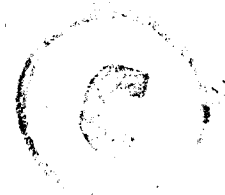


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Volume XXI

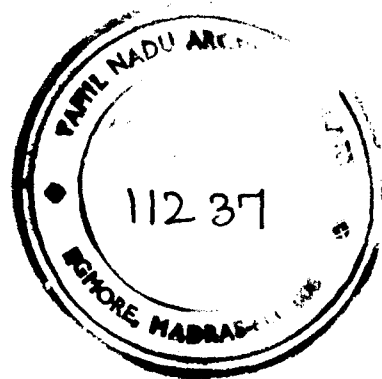
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
The State Archives of Uttar Pradesh by <i>K. P. Srivastava</i>	1
The Literature of Confrontation : An Introduction to Banned Publications in British Punjab by <i>Norman G. Barrier</i>	9
Sources for a Work on the Social Policy of Lord Dalhousie by <i>Suresh Chandra Ghosh</i>	33
Development of Conservation of Records in the National Archives and Library of Malaysia by <i>John Davies</i>	41
<i>Rashtriya Abhilekhagar Men Prashikshan Kee Rooprekha</i> (in Hindi) by <i>Ishwarahand Varma</i>	47
Private Papers :	
Benarsi Das Chaturvedi Collection by <i>Sudharani Sarma</i>	49
News Notes :	
<i>India</i> : National Archives of India—Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi—Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi—Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta—Archival Activities in Andhara Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Goa, Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal— <i>International</i> : UNESCO—Thirteenth International Round Table on Archives—Asia-Pacific Conference on Conservation of Cultural Property— <i>United States of America</i> : National Archives, Washington—Regional Archives—Presidential Libraries—Library of Congress—Office of Records Management—National Historical Publications Commission—Society of American Archivists—South Carolina Department of Archives & History— <i>Canada</i> : Public Archives of Canada— <i>United Kingdom</i> : Public Record Office, London—British Records Association—Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts—University College, London— <i>France</i> : Archives of the Ministry Foreign Affairs— <i>Zambia</i> : National Archives of Zambia— <i>Iran</i> : National Archives— <i>Japan</i> : National Archives	53
Book Reviews :	
<i>A History of South Kanara</i> by <i>K. V. Ramesh</i> (Dharwar, 1970), reviewed by <i>K. G. Vasantha Madhava</i>	73
<i>British Diplomacy and Administration in India</i> by <i>L. R. Bakshi</i> (New Delhi, 1971), reviewed by <i>Mushirul Hasan</i>	78
<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru</i> , Vol. I, Ed. <i>S. Gopal</i> (Orient Longman, 1972), reviewed by <i>M. N. Das</i>	79
Contributors to This Issue.	83

THE INDIAN ARCHIVES

Volume XXI

January—June 1972

Number 1

THE STATE ARCHIVES OF UTTAR PRADESH

K. P. SRIVASTAVA

ON 5 June 1947, the Government of Uttar Pradesh decided to set up a Central Record Office at Allahabad, so that the non-current records of their various agencies might be concentrated at one place not only for future administrative use and for facilitating historical research, but also for being maintained and preserved on scientific lines. It, however, took nearly two years to set up the office, and the Keeper of Records, who was appointed to run it, took over charge on 2 May 1949. The office was afterwards renamed as the State Archives of Uttar Pradesh and its head redesignated as the Keeper of Archives. Originally under the Directorate of Public Instruction, it was later placed under the administrative control of the Cultural Affairs and Scientific Research Department.

The State Government assigned the following duties to the Keeper of Archives:—

- (i) To carry out a survey of the records in public offices in Uttar Pradesh and to prepare classified lists of records of historical interest in each office, of dates prior to 1935.
- (ii) To advise different departments in regard to the preservation of records, and to report to the Government cases where arrangements are unsatisfactory.
- (iii) To arrange for the transfer of records from the various offices to the State Archives, specially in cases where the records are in danger of perishing by neglect.
- (iv) To suggest the revision of weeding schedules for records in public offices.
- (v) To publish lists of and selections from records of historical interest for the benefit of research scholars.
- (vi) To maintain properly the records in the State Archives as well as in the Departmental, Divisional and District offices.
- (vii) To advise the Government in regard to the conditions on which the public may be given access to records.

(viii) To offer suggestions to the Government for advising non-official bodies like universities and learned institutions in the State about the preservation of records of historical importance and other valuable manuscripts in their possession.

In view of the above, the State Archives has had before it the following aims and objects:

(i) Providing safe custody for the non-current records lying scattered in different Departmental, Divisional, District and other public offices.

(ii) Maintaining and preserving Government records and facilitating their utilisation.

(iii) Throwing open official records for academic research.

(iv) Providing facilities for the microfilming and photocopying of records.

(v) Collecting, maintaining and conserving valuable manuscripts and documents in private custody.

In pursuance of these aims and objects, the State Archives assesses the importance and physical condition of the records in Government offices and takes into its custody such of them as deserve to be preserved permanently. Public offices are, from time to time, advised on the scientific preservation of records. Non-official bodies are also advised through the State Government in regard to the preservation of their records and manuscripts. Such records of the Government as need repair are rehabilitated and made fit for handling and consultation. Summary inventories, systematic inventories, indexes, catalogues, calendars and other finding aids are prepared for the users of records. Quick service is rendered to Government agencies and research scholars alike by preparing for their use microfilm and photo copies of the records of interest to them.

Accessions

Public Records :

The State Archives is mainly concerned with the housing of the non-current records of the State Government, selected for permanent preservation. A start was made with the accessioning of the pre-Mutiny records. For want of space the State Archives, however, has not been able to accession all the records ripe for retirement. The total number of pre-Mutiny and post-Mutiny records of the Government accessioned so far is 79,115 volumes and files and 1,335 'bastas' and bundles. These occupy about 6,000 linear feet of shelf space.

There are some gaps in the various series of records in the custody of the State Archives. Efforts are being made to obtain microfilm copies of documents from the India Office Library & Records, London, to fill up these gaps.

The following are the main series of public records in the State Archives:—

I. Board of Revenue Records:

(a) General Proceedings of

1. Board of Revenue of Fort William in Bengal (1803-07).
2. Board of Commissioners for the Provinces of Banaras and Bihar (1816-22).
3. Board of Commissioners in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces (1801-22).
4. Board of Revenue in the Central Provinces (1822-29).
5. Board of Revenue in the Western Provinces (1822-29).
6. Sadar Board of Revenue (1830-31).

(b) Abstracts of Proceedings of the Sadar Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces (1854-57).

(c) Agra Proceedings (1801-20).

(d) Mofussil Special Commissioners Proceedings (1821-30).

(e) Customs Department Proceedings (1818-1910).

(f) Board of Revenue Miscellaneous Series (1858-73).

II. Political Department Proceedings (1861-1922).

III. Avadh Records (1858-90).

IV. Divisional Records:

Agra (1807-57); Banaras (1776-1900); Kumaun (1814-58); Jhansi (1843-76); Meerut (1812-74); Rohilkhand (1860-80); Lucknow (1866-91).

