September 1937, and a 2-volume collection of France's treaties and agreements with other countries in 1969.

Japan

The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, (c/o The Toyo Bunko, Hankomagome 2-chome, 28-21, Bunkyo) Tokyo, established in 1961 as one of the associated institutions of Unesco, has been acting as a deposit centre for Unesco microfilms of historical documents photographed in Asian countries since 1967. The centre has so far received 366 reels from Malaysia and Singapore, 72 reels from Cambodia, 196 reels from Philippines and 189 reels from India. The microfilms from Malaysia and Singapore include Government reports, newspapers such as *The Malay mail* daily and weekly editions; of *Pandji*, *Poestaka* (1925-41) etc.; and rare old books as well as contemporary reference books on Malaysia and Singapore written in Western languages. The microfilm from Cambodia, mostly photographed in the library of the Institute Boudhique, Phnom-Penh, contain government reports, rare, old books and contemporary reference books on Cambodia written in Western languages, articles in *Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient* and other periodicals, and manuscripts written in the Khmer language, such as the dynastic chronicles. In the microfilms from the Philippines are to be found the Spanish handwritten records preserved in the Bureau of Records Management (The National Archives of Philippines) at Manila. The records relate to educational institutions, history of Manila control of gambling and Malacanang palace. For the microfilm collection from India the manuscript libraries and archives at Calcutta, Bombay, Burdwan, New Delhi, Gauhati, Hyderabad, Jammu, Madras, Nagpur, Patna, Poona, Tirupati, Thanjavur, Trivandrum, and Waltair co-operated in supplying microfilms of old manuscripts in various languages such as Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Assamese, Apabhramsa, Prakrit, Tamil and Malayalam pertaining to the period covering thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries.

Nepal

From among its fine collection of more than half a lakh manuscripts the National Archives of Nepal has selected for publication a 1400-year old palmleaf manuscript on eroticism and herbal treatment of sexual inadequacies. The manuscript consisting of about 200 leaves entitled *Smara Deepika* was written in Devnagari script by Buddha Kirti who flourished in the court of King Jayadeva II of Nepal. It will be translated into English under the title "Sex, Drugs and Bliss" and provided with a critical introduction and notes by Y. G. Krishnamurti.

UNITED KINGDOM

British Records Association.—The 38th annual conference of the B.R.A. was held in the Drapers' Hall, London, on 3 & 4 December 1970. Meetings on both days were devoted to a discussion on the export of historical records, at which the chair was taken by Mr. Roger Ellis, Secretary of the Historical Manuscripts Commission and chairman of the Association's Council. Views of historians, archivists, administrators and exporters were heard and debated upon with special reference to the Government's Green Paper on the subject published in January 1970. Documents less than 100 years old are not subject to any export control at present. The Green Paper proposes to extend the control to those more than 30 years old costing more than £25. The B.R.A. feels that too many recent papers of historical interest would still escape control and has suggested the limiting price at £10. The Green Paper also suggests changes in licensing procedures. The discussion reflected the researchers' concern for loss of British Mss. specially to the American market, the administrators' difficulties in exercising control and the owners' right to cash their paper possessions. No scheme of control produced so far has appeared to be both workable and acceptable to all those directly concerned.

At the annual general meeting of the Records Preservation Section of the B.R.A. the main theme of discussion was a survey of archival surveys. Nearly forty survey and listing projects in respect of records relating to trade and industry, government and politics, economic data, religious bodies, physical and social sciences, and specific countries and area studies have been undertaken by various academic institutions in the past 2 years.

The B.R.A. is also endeavouring to halt the shifting of Transport Historical Records Office away from its present location in London.