V. District Records:

Gorakhpur (1802-57); Mirzapur (1795-1858); Fatehpur (1857-59); Mathura (1815-57); Etawah (1824-36); Etah (1814-42); Mainpuri (1824-57); Farrukhabad (1809-57); Saharanpur (1806-90); Banaras (1796-1858); Ghazipur (1817-57); Meerut (1811-69); Banda (1857-66); Badaun (1858-80); Azamgarh (1856-75); Aligarh (1858-75); Almora (1839-57); Allahabad (1857-63); Hamirpur (1858-73); Lucknow (1858-80); Kanpur (1858-70); Rampur (1805-1949); Tehri Garhwal (1711-1890); Basti District Judge's Court (1802-03).

VI. U.P. Civil Secretariat Records (1817-1930).

VII. Directorate of Education Records (1852-1900).

VIII. (a) Mutiny Records of Districts (in Urdu and Persian) : Agra (1857-74); Bahraich (1857); Bijnor (1858-59); Badaun (1858-78); Bulandshahr (1857); Jalaun (1857); Jhamsi (1857-60); Jaunpur (1857-61); Moradabad (1858-59); Muzaffarnagar (1858-80); Etah (1858-59); Farrukhabad (1857-58); Mirzapur (1857-60); Rae Bareilly (1858-70); Shahjahanpur (1858-97); Unao (1858-59).

(b) Miscellaneous Records: These include original papers and photostats of documents relating to the Mutiny, maps depicting the battles of Kalpi, Gwalior, Kunch etc. (1857-59), photostat maps of Lucknow (1857), and correspondence relating to the Freedom Movement in the State (1864-1942).

Private Archives :

The State Archives has acquired a large number of manuscripts and documents from private sources mainly through the efforts of the Uttar Pradesh Regional Records Survey Committee. These have been acquired either by purchase or by way of gift. They are over 12,000 in number, out of which 7,313 are in Sanskrit. Those in other languages are: Persian and Urdu (4,274), Arabic (94), Hindi (551), Marathi (237), Bengali (187), Tamil and Telugu (51), and Prakrit (6). They deal with history, literature, religion, medicine, astrology, etc. The oldest manuscript in Sanskrit is 'Maha Mayuri'. Its date is 918 Bikram Samvat. Other noteworthy Sanskrit manuscripts are: 'Upanishad Samuchchaya', 'Bhagwad Geeta', 'Vishnu Purana', 'Prabodh Chandrodaya', 'Venkatesh Mahatma', 'Venkatesh Upanishad', 'Madan Yog', 'Raj Tarangini', 'Rasendu Chintamani', 'Muhurta Martand', 'Sarva Sangrah', 'Jatak', 'Muhurta Malika', and 'Shankar Vijai'. Among the manuscripts in Hindi mention may be made of 'Bhramar Git Sar', 'Braj Bhakti Vilas', 'Ram Charitmanas', 'Padmavat' and 'Bihari Satsai'.

Among the documents in Persian there are 99 *farmans* of which the oldest is that of Sher Shah. It is dated 1540 A.D. and contains the instructions issued to the people to help the government officials in maintaining law and order. The *farmans* of Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan, Aurangzeb and other Mughal Emperors throw light on the various steps taken by them to administer their empire efficiently. Other documents contain a *chaknamah* issued in 1615 A.D. It describes how the policy of consolidation of lands was implemented. Some of the manuscripts in Persian worthy of mention are 'Sirr-e-Akbar', 'Yadgar-e-Bahaduri', 'Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim', 'Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh', 'Chahar Gulshan', 'Jaunpurnamah' and a translation of the Mahabharat. These manuscripts throw light on the social, economic, religious and cultural life of the people.

Arrangement of Records

Records are normally grouped under the names of the offices or Departments from which they are received, and the records groups thus

formed are each assigned a distinctive code name. Within these groups the records are arranged into series, corresponding to the classes to which they belonged before their transfer. Each series has a separate number, and the records in it are numbered consecutively.

At present almost all the pre-Mutiny records and in some cases even post-Mutiny records have been arranged according to the groups in their original order. The stray proceedings and files have been arranged in chronological order and assigned fresh numbers.

Finding Aids

Two types of reference and research aids are being prepared by the State Archives. One is strictly for administrative purposes and the other for both administrative and research purposes. The former include check lists, accession register, location charts, group lists, etc; and the latter consist of summary inventories, systematic inventories, descriptive lists, indexes, catalogues, and calendars.

Research and Reference

The State Archives attends to requisitions for original records from the Government offices. It also provides necessary facilities to bona-fide researchers for consulting the records of interest to them. They are supplied with hand-books, catalogues, inventories, indexes, etc. to enable them to locate and requisition the materials pertaining to their topics of study. At present all records upto 1901 are open for research. Special permission is required to consult non-confidential records upto 1935 and certain classes of restricted material. Excerpts taken from records by the research scholars are scrutinized by the State Archives before they are released to them. There are also arrangements for supplying to them and to other interested parties typed or microfilm copies of the documents wanted by them. References from records are also furnished to private individuals and institutions, as per prescribed rules, on payment of a nominal search fee.

Preservation and Photoduplication

The State Archives maintains an active liaison with archival repositories in India and abroad in order to bring its preservation work up to modern standards and to acquaint the staff with the latest scientific techniques evolved in this field.

The records are kept free from insects and pests by regular preventive operation of ordinary cleaning and dusting by vacuum cleaners, application of preservatives and spraying of insecticides. They are fumigated with thymol and para-dichlorobenzene. Napthalene bricks are placed on the shelves and in show cases. Leather-bound volumes are treated with leather preservative mixture.

Chiffon and handmade paper are used in the minor repair of records. Brittle records deserving full protection are repaired with the

lamination machine which has been imported from U.S.A. Before lamination the documents are deacidified. Thereby acidity in the paper is removed so that it may not act as an agent for discoloration and weakening of the fibrous structure of the paper. This is achieved by dipping the paper to be treated in calcium bicarbonate and calcium hydroxide solutions according to a prescribed process. The document is then dried on a special type of drying rack.

Besides repairing and rehabilitating the records in its own custody, the State Archives attends to requests from private individuals and institutions for repair or photocopying of their manuscript collections. Photographic facilities are also provided to bonafide research scholars on nominal payment. The office is equipped with a microfilm machine, microfilm readers, document printer, film drying machine, ultra-violet lamp, enlargers, and other necessary photographic accessories.

Publications

The State Archives launched a publication programme in 1954. Under it the following publications have been brought out so far : ---

1. *Selections from English Records: Banaras Affairs*, Vol. I (1788-1810); Vol. II (1811-59).
2. *Henry Wellesley Correspondence* (1801-03).
3. *Historical Papers relating to Kumaun* (1802-09).
4. *Documents relating to Indian Nationalism*. Correspondence between Major E.B.C. Bradford and Kailas Nath Sukul (15 May-10 September, 1875).
5. *A Calendar of Oriental Records*, Vols. I-III.
6. *A Catalogue of State Papers : N.W.P.*, Part I, Judicial Series (1798-1814).
7. *Private Correspondence of J.W. Sherer* (1857).
8. *An Alphabetical Index of Persian, Arabic and Urdu Manuscripts in the State Archives, U.P.*
9. *An Alphabetical Index of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the State Archives, U.P.*
10. *Press List of Pre-Mutiny Records (Banaras Correspondence)*. Vols. I-II.
11. *Press List of Bundelkhand Records* (1857-76).
12. *Administrative Reports of the Government Central Record Office, U.P.* (1949-59).
13. *Annual Progress Reports of the State Archives, U.P.* (1960 onwards).
14. *Care of Archives* by Dr. K. P. Srivastava, Keeper of Archives, U.P.

Building

A new building for the State Archives is presently under construction at Lucknow. The State Government has sanctioned a sum of Rs. 11,62,200.00 for the purpose. The construction work, which is in progress, is expected to be over shortly.

Regional Records Survey Committee

As the State Archives acquires papers from private sources through the Uttar Pradesh Regional Records Survey Committee, it would not be out of place to mention here a few words about it. The State Government constituted the said Committee in 1951. It is being reconstituted periodically. Its main functions are:

- (i) To carry out a comprehensive survey of records and manuscripts of historical and scientific value in private custody in the State.
- (ii) To arrange for acquisition of these records and manuscripts either by purchase or by way of gift, and to make them available for research.
- (iii) To take steps to ensure their proper preservation and listing.
- (iv) To have catalogues of manuscripts prepared and published to serve as a useful bibliographical aid for research.
- (v) To procure microfilm copies of private papers, if their owners are unwilling to part with them.
- (vi) To hold exhibitions at the headquarters of the State Government as also at other places in the State to enable people to realise the importance of archives and to induce owners of private papers to donate or sell their collections to the State Archives.

The Regional Records Survey Committee is assisted in its work by a purchase committee which examines and assesses the value of manuscripts and documents in private custody at different places within the State, and submits its recommendations to the Survey Committee for its consideration.

THE LITERATURE OF CONFRONTATION : AN INTRODUCTION TO BANNED PUBLICATIONS IN BRITISH PUNJAB

NORMAN G. BARRIER

HISTORICAL research on the evolution of modern India ignores a major source on religious and political problems, the publications banned by the British between 1907 and 1947. During the four decades, the government attempted to destroy a segment of Indian literature. A measure of the *raj's* success is infrequent reference to the proscribed (banned) titles in current political surveys. Ironically, even Indian revolutionaries writing their autobiographies or histories of their movements tend to rely on files in the Home-Political series of records at the National Archives of India, New Delhi, rather than utilizing proscribed works which they and associates produced.

This essay introduces the proscribed literature of one province, the Punjab, and suggests themes and possible value of the books and tracts'. The first section describes the evolution of laws and formal structures affecting Punjab publicists, followed by a discussion of the problems and policies underlying the banning process. A third section surveys how the titles were preserved in three collections and concludes with an analysis of the major categories of material available to scholars. A definitive statement on all aspects of proscribed publications would be premature, but this study should highlight the importance of the literature and serve as a guide to key titles. The discussion also should be useful for non-Punjab specialists because similar themes and types of material on other regions of India can be found in the same depositories.

The Evolution of Press Controls

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Punjab government passed laws affecting its control of literature judged "inflammatory" or "seditious". All-India legislation, Act XXV of 1867, "for the regulation of printing presses and newspapers, for the preservation of copies of books printed in British India, and the registration of such books," became the legal bedrock for surveilling local publications. The legislation enabled the government to identify those responsible for a given work because each book or newspaper had to contain names of authors, printers, and publishers. Moreover, copies were to be delivered immediately to local authorities for scrutiny. In the Punjab, an official in the Education Department generally reviewed the literature and reported to the police if a work seemed to warrant further discussion. Possible prosecution then could occur under several sections of the penal code. Section 124A, enacted in 1870 and amended by Act IV of 1898,

dealt with sedition thus: "Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs or by visible representation, or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards Her Majesty or the Government established by law in British India shall be punished. . . ."²

Act IV also introduced section 153A, making punishable speeches or writing inciting "class hatred". In addition, Punjab officers had three other sanctions useful in checking circulation of printed matter. Preventive powers came from Act V of 1898, which permitted magistrates to demand bonds for good behaviour in cases of individuals who disseminated seditious material (124A) or publications inciting class enmity (153A). Too, Section 26 of the 1898 Indian Post Office Act empowered the Governor General to order interception of postal articles, and section 19 of the 1878 Customs Act extended similar authority to intercept items from outside India.³

The Punjab did not often utilize these sections of the penal code, or the sea customs and postal acts⁴. The reason involves the local administration's reading of Punjab politics. On the one hand, the government preferred to use personal influence as a means of control rather than court action. Resort to the courts would be demeaning and might stir further trouble, while warnings and private discussions supposedly could be as effective in moderating public viewpoints. On the other hand, Punjabis tended to be more concerned with issues within their own communities or between local groups than in attacking the government. The Punjab was politically active in the nineteenth century, but that activity revolved around control of resources within local organizations or between sects instead of agitation directed at the British⁵. The Punjab government reinforced this pattern by avoiding issues which might stir up anti-British feelings⁶.

Dramatic changes in Punjab after 1900 forced a re-appraisal of reliance on personal influence and a low legal profile. Militant politics came to the province in the form of a revived Punjab Congress, the radical Anjuman Mohibban-i-Watan headed by Ajit Singh, and the anti-British *Panjabee* (a daily English-language paper established in 1904). Frustrated by the sustained attacks, the British struck back with prosecution of the *Panjabee* which, when combined with numerous pieces of faulty legislation and provincial issues, generated widespread disturbances in the spring of 1907. In May, the Lieutenant Governor, Denzil Ibbetson sent a panicked despatch to the Governor General, Minto, requesting executive powers to deal with the emergency.⁷

The appearance of unrest in Punjab reinforced the Indian government's concern over the state of politics and press opinion. Within a few days after receiving the Punjab communique, Minto and his Council issued a press resolution signalling British intentions to take a firmer line with political commentators. Prior to 1907, all proceedings under

sections 124A and 153A had to be sanctioned by the centre, thus slowing down prosecutions. The resolution stated that henceforth local governments could institute cases without consulting with the Governor General⁸. This was followed in 1908 with a "Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act" empowering magistrates to confiscate presses known to have produced particularly violent literature. Political murders and mounting extremist politics nevertheless continued, until by 1910, the Government of India decided to enact comprehensive press legislation.