The Local Government (Records) Act of 1962 had sought to prevent the multiplication of small and inadequately-financed record offices. The B.R.A. had been apprehensive of the implications, so far

commitments abroad, those of the 88th congress, (1963-4) which contain papers of standing and select committees on Foreign Affairs and the central foreign policy files (1945-9) of the Department of State. It must be noted, however, that they fall within the period which restricts access to non-official researchers. As the annual volumes in the State Department's documentary series, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, are published, the beginning date of the closed period is advanced. Also accessioned are Department of State maps and diagrams of post-world war II territorial problem areas of the world, complementing a similar series of departmental maps and relating to population, religious groups, communication patterns, water resources, and historical and potential frontier problem areas. Two feet of basic materials furnished to the Warren Commission on the assassination of President Kennedy by the C.I.A., the F.B.I. and the Secret Service have been released for research. The rest will be reviewed next year for removing restrictions. Among the publications General Information Leaflet No. 17, *Suggestions for citing Records in the National Archives of the United States*, and Staff Information Paper 19, *The Selection and Preparation of Records for Publication on microfilm* by Frank B. Evans will be found to be of general interest.

Presidential Libraries.—The nature of materials on paper, microfilm and audio-tape in the Harry S. Truman library, research procedures and restrictions and modes of citing the Library materials in publications have been recently explained to past and prospective researchers in the Truman period and donors of papers to the Library in their publication entitled *Historical Materials in the Harry S. Truman Library; an introduction to their contents and use*. Though the Lyndon B. Johnson Library has occupied its permanent building on the Texas university campus at Austin and its exhibit areas are open to the public it is not yet open for research purposes.

Florida State Archives.—The Archives reports that it has neither facilities nor personnel to provide public access to its nearly 2,000 cubic feet of accessioned records. However, with the assistance of some students it manages to handle a few specific requests for information.

Utah.—The administration has decided to microfilm its land and court records and to store them in secure location, a lesson learnt from the recent fire from which, however records in the court house were saved.

Air Force Academy Library.—The aeronautical collection of the late Col. Richard Gimbel, spanning 5,000 years of man's dreams and attempts to fly, was received as a gift. The large collection includes books, prints, medals, letters, and 5,000 year old Babylonian cuneiform seals inscribed with a discussion of man's ambition to fly.

Philip May Hamer : Founding member, fellow and past president of the Society of American Archivists; Executive Director emeritus of the National Historical Publications Commission, director and editor of guides to the National Archives, U.S.A., and other archives and Mss in the U.S.A. and Federal records of the second World War passed away on 10 April 1971.

The Roosevelt Library Case.—Though the joint *ad hoc* committee of the American Historical Association and the Organisation of American Historians to investigate the charges against the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library submitted its final report on 24 Aug. 1970, it has become such a *cause celebre* in the world of archivists and historians that it continues to be a subject of public controversy and private debate. In 1968 Prof. F. L. Lowenheim of Rice University charged that in the interest of a publication project (*Franklin D. Roosevelt and Foreign Affairs* undertaken by the Library itself he had been improperly denied access to the file containing 6 letters written in 1933-4 by the American ambassador to Germany William E. Dodd to Roosevelt. Not satisfied with the Library's simple explanation that the concerned file was not supplied because it was not requisitioned, Prof. Lowenheim lodged his complaint with the National Archives of U.S.A. questioned their integrity as well as that of the directors of Harvard University Press, publishers of the Library's project, and honesty of some members of the American Historical Association whose intervention was sought by him. When several historians allied themselves with Lowenheim, the *New York Times* and other newspapers published the controversy. Prof. Lowenheim claimed that as his research in which he had invested thousands of dollars was ruined due to alleged denial of access to the relevant file he had suffered severely and that the Library, the Archives or the Government should compensate him for it.

The Committee has exonerated the Library but curiously enough remarks that the file should have been supplied to the Professor even though he had not asked for it. "It was a regrettable, though nonetheless honest error" but hardly a systematic attempt to conceal material, concludes the Committee. Perhaps, the absence of a trained archivist on the Committee might have helped it to reach such a strange conclusion, though on the whole the Library appears to have got better of the argument. That no party is wholly pleased with the Committee's report is obvious from the statements issued after its submission, by Prof. Lowenheim himself, Dr. J. B. Rhoads, Archivist of the U.S.A., and Herman Kahn, a former Director of the Roosevelt Library and now Associated Librarian at Yale University. The Roosevelt Library, as a result of the Lowenheim case, has now streamlined its procedures. A catalogue of its holdings is received by all researchers, finding aids are placed on open, easily accessible shelves; future publication projects have been announced and publicized; access to hitherto restricted papers