The India Press Act of 1910 had three major objectives. First, the British enhanced their control over printing presses and publishers. All proprietors making a declaration under the 1867 Press Act were required to deposit security unless dispensed with by local magistrates. Owners of existing presses would have to make deposits only if they printed "objectional matter" (incitement to murder, tampering with the loyalty of the army, inciting racial or religious animosity). Once the security had been deposited, local governments could declare the amount (up to Rs. 5,000) forfeit if objectionable matter were printed. The press would either cease to function or the owner could put up a larger deposit (Rs. 1,000-10,000). If thereafter the printer handled similar material, the security and press could be seized. Secondly, the bill widened official control over the importation and transmission of political literature. Customs and postal authorities could detain and search suspicious mail without specific orders from the Indian government. Finally, the act authorized local authorities to declare forfeit any newspaper, book or other printed document containing matter of the prohibited description. The press act therefore provided for new deterrents (securities) and executive action to remove publications from circulation. It barred recourse to judicial review except appeal to a special bench of high court judges, who would decide whether the matter objected to was or was not of the variety defined in the act.⁹

Although the legislation provided the Punjab authorities with new powers to deal with political challenge, the problem of trying to work out mechanisms to operate the law still remained. The initial scrutiny of publications gradually was turned over to the provincial C.I.D., which examined newspaper editions and non-serial items. The Government of India urged a more elaborate system, but the Punjab refused, noting that at least partial supervision of what was being produced came from Punjabis themselves: "The factional feeling so strongly prevalent in the Punjab affords further safeguard against any prolonged dissemination of objectionable books. The vigilance of the Vernacular Press and its contributors may be trusted to draw attention to anything from which one side can hope to make capital at the expense of its opponents."¹⁰ In addition to bickering with the centre over specific titles, other problems also appeared, as for example, the issue of jurisdiction and the question who should decide which works should be banned. This was illustrated by a fight between the Punjab and the North West Frontier Province. A politician from Peshwar (N.W.F.P.)

published a controversial book in Amritsar, but because copies did not circulate outside Punjab, the N.W.F.P. government felt unable to ban the item or arrest the culprit. The Punjab refused to ban the book, and the affair ended with no arrests and no checks on its circulation.¹¹

Despite such bureaucratic tangles, the basic mechanisms implementing the 1910 Act had become routinized by 1914. Newspaper proceedings went through three phases—investigation, seizure of security and demand for enhanced security—a pattern illustrated by the *Punjab Advocate* forfeiture. In June 1912, the paper charged the bureaucracy with “personal rule” disregarding Indian interests. The C.I.D. had been watching the paper for months and decided that the article provided ample grounds for prosecution. After correspondence within the Punjab and with the Imperial Home Department, a magistrate confiscated the paper’s Rs. 200 deposit. The publisher put up a new deposit but moderated his editorial policy.¹² Proscription of books and tracts proceeded on similar lines. Depending on the site of publication, the secretariat or local officers raised questions about an item. On receiving a copy (or occasionally, just back-ground information on content), the Lahore secretariat had a magistrate ban the publication. Seizure of circulating copies quickly followed notification of the ban in the local gazette.

The crises associated with the First World War brought more comprehensive press controls under the Defence of India Act (pre-censorship, summary trials by special tribunals). At a time when controls were extended, however, the government began to consider constitutional reforms which eventually culminated in the repeal of recent press acts. The Governor General and Secretary of State, Chelmsford and Montagu, worked out a package of constitutional innovations including greater Indian participation in decision-making and relaxation of coercive laws. In an attempt to conciliate moderate opinion, the government cooperated in the establishment of a committee to examine the operation of press restrictions. The final recommendations of the committee were a foregone conclusion. Headed by Tej Bahadur Sapru and with an Indian majority, the Press Laws Committee urged that the British readjust their press laws because the politically dangerous situation behind the controls no longer existed. The new Governor General, Reading, agreed with most of the suggestions. In March of 1922, the Legislative Assembly repeated provisions for security and special trials. Although loosening restraints on journalists, the act permitted the bureaucracy to maintain control of “seditious” tracts and books. Amendments to the 1867 press and registration act, and customs-postal regulations, permitted banning of material falling under the sedition clause of the code (124A). Too, officials kept the right to seize such material following notification.¹³

The repeal of the 1908 and 1910 press acts resulted from compromises among legislators and bureaucrats. Sapru and other leaders agreed to the continuance of official powers relating to radical, anti-British literature in return for an end to securities and forfeiture. The

Indian government agreed to relaxation of restrictions so as to maximize the possibility of making and maintaining alliances with Indian politicians. One area was however not compromisable, the protection of Indian princes who were just beginning to organize politically. The princes expressed alarm at wholesale removal of press restraints and demanded that the British prevent “outside criticism” of themselves and their administrative decisions. Secretary of State Peel and some M.Ps sympathized with the princes’ position, and the India Office went so far as to threaten withholding assent to the press repeal act unless the Governor General insured that the princes’ situation would be examined fully. Reading gave his word, and when the new Legislative Assembly refused to pass an Indian States Protection Against Disaffection Bill, he certified the legislation and forced its enactment.¹⁴

For several years the British relied on prosecution and selective bans to keep Indian publicists within acceptable literary bounds, but from the British point of view, these restrictions did not seem to be effective. The emergence of widespread communal rioting fostered polemic writings which in turn led to further bad feeling. Although the polemics were not anti-British, they did affect political relations and threatened disorder. Consequently, the government worked behind the scenes laws so that courts could ban not only seditious writings but publications inciting radical and religious hatred as well.¹⁵

At the same time, the growing boldness of Indian political commentary unnerved the British and led to an internal bureaucratic debate concerning the possible resurrection of the old press laws. The confluence of terrorist activity and Gandhi’s threats of civil disobedience tipped the scale once again toward coercion. In 1930 the Governor General issued a temporary press ordinance with provisions for security and forfeiture, and this became first the basis for emergency legislation in 1932 and then a permanent press act in 1935. The government buttressed the act with stiffer regulations relating to protection of princes and new legislation affecting varieties of publications not covered by earlier law, such as news sheets and cyclostyled notices.¹⁶

Patterns of Proscription in Punjab

The banning of publications in Punjab, 1908-1947, illustrates the marked independence of local governments in setting policies and implementing all-India legislation. The Punjab administration generally reached its own decisions on bans, sometimes refusing to heed pressures from the Government of India either for or against specific items. These decisions rested on two related sets of variables. First, the Punjab handling of controversial works reflected a continuity of assumptions and strategies. The British stood at the apex of a complex and expanding political system. To maintain themselves, they had to develop the means and tactics to implement goals and to retain policy functions. Key among these were defence of allies (especially chiefs and princes), meeting direct or indirect threats, and maintaining order. Secondly, despite continuities in decision-making, official attitudes and

action fluctuated widely with political circumstances. Fluctuations partially derived from changing British perception of danger. Personalities of key administrators played an important role in such judgments. Moreover, developments within Punjab society accounted in large part for the phases and emphasis of banning. *Ghadar* activity, non-cooperation in Punjab, communal riots, intra-religious conflict—all presented threats at different times, and government responded accordingly. Circumstance conditioned the relative danger of a published work. A book judged innocent in 1910 might be viewed as a threat only a decade later.¹⁷ A brief survey of the rhythm and rationale of proscription should explain the nature of the literature preserved in special collections.

Between 1908 and 1920, Punjab policy towards literary works swerved from a conciliatory attitude toward repression. The adverse publicity from the illfated *Panjabee* prosecution (1906-07) and the aftermath of the 1907 Punjab disturbances left the local government shaken and unsure of itself. The resulting press policy, a tendency not to interfere with newspapers and publicists, aggravated the Indian government to the point that the C.I.D. labelled the Punjab a haven for sedition.¹⁸ The political orientation of Lieutenant Governor Louis Dane (1908-14) also stamped the character of administration. Dane thought that the loyalty and cooperation of Punjabis could be insured by minimal use of force. He personally rejected demands from the central secretariat that many works be seized.¹⁹ During his regime, the Punjab only infrequently exercised powers under the press acts. The government banned 45 tracts, warned 11 proprietors of presses, forfeited 2 presses, and prosecuted 18 journalists, a relatively small number of proceedings as compared with the records of Bombay and Bengal.²⁰

The arrival of Michael O'Dwyer as Lieutenant Governor in 1914 brought an abrupt change. Known for an iron-handed approach to political dissent, O'Dwyer lived up to his reputation. Events surrounding the First World War reinforced O'Dwyer's patriarchal tendencies. Punjab Muslims often associated with the cause of *Khilafat* and posed a threat to the *raj*. A more overt challenge came from terrorist rings bombing officers and raiding armouries. The *Ghadar*-German alliance also generated an upsurge of anti-British literature and infiltration of revolutionaries into Punjab in 1915. O'Dwyer struck back hard. He set up special tribunals, interned hundreds, and widely censored journals. Moreover, the Punjab police accelerated demands for security and banned over 150 tracts.²¹ The coercion crescendoed during the 1919 disturbances, with martial law and "summary justice."

Study of British files from the period indicates that the local government paid much attention to overt threats. First, the Punjab and Indian authorities attempted to ban Pan-Islamic works which seemingly eroded Muslims loyalty. Fearful of the Muslim reaction to western interference in Turkish affairs, the British hit *Khilafat* tracts and journals. The *Zamindar* and *Comrade* became favourite targets.²² Two,

the government seized terrorist literature and any form of printed matter inculcating violence. This included calls to revolution, eulogic biographies of extremists, histories of revolt, and poetry or drama referring to the assassination of ruling groups. Also banned were publications from outside India (most notably, those of the Hindustan *Ghadar* Party and the Free Hindustan organisation in New York), proscribed individually or through general notifications.²³

Distinctions between revolutionary works and sophisticated attacks on the *raj* frequently were blurred. Appreciating the potential danger of a nationalist view of Indian history, the Punjab C.I.D. nervously examined the content of new or reprinted books on British rule. It immediately seized works with any suggestion of divide and rule such as *Bandar Bant* and Nand Goppal's *Sada-i-Hind*.²⁴ Similarly, the British seized Bhai Parmanand's *Tarikh-i-Hind* because of its comments on colonial rule. Additional objections were raised to chapters on the 1857 mutiny and the 1871 Kuka uprising.

The Punjab government also banned publications aimed at groups or classes on which the bureaucracy depended for political support. The Punjab princes had to be protected.²⁵ A traditional pillar of empire, the Sikhs, became another concern. The Sikhs had assisted in putting down the mutiny and filled the ranks of the Indian army, but by 1910, the spread of militant self-awareness within at least one portion of the community created anti-British sentiments. Official discussion of Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* demonstrates the seriousness with which the British viewed Sikh revivalism. In 1913, a London firm announced plans to reprint Cunningham's book, a treatise so sympathetic towards the Sikhs and critical of British aggrandizement that its circulation ruined the author's career as a political officer. News of the pending publication coincided with C.I.D. alarm at the appearance of unrest among Sikh students. The question was raised whether the India Office should request postponement of the re-issue because of the book's dangerous ideas. Following months of debate, the Punjab government decided reluctantly that while the study might inflate "Sikh vanity," it was sound and did not justify intervention. Other works addressed to Sikhs and other troops, however, were put out of circulation.²⁷

The post-O'Dwyer phase of Punjab politics brought new variations in the tempo and direction of proscription. Although the Punjab banned numerous books (approximately, 2,000 items) between 1920 and 1947, by far the most frequent occurrence was during the 1930-31 civil disobedience campaign. Determined to crush Gandhi and his nationalist efforts, Punjab agents seized almost every work on non-cooperation. In 1930, for example, gazette notifications proclaimed over 300 books and tracts banned. Approximately 150 of that number focussed on Gandhi and *Satyagraha*.²⁸ Events in the North West Frontier Province also related to Congress politics. Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his *Khidmatgar* movement, often referred to as the "Redshirts," attempted to develop a

nationalist base among the Pathans along the frontier. There too the British relied on repression, with police firings in Peshawar, raids, trials, and a temporary clampdown on publications.²⁹

Gandhi's campaign coincided with a terrorist revival in Punjab. The local branch of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association and similar organizations conducted extensive propaganda in addition to robberies and assassinations. The consequences included more trials, executions and bans.³⁰ Hybrid communist-revolutionary groups posed another threat to government. The sudden appearance of literature (tracts, posters and *Kirti*, a Communist journal from Amritsar) appealing to workers and peasants also evoked reprisals.³¹

In the eyes of the Punjab government, nevertheless, the most constant danger throughout the twentieth century came not from the Congress or anti-British publications, but from those generated by religious controversy. The majority of literature banned in Punjab related to religion. Confrontation among Punjab sects often took the form of rioting, mass meetings, and tract warfare. Attacks on opponents probably was no worse in tone than those of earlier periods, but in an atmosphere charged with communal tension, their message had more sinister connotations. A single tract, such as *Rangila Rasul* "The Merry Prophet") could lead to court cases, murder and ultimately, widespread disturbance.³²

Although a detailed analysis of the communal situation lies beyond the scope of this essay, several elements should be noted. First, the process of self-strengthening among the various Punjab religious communities had produced new self-awareness, organizations, and heightened attention to boundaries between sects. The political aspects of religious identification were becoming formalized, with politically-oriented organizations such as the Hindu Mahasabha, the Muslim League, the Khalsa Diwan, and its heir, the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. A new political context, characterized by elections and legislative activity, underscored the importance of population size, and this helps explain the frantic efforts of Sikhs and Hindus to increase their numbers. Hindus became involved in *Shuddhi* (reconversion) campaigns, while the S.G.P.C. attempted to protect and expand Sikhism by gaining control of the community's finances and religious shrines. Another pattern involved criticism of princely states. Nabha and Patiala became involved in Sikh politics, and Kashmir (with a ruling Hindu family and a Muslim population) remained in irritant of Hindu-Muslim relations. Finally, strife within religious communities frequently was more pronounced than between religions. Among the Sikhs, the Tat Khalsa or *keshdhari* group (associated with the S.G.P.C.) opposed the alleged pro-Hindu faction; within Hinduism, the Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharm were perennial rivals. Among Punjab Muslims, the concept of Islamic brotherhood gave way to Sunni-Shia and Ahmadiya-Ahrar conflict.³³

The resulting literature threatened order, and from the British standpoint, had to be met with prosecution and proscription. Banning of communal works tended to be selective, tied to particular issues or associations (e.g., the publications of the S.G.P.C. were often banned in 1922 and 1923). Many Arya Samaj and Sanatan productions went unchecked, as did the numerous tracts generated by the *Rangila Rasul* episode.³⁴ The British criteria seems to have been elimination of the most blatant, or, at least those items forcibly brought to official attention. Official files suggest a final trend by the 1940s—the Punjab government apparently relaxed its control over religious writing. Tracts by the Arya Samaj and Muslim League, or tirades for or against Pakistan, seem to have circulated more openly than in the past. One factor may have been the altered circumstances in Punjab, with Punjabis controlling many administrative and police positions. Another undoubtedly was the pressure of war, and the concomitant malaise spreading through the British elements in the bureaucracy. The decrease of bans probably reflected the Englishman's psychological disentanglement from the subcontinent, a prelude to "divide and quit".