has been speeded up. The Committee has exhorted for greater and mutual trust between the archivists and the historians, but how far future misunderstandings between the two would be minimized is debatable. For, by implication the case and the Committee has raised rather than successfully tackled certain questions, some procedural and others fundamental, concerning the archival profession. Since research in modern history involves going through vast quantities of materials should the researcher be required to call for every individual piece of paper separately? If not, should the archivists supply connected papers on their own? Can they be held legally and financially responsible for non-supply? Should there be statutory machinery with defined scope, composition and functions, to deal with disputes between the archivists and users of holdings in their custody? Can one ever force the attention of researchers to archival projects? Can a press claim copyright to materials in the public archives just by publishing them? These are a few of the questions that have no pat solutions and will continue to cause concern to archivists everywhere. Echoes of the Lowenheim case will be thus reverberating for a long time throughout the archival profession.

The Library of Congress.—The Library has been annually spending more than half a million dollars to restore deteriorating materials in its custody and still finds itself unable to keep abreast of materials which require treatment. It has therefore decided to set up a Preservation Research Laboratory to undertake basic research in the preservation of library materials. It will be housed in the Annex of the Library and scientific equipment will be bought through a grant from the Council on Library Resources, Inc. The laboratory will undertake research problems relating to not only the preservation of paper but also of adhesives, book bindings, microfilm, magnetic tape, and motion picture film. It will assume responsibility for testing and evaluating materials, equipments and preservation technique and will seek to develop solutions to preservation problems of libraries and archives throughout the U.S.A.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE INDIAN CIVIL JUDICIARY IN MAKING, 1800-33

by

Chittaranjan Sinha, (Munshiram Manoharlal,
New Delhi, 1971; pp. 209; Price Rs. 27.0).

OF the Mughal judiciary Jadunath Sarkar wrote, 'The main defect of the department of law and justice was that there was no system, no organization of the law courts in a regular gradation from the highest to the lowest, nor any proper distribution of courts in proportion to the area served by them.' That the laws administered were also equally inadequate and unsatisfactory from contemporary Western standards has been clearly brought out by B. K. Acharya in his Tagore Law Lectures—*Codification in British India* (1914). No doubt, the reforms introduced by the British—the rule of law, the setting up of a well-organised hierarchical structure of courts, and the introduction of the Western systems of jurisprudence and judicial procedure—marked a major revolution in the administration of justice in India. In the present study, Dr. Sinha examines in depth all aspects of the working of the system initially set up by Cornwallis up to the time of Bentinck, the next important landmark in Indian judicial history. The framework of judicial machinery, the mode of recruitment and conditions of working, the system of appeals, the limited role allotted to Indian judges, divesting of executive officers of judicial responsibilities and a number of other related matters have been studied. Although the author treads on a fairly familiar ground, the systematic exposition based on original official records and private papers makes the work a significant contribution to our understanding of the subject. Particular attention may be drawn to the sections dealing with the problems posed by the Crown courts, whose position was quite anomalous in the constitutional structure of the times; of equal interest is the predominant position of the Governor General in Council vis-a-vis the Sadar Diwani courts and the failure of the latter to attain the independent status envisaged for them by Wellesley and Cornwallis.

In the existing studies, on the subject—the present work is no exception—there has always been unstinted praise for the revolutionary changes introduced by Cornwallis and his successors, and the emergence of the modern system of courts and laws. The praise is richly deserved. But, in the process of adulation, some of the major blunders committed, which have had far-reaching consequences, have been either ignored or glossed over.