In summary, the Punjab government had no immutable policy or set of standards determining the literature to be proscribed. Responding to immediate events and problems, the rulers evaluated material in the light of prevailing circumstances. At the back of their minds were certain premises, including the need to maintain allies and order. Religious disturbance posed the most consistent threat, and consequently, communal literature predominates in the proscribed collections preserved and now available to students of Punjab.

The Collection and Content of Punjab Proscribed Works

The preservation of banned literature in India resulted from the British need to refer to previous legal action. Central and provincial authorities considered the controversial works as much a part of their reference-record system as departmental files and correspondence. The Government of India maintained keep with copies in its Home-Political series, now housed in the National Archives of India. N.A.I. also has a second set, those from the confidential library of the Home Department transferred after 1947.

The two N.A.I. collections currently are being "deproscribed," a lengthy process because state governments have to be consulted on release of individual titles. The Home Political annual index serves as a guide to the keep-with copies, and a detailed handlist of the library set is available to scholars upon request.

The conviction of English librarians that banned works were a vital part of India's literary output accounts for the preservation of two additional sets of material in London. Initially, proscribed items were not included in the regular shipment of Indian books to the two major

copyright depositories, the British Museum and the India Office Library. In fact, sometimes the Secretary of State and his Council found that they did not have copies of important titles.³⁵ In April 1914, however, the Bombay government raised the issue of whether London libraries should receive banned material. The Indian secretariat said "no." but the British Museum insisted on its right to possess copies of all publications, not just those judged "safe" by the Government of India. At the same time the Museum trustees offered to lock up objectionable items until their inclusion in the public collection might be unobjectionable. The India Office agreed, and the Secretary of State asked Indian authorities to reconsider the matter because of the literary and "perhaps pathological" interest of the tracts.³⁶ The Government of India changed its mind and instructed local governments to send copies of proscribed items to the India Office. Arrangements kept breaking down, but letters in the British Museum and India Office files suggest that a steady stream of controversial literature reached the depositories between 1914 and 1947.³⁷

The India Office and British Museum sets remained closed until 1967, when staffs of the institutions began to organize the holdings and make them available to scholars. The India Office collection now has been handlisted by language and can be examined in the special reading room with new facilities at Blackfriars Road.³⁸ The Museum also has a handlist of its materials, and scholars can request specific tracts for use in the Student's Room.³⁹

Although inadequate catalogues prevent total bibliographic control of the Punjab material in the four collections, many banned titles obviously have been preserved. The Punjab was especially diligent in making separate shipments to the India Office and British Museum. Moreover, on the basis of a preliminary analysis of the London holdings, Punjab material constitutes approximately 40-45% of the 1,750 Punjabi, English, Hindi and Urdu works.⁴⁰ A similar but slightly lower percentage holds true for the Home Department library set in the National Archives, also probably for the keep-with files in the same institution. Even when an actual work has not survived, in many cases, Home Department files provide background information and excerpts or translations. Leaving aside possible private collections, a substantial set of Punjab banned works may yet be discovered in the unopened records of the Punjab government in Lahore.⁴¹

Before examining the literature, brief comments on its format and general composition might be useful. The majority of publications tended to be tracts, polemic items generally four-sixteen pages in length. The low price of the tracts (in the 1-10 pice range) reflected their intent, a means of broadcasting an opinion among the widest possible audience. Also common were posters and broadsheets, single-page items to be pasted on sides of buildings or distributed in the market. Sikhs frequently relied on newssheets, issued daily to inform the community of the S.G.P.C.'s actions. Less than 10% of

the material could be classified as books, more lengthy works with higher prices. These usually were biographies, histories, detailed critiques, or theological works.

The format of the polemic items varied with their message and the background of authors. Publicists most frequently relied on poetry and songs to communicate. Poems can be found on almost every subject-describing trials, a person, or an event—often in language designed more to inflame than to inform. Dialogues (prose or verse) also were popular, for example, between pro-Congress and anti-Congress adversaries, or "a good Sikh" and "a bad Sikh." Fiction and lively dramas appeared sporadically, usually didactic or ridiculing an opponent.⁴²

The following introduces important banned writings and suggests themes or problems to which they relate. The literature mirrors the complex political and religious interactions which make Punjab both a fertile and a frustrating field of inquiry.

Although the Punjab never became a bastion for the Indian National Congress, considerable nationalist publications circulated in the province. Publicists expressed their ideas on politics and the British in many ways. "The Arya Calendar for 1919", for example, carried pictures of prominent nationalists, one for each month. *Bandar Banī*, a two-page sheet circulating between 1920 and 1935, charged all communal problems to British "divide and rule." Other works portrayed British exploitation, such as Govind Ram Seth's "India's Destruction" (*Barbad-i-Hind*), a drama on how imperialism ruined India. Historical works sometimes focussed on peculiarly Punjab themes, (e.g., Thakur Singh's *Khuni Ghadar* which presented data on foreign treatment of Dalip Singh, the deposed son of Ranjit Singh).⁴³

Approximately thirty tracts dealt with Gandhi and the demand for swaraj. *Gandhi Gayan*, for example, contained poems on nationalism and Gandhi's greatness. The titles of other works reflected their content: "The English Crowing is Stopped" or "Songs of the Nation." Frequently in poetry, these publications interspersed emotional appeal with cross-references to non-Indian heroes such as Lenin, Mazzini, Washington, and even Napoleon.⁴⁴

Literature on revolution constituted another major category of publication. A few works surveyed the history of Indian revolution (e.g., Manmath Nath Gupta's *Bharat Men Sashatra Kranti Ceshta ka Romanchkari Itihas*, with chapters on conspiracies in Lahore). Broadside proclaiming the message of armed revolt were common, as exemplified by "The Biggest Fraud with India: The Time for Indian Youths to Wake Up." The Hindustan Socialist Republican Association published a range of material including "The Philosophy of the Bomb" and "Arise, Awake, Be Ready" (an appeal to youth to disregard

traditions and social values with undercut national unity). The following conclusion from another manifesto. "The War of Freedom of 1857," represents the tone of the Association's literature:

"Board was the fiery red cross with which India started her crusade to Freedom. Hold fast to that red cross, oh ye oppressed people of India, speed on, angel of revolution, speed on. Go then, preach the Gospel to all the dear children of India—the country is ready for a Jihad to make every one of them free....."⁴⁵

The leaders of revolutions also received attention. The lives of Chandra Shekhar Azad, Madan Lal Dhingra, and other politicians were treated in individual volumes, while anthologies of biographies sketched the deeds of Punjab "martyrs."⁴⁶ A voluminous literature grew up around the heroics of Sardar Bhagat Singh, a young revolutionary who assassinated officers and tossed a bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly. Posters, poetry and biographies eulogized Bhagat Singh, often portraying him smiling at the gallows and welcoming death for his country." A legend even prior to his execution in 1931, Bhagat Singh symbolized India's total commitment to ridding the subcontinent of British domination.