To refer to the most important of them, Cornwallis lacked the sympathy of Warren Hastings towards the natives and native institutions; in spirit, he belonged to the group who were out to civilise India. As such, he made no serious attempt to understand local institutions or seek to build upon them, an attitude equally seen in his revenue reforms. The existing structure was demolished without qualms and a new one based on Western "liberal" ideas imposed. To go to the root of the matter, administration of justice was at that time mostly in the hands of panchayats, caste, guild or village, and the law administered was customary law. Even where the zamindari courts were dominant, local public opinion had, by and large, to be respected. Only a few cases went up to the higher tribunals, and their inadequacy and incompetence did not affect the common man as much as the higher classes. The mistake committed by Cornwallis was to have ignored the grass roots-justice at the village level by panchayats. The very commendable reforms effected by him at the higher levels might have helped the richer litigants but they left the common man very much in the cold as never before. Without the traditional official support, tacit or overt, the panchayats languished and faded out. The futile attempts of 1814 to resurrect them have only a historical interest.

Another blunder of Cornwallis was his foolhardy assumption that justice could be administered satisfactorily by a handful of foreigners over so large a country. The competence and integrity of Indians as judges were suspected. Initially, they were permitted to handle only cases involving property worth less than Rs. 50, and that too subject to many restrictions. As a consequence, cases remained undisposed of and the British judges found it impossible to cope with them. The powers of the Indian judges had perforce to be enlarged, and in the time of Bentinck these judges were vested with most of the original jurisdiction. These measures hailed as "reforms", are but belated rectifications of a blunder which should never have been committed. The evil wrought is much deeper than that revealed by official records. While the latter present statistics of undisposed of cases, there is no way of measuring quantitatively the extent to which people kept away from the new courts, because of ignorance or poverty or other factors, and preferred to put up with oppression and injustice. This phase of the problem is very well portrayed by F. J. Shore in *Notes on Indian Affairs* (1837).

The same could be said of the doctrinaire turn given to the highly laudable principle of judicial independence. The never-ending controversy over exercise of judicial powers by executive functionaries, be they Collector-Magistrates and others, and the growth of administrative justice in our own times show that the stand-point of

Cornwallis was far from invulnerable. Fortunately, Indian administrators were mostly pragmatic, not doctrinaire. Dr. Sinha has rightly concluded, "Theoretical considerations had very little effect. The reforms were primarily dictated by the practical need of reducing arrears and delays without increasing expenditure."

While welcoming this important study, I would like to draw attention to these matters which seem to deserve further probing.

S. V. DESIKA CHAR

Patna Commissioner's Records Series.—Vol. I. Being Descriptive List of Monthly Bundles from Commissioner, Patna Division to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, from 1853 to 1875, Vol. II. Being Descriptive List of Monthly Bundles from the Secretary Government of Bengal, to the Commissioner, Patna Division, from 1854 to 1875. Edited by Dr. K. K. Datta, (State Central Record Office, Bihar, Patna, 1965, and 1970, pp. iv + 96 + VI, and 446-74 price Rs. 3.40 and Rs. 11.25, resp.)

The State Central Record Office of the Government of Bihar has shown remarkable efficiency in working out its plan of publishing finding aids to the records in its custody. The first volume is a descriptive list of more than 1,600 letters and the second of about 2,700 letters. Besides mentioning the subject, the lists give number, date and designation of the sender and the recipient of each letter. Both the volumes are also furnished with separate glossaries of Arabic, Persian, Hindi and Bengali words that occur in the lists, which add to their usefulness.

The first volume contains complete references to a set of materials on the Mutiny of 1857 and the Wahabi Movement. Problems of administration of Patna Division are given in details in the documents summarized in the second volume. Besides matters relating to Patna, it also refers to circulars, orders and letters pertaining to the administration of the entire country. Papers relating to construction and management of railways and development of public works are among the important items summarized in the second volume. But it was necessary for a volume of such bulk to have an index. Both the lists are particularly useful to those engaged in research on local history of Bihar as valuable materials on social, economic and administrative changes that took place in the Patna Division of the mid-nineteenth century Bengal Presidency are summarized in them.

P. K. GHOSH

Selection from the Judicial Records of the Bhagalpur District Office (1792-1805) edited by Dr. K. K. Datta, (State Central Record Office, Bihar, Patna, 1968, pp 406 Price Rs. 11.50).

District administration has so far been a neglected aspect of research. As administrative unit it is an important element in a plural society like that of India. The publication under review brings to light source materials on one of such administrative ramifications—the district of Bhagalpur.