Revolutionary authors frequently addressed their messages to specific groups. *Phauji Elan*, for example, called on soldiers to rebel, while a collection of poems on "the tyranny of police" appealed for boycott of government service. On anthology of poems (*Dard-i-Watan*) was written especially for young men and children "whose hearts are not yet inclined toward national work."⁴⁸

Punjab communist literature serves as a source both for exploring how the organization attempted to broaden its political base and for studying inner-party developments. The communists apparently developed an informal system for distributing their illegal publications. One bulletin, addressed to "labourers of the world," called on workers to "read, paste and pass on" cyclostyled messages.⁴⁹ Some pamphleteers tried to reach the workers and peasantry, others delved into economic problems and the difficulties of integrating nationalist fervour with international communist doctrine. Communal tensions in Punjab stimulated a concerted communist effort to replace religion with other issues, as illustrated by this 1935 poster:

"Labourers and peasants of the world, unite yourselves and overthrow Imperialism. Government, which plays holi with the blood of the masses and its henchmen—Hindu, Sikh and Muslim capitalists, seeing the peace of the country being consumed with flames of fire set by them, feel pleased just as Nero felt happy on seeing Rome burn. These capitalists—Hindu, Sikh and Muslim leaders—have looted Hindu, Muslim and Sikh masses, and have created trouble in the whole country. Having misled the masses in the name of religion, they have made them enemies of each other. Their object is that the masses will continue to cut one another's throat,

and then the capitalists who suck their blood would continue to do so, and the Government, which riddles their chests with bullets, should continue to rule. In short, they would never pay attention to the struggle for their rights. O starving and poor Hindu, Muslim and Sikh labourers and peasants. Rise and understand the motives of the capitalists, understand and the policy of a government which thirsts for your blood, and move toward class struggle in order to dash to the ground the hopes of the government and its henchmen. Long live Hindu, Muslim and Sikh alliance. Down with Hindu-Muslim boycott. Down with capitalists. Down with the government which thirsts for Indian blood."⁵⁰

Finally, Punjab political writings arose from a range of issues and events. Some problems were short-lived and generated only a few commentaries, such as attacks on how the British treated "coloured victims of the great war," or "The Blood of Justice (*Insaf Ka Khun*)", a scathing criticism of police mishandling of criminal cases.⁵¹ Other more dramatic incidents, such as the 1919 disturbances and revolt in Peshawar, produced a substantial literature. *Bage Jaliyan*, poetry on Jallianwala Bagh, symbolised the horrified Punjabi response to the massacre. Other examples of tracts relating to the same incident include "Songs of O'Dwyer's Martyrs" and a broad-based attack on British laws and administration (*Rowlatt Act Ka Asli Mansha*).⁵² A decade later, developments along the North West Frontier evoked studies on the Pathans and Red-Shirts, poetry on Pathan bravery (*Sarhadi Sher*) and a controversial, Congress-sponsored enquiry into the Peshawar shootings, which the British promptly banned.⁵³

Throughout the twentieth century, the Arya Samaj continued its traditional role as ardent defender of Hinduism with systematic proselytizing (*shuddhi*) and literature which became controversial. The Samaj specialized in *shahid* or "martyrdom" publications. One special number of the *Arya Musafir*, for example, focusses on the history of martyrs (mostly Hindu) in the form of emotional essays and colour pictures.⁵⁴ The assassination of a leading Arya Samajist Swami Shradhdhanand, provided the opportunity for a series of biographies and eulogic poetry on this contemporary martyr.⁵⁵ An extensive Arya Samaj campaign in Hyderabad also became a favoured topic for the organization's publicists. *Nizam Defence Examined and Exposed*, for example, attempts to demonstrate that the Muslim ruler of Hyderabad pursued "bigotted" policies toward Hindus in his state. The study contains numerous cases, as do *Nizam Hyderabad Ke Dharm Yudh Ka Itihas* and *Arya Satyagraha*.⁵⁶ Commentaries on Muslim theology and history reflect a similar communal tone, illustrated by "The Truth about the Islamic Concept of Paradise" and "The Muslim Religion and Its Spread" (by the sword). Also important was "Mirror of Islam," work of an Arya Samaji propagandist just recovering from a murder attempt.⁵⁷

One pamphlet, *Rangila Rasul*, especially irritated Hindu-Muslim relations. Initially published in 1924 by the Arya Pustakalaya, Lahore, the "Merry Prophet" examines Mohammad's sex life in order to poke fun at the Prophet and his followers. Although *Rangila Rasul* probably had less inflammatory language than earlier Hindu treatments of Mohammad, riots and bitter propaganda after 1921 inflamed religious feelings in Punjab and made devout Muslims particularly sensitive to such criticism. Moreover, the lengthy trial of the Pustakalaya's manager, Rajpal, kept the publication constantly in the public eye for eighteen months. To make matters worse, Muslim journals, such as the *Muslim Outlook*, which commented on the case received rebukes or penalties from the judges involved. The assassination of Rajpal and accelerated prosecution of similar works ended the immediate issue, but *Rangila Rasul* remained a catchword for how polemic literature could lead to worsening communal tension.⁵⁸

Despite *Rangila Rasul* and its genre, the Arya Samaj reserved much of its strongest language for Hindu opponents. The Samaj-Sanatan Dharm conflict ranged over decades and fostered frequent exchanges of pamphlets, in which personal attacks and sexual insinuations often out-represented theological debate. One Arya Samaj tactic involved exposure of Sanatan reliance on the *Puranas* as sacred literature (complete with copious translations of passages relating to sex and the activities of gods). For example, "Shastrarth The Arya Samaj's Open Shops" reviews Sanatan outlook on literature, religion, magic and women, while *Puranic Dharm Ka Janaza* damns orthodox Hindus for their "absurd notions." The author of the latter, Vishva Mittar, claims that the "Puranic brethren" reply to honest criticism with attacks on the personality of Dayanand, and then he proceeds to do approximately the same thing to the Sanatanists (suggesting as an opener that the term "Sanatan Dharm" actually means a variety of sexual intercourse). This short quote from "Exposure of the Puranic Hollowness," a response to "The Death of the Arya Samaj," probably best illustrates the Samaj portrayal of their rivals: "The Sanatanists religion is a mixture of several elements, all rotten and defiling matter finds a place in it."⁵⁹

Sanatanist literature tended to be just as intense and derogatory. One tract, "A Shoe on the Head of the Arya Samaj," has sections entitled "Dayanand was an Abuser of Saints," and "A Shoe on the Head of the Arya Samaj's Domestic Policy" (criticism of alleged Samaj marriage practices, *niyog*). Dayanand was a favourite target. *Shiv Puja Aur Dayanand Ki Talim*, trying to prove that Dayanand worshipped stones and Shiv contains the same type of material.