521 letters are reproduced in the volume. Some of them are candid expressions of the realities of administration. The district had badly managed jails. Henry Lodge, a Judge-Magistrate was 'struck with astonishment' seeing the ruinous state of the jails 'having no thatch to shelter the prisoners and no accommodation for the sick' (p. 21). James Grant, his predecessor found the guards 'not sufficiently watchful' (p. 10) which made it easy for the convicts to jump the jail and add to the increasing crimes. Among the inmates of the prisons, those found guilty of theft and dacoity were mostly husbandmen, or at least they claimed to be so. (e.g. pp. 13-16).

But administration of Bhagalpur is no study merely of crimes. Fombelle pays high tribute to Augustus Cleveland who strove for improvement of the conditions of life of the hillmen in Bihar. The Bhagalpur Hill Rangers composed of the primitives is a testimony to Cleveland's greatness (p. 165). Fombelle recalls Cleveland's efforts in bringing peace and tranquility to Bihar.

This Selection also contains the Fort William Board's instructions to the Judge-Magistrate to allow the French unhindered trade facilities, references to the Journey of C. Perron through this district, Nawab Wazir Ali's revolt and a devastating storm on 14 May 1805.

There is, however, some scope for improvement. The letters included in the volume could be edited with a little discretion and care. "Lutchen Mundul Prosecutor and 7 witnesses on the case of Ropoo charged with furnication for 6 days at 2 annas per day....." Occurring on the very first page could mean something with commas properly inserted.

It was also necessary to add an index to the volume.

P. K. GHOSH

MAHARASHTRA IN THE AGE OF SHIVAJI

by

Dr. A. R. Kulkarni,

Professor of History, Poona University. (R. J. Deshmukh & Co., 1969, pp. xxiv + 308. Price Rs. 25.00)

The career of Shivaji has fascinated students of history and there are a number of biographies of the great hero. Most of these contain

some account of the administrative system that he established and there are also independent studies of the Maratha administrative and military systems. But a full-length study of the economic conditions of Shivaji's times had not been attempted so far. Dr. A. R. Kulkarni has done this very successfully in this book, which is based on the Ph.D. thesis which he submitted to the Marathwada University. The period of study is the half a century from 1630 to 1680—the age of Shivaji. Maharashtra here means the *Swarajya* of Shivaji, the area lying between the Godavari and the Tungabhadra. The economic activities which the author describes with the help of contemporary records can be grouped under 4 heads. The first group consists of village organisation, the land system, agriculture and irrigation; the second deals with public income including land revenue and public expenditure; the third with population and the last with industry, trade, banking and currency. Among the important sources used by our author are *Shivabharata*, *Rajyavyavaharakosha*, *Sabhasad Bakhar*, Family Records, *Dasabodha* of Ramadas, Tukaram's *Gatha*, the accounts of foreign travellers like Fryer, Tavernier, Carre, Martin etc. and the English Records.

The author keeps close to his authorities and his remarks or comments and conclusions are balanced and sober. Take the instance of Shivaji's treatment of the *Watandars*, the *Deshmukhs* and the *Deshpandes*, who before his time supervised the work of village officers viz. the *Patils* and the *Kulkarnis*, who were also *watandars*. Was Shivaji bent on abolishing the *Watan* system? It is true that he confiscated certain *watans*, but it is equally true that he did not abolish them and he also created new ones. The author's conclusion is that though it is possible that, in the beginning, Shivaji wished to wrest the ryot from the clutches of the *watandars*, ultimately he seems to have decided to make use of the old village organisation to serve his own ends rather than change it out of recognition. This conclusion of our author is supported by the evidence of *Ajnapatra* which is quoted in extenso in an appendix.

While there may be some doubt about the attitude of Shivaji towards the *Watandars*, our author makes it clear that there was none with regard to his solicitude towards the cultivators or the villagers. At the time of Shivaji's birth, Maharashtra was ravaged by one of the worst famines. Ramdas says that this famine made begging useless because all had become beggars. And one such person hit by it was none other than Tukaram. He lost everything in it. But it was a blessing in disguise to him and to his countrymen, because he turned to the path of Bhakti with results which everybody knows.

It was from such a predicament that Dadaji Kondadev and Shivaji had to rescue the cultivators. Shivaji issued instructions to his village officials to induce old cultivators to return to their village and

persuade newcomers to settle in villages by means of monetary help. In 1676, Shivaji asked one of his *subedars* to pay a visit to all the cultivators in each village in his *suba* and enquire whether they possessed the necessary equipment. If needed, the cultivator was offered loans which he could repay in easy instalments after the harvest. That such solicitude for the encouragement of cultivation was not merely on paper is illustrated by a record belonging to the *Deshpande* of Poona. Being interested in developing a garden land at Shivapur (a place named after himself), Shivaji asked the people of the village to construct a dam to the village stream and bring the water to his field through an aqueduct. But a big stone was obstructing the flow of water. A person called Yes Patil came forward and removed the obstacle. Being pleased with his services, Shivaji granted him the revenues of a village.

It was such solicitude by rulers like Shivaji and the cooperation between the King and the villagers which were responsible for the picturesque landscape which the French traveller, Carre, came across in Konkan, which consisted of "a great many villages, always between mountains and in pleasant and fertile valley watered by several streams that fall from the mountains and large rivers in the valleys."

It will be a mistake to think that such cooperation between the ruler and the villages extended only to irrigation and cultivation. Shivaji followed the age-old practice of consulting the villagers in the appointment of the village officers. We find Shivaji refusing to force a *Patil* on a village where the villagers were not prepared to accept him. In another instance, the village offered the office of *Kulkarni* to a person and then sought the approval of the king which was readily given.

As regards the burden of taxation, Dr. Kulkarni's conclusion is that it fell more heavily on the poor people than on the rich. To remedy this, our author guesses that Shivaji must have abolished or scaled down some of the rights and perquisites of the *watandars* and discontinued those taxes which were current under the earlier Muslim rulers.

A considerable part of the public expenditure consisted of the pay and allowances of the soldiers and officials. Shivaji encouraged merit by giving larger allowances to the merited. On the families of those who died for the state, he showered pensions and bounties. His military camp was in striking contrast with that of Mughals. He spent much less on his army than they. His generosity to men of religion like Ramdas is well-known.

Dr. Kulkarni has shown great ingenuity in arriving at approximate estimates of the population. On the basis of Moreland's calculations (army 1/30 of the population), two lakhs of Shivaji's armed forces

would mean a population of about 60 lakhs. But this (60 lakhs) was about the population of Shivaji's Marathi-speaking areas according to the 1872 census. Allowing for a devastating famine, continuous warfare and migration of Marathas outside Maharashtra, Dr. Kulkarni thinks that half the above viz. 30 lakhs must have been the population of Shivaji's Maharashtra. He also estimates on the basis of house-tax that a Konkan village must have had a population of about 1425 and a Desh (plain) village 500. He thinks that the city of Chaul must have had a population of 45,000 and Karad 7000 to 8000.

Shivaji's commercial policy is described in the *Ajnapatra* by the dictum that the merchants were the ornament of the kingdom and the glory of the king. Though Shivaji did much for the encouragement of the merchants and the cultivators, the condition of the coolies remained miserable. Dr. Kulkarni quotes the description of Carre's journey to Bijapur. Carre went in a palanquin. He says, "I had 8 of these coolies—6 for my palanquin and two for my luggage. I gave each Rupees three for the whole journey without being obliged to give them any food. They provided themselves before starting with a little rice and dried fish. This lasted all the journey with what they find in the villages where they are given fruit and milk and some millet". He also says that they comforted themselves with tobacco, toddy and *ganja*.

Thus Dr. Kulkarni has made skilful use of the sources to tell their own tale both complimentary as well as uncomplimentary to the times and the ruler. His account is not only unbiassed but eminently readable. The only fly in the ointment is that the press has let him down. We can only hope that he will have better luck with them when the second edition of this very important work is called for.

G. S. DIKSHIT

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