Muslim banned literature illustrates how another Punjab religious community viewed itself and its opponents. Most anti-government writing clustered around the 1913-1923 khilafat issue, exemplified by a Pan-Islamic poster, (*Angrezon ka Zulam*) and collections of

khilafat poetry (*Islam Ki Faryad* and *Zazam-i-Vajahat*). The *khidmatgar* or "redshirt" activities along the frontier produced other political essays, such as "The Reward for Loyalty is a Sword at the Throat of Islam." Motifs in these publications include the need for Muslim political autonomy and boycott of British service.⁶⁰ Closely related to denunciation of the *raj* were attacks on Western culture and Christianity. Pamphleteers claimed that Christianity and the government combined forces to destroy Islam.⁶¹

Although Sikhism came under sporadic fire (e.g., Gyani Wahid Hussain's description of Sikh ritual and history), Muslim publicists viewed Hinduism and the Arya Samaj as the major external threats to their faith. As in the case of Hindu publications, martyres and military heroes became the subject of poetry and a neo-Muslim re-interpretation of Indian history.⁶² One tract, written during an intense period of Hindu-Muslim confrontation in 1929, graphically illustrates how Muslims reacted to contemporary communal developments in Punjab. Attacking *shuddhi* and Hindu militancy, *Ta'am-i-Hunud* urges boycott of Hindu trade because continued economic cooperation would only help the enemy. Hindu fairs should be similarly avoided since Hindus are polytheists and "damned to hell". Constantly referring to alleged unclean practices of Hindu traders, the work concludes with a stinging charge.⁶³

Another political/religious theme common in Muslim works involved Kashmir. A series of tracts question British support for the princely state's Hindu regime and call for holy war in defence of Kashmiri Muslims. The battlecry became "The Muslim is he who neither fears the Dogra nor the Whites."⁶⁴ Sometimes authors utilized poetic dialogues to convey their feelings on Kashmir. In *Kashmir De Zulm*, for example, a husband and wife discuss the state, with the husband eventually leaving home to join a campaign there and become a martyr.⁶⁵

Besides discussing politics and other religions, Muslims devoted themselves to two controversies within their own community. The obscenity and personal attacks in Sunni-Shia exchanges easily matched the tone of Arya Samaj-Sanatan Dharm writing. Sunni publications lambasted Shia beliefs and festivals, such as Muharram. One Sunni work in the form of a dialogue, *Husain-i-Mazlum*, quotes the *Encyclopedia Britanica* and Christian books as "unbiased authorities" in labelling Shias as butchers and "innovators of religion." A voluminous book on the first three Caliphs, *Zulfikar-i-Saffari*, is representative of comparable Shia tract material.⁶⁶

The most heated discussions among Punjab Muslims centered on the Ahmadiya sect of Ghulam Ahmad, who claimed special knowledge of Islamic truth and virtually messianic authority. Although hitting at many targets, the Ahmadiya writers often turned on Muslim opponents.⁶⁷

Ahrars, a militant political group based in central Punjab, spear-headed the Muslim counter-barrage. Ahrar tracts charge Ahmadiyas with drinking wine, eating pork and being "sons of Satan." This quotation from "Absurdities of Mirza" denotes the depth of Muslim resentment at Ahmadiya claims: "Look at the hair-splitting and faith-consuming activities of the muddle-headed Swadeshi prophet of Qadian, who is a lover of tonic wine, electuary and pearls, who sits on sofas and carpets, rides in motor cars, sows seeds of mischief, and teaches the lessons of slavery."⁶⁸ The work sounds a familiar theme in anti-Ahmadiya writing, that the sect supported the British and worked against Muslim interests. A similar tract concludes its tirade against a government-Ahmadiya coalition with a challenge; "If the government proscribes this pamphlet, we have more ammunition."⁶⁹

Although the banned literature of a third Punjab religious community, the Sikhs, related primarily to struggles over reform of shrines and local politics, the mode of presentation and central themes resembled those appearing in Hindu and Muslim publications. Sikh authors relied heavily on poetry and posters to convey messages concerning their history, great men and current affairs.

The crisis of Sikh self-identity, which have been building for at least three decades, exploded after 1920 in a sequence of dramatic encounters with the government and its allies. The slaughter of Sikh devotees at Guru-Ka-Bagh and Nankana stimulated an upsurge of anti-British writing. "Peels of Thunder," "The Appeal of Martyrs", "The Peaceful Bomb," "The Community's Stories," and similar volumes focussed on atrocities and concomitant Sikh determination to control their own features. A challenge to the *raj* was implicit in the literature—abstain from interference in internal Sikh matters or take the consequences: "We shall never obey laws that interfere with our freedom and shall know no peace until we have attained religious and political freedom."⁷⁰ A logical outcome were documents such as Ratan Singh's "What is the Government of the Revolutionary Sikh?" a denial of British authority.⁷¹ Confrontation with the rulers also generated fiction with political themes, exemplified by "A Real Photo of Oppression, Bloody Coffin," an imaginary travel journal which discusses nationalism and Akali Dal activities.⁷²

Organizations published many of the controversial works. At the head of the list stood the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, with at least five reports and essays banned by the British. An affiliated association, the Sind Sikh Publicity Committee, also circulated commentaries on Punjab events. Conveners of a "martyrs conference" held in March 1937 printed their proceedings, while the Indian National Congress temporarily became involved in Sikh problems by establishing a committee on the Guru-Ka-Bagh massacre and circulating its report.⁷³ Finally, the Akali Dal produced innumerable newsletters, brochures and books which the British confiscated almost routinely.⁷⁴

Akali politics and the drive for gurdwara reform intensified the already prevalent Sikh tendency to re-evaluate their history. Among the themes running through the historical treatises was emphasis on martial spirit, particularly with reference to events surrounding the latter Gurus and conflict with the Mughal Empire. With the exception of the martyr tales relating to the Mughals and sporadic tracts on incidents (such as the Shahidganj struggle with Lahore Muslims), however, very few banned Sikh works can be classified as anti-Muslim.⁷⁵ Other prominent themes include reminiscences on the real and imagined glories of Sikh power, coupled with occasional tirades on the annexation of Punjab and the treatment of Ranjit Singh's family.⁷⁶ A sense of guilt also emerges from Sikh writing, a response primarily to the community's military contribution during the 1857 mutiny and in foreign wars. The following statement epitomizes such bitterness and accusation:

"If we had not sacrificed our bodies, minds and wealth, and had not gone abroad and made other countries slaves of the English, we would never have suffered the hardships which are entailed on us these days while we are engaged in religious work. If the Sikhs had not obliterated all trace of the Mutiny insurgents, not even a spot of the English would now be left. But such was our fate. We were misled into loving snakes."⁷⁷

Because the events of 1921-1925 legitimized the leadership of Sikhs who demanded sharp differentiation between themselves and Hinduism, very little banned literature pertained to conflict over whether Sikhism was a distinct religion. Controversies over doctrine did come from two Sikh groups, however, the Udasis and the Namdharis (Kukas). Examples of their tracts include a Kuka attempt to prove that their founder was the eleventh Guru, and similar pretensions by Udasi leaders.⁷⁸ Another Kuka product, *Sant Khalsa*, is important because of its communal tone (with stress on the sect's cow-protection activities) and its portrayal of Kukas as freedom-fighting Sikhs put down cruelly by the British. The author obviously was trying to prove that Kukas did not support the *raj*, a common charge after the conduct of the sect during the 1919 disturbances and subsequent Akali activities.⁷⁹

All Punjab religious communities became involved in developments within princely states, and the Sikhs were no exception. Most of their attention focussed on the Phulkian states, Nabha and Patiala. Sikhs had been very critical of Patiala since the forced resignation of Nabha's ruler and mass marches on Jaito. The government considered banning one book printed by the Punjab Riyasti Praja Mandal (an organization closely linked to Sikh radicals), *Indictment of Patiala*, but backed off because of possible bad publicity.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, Punjab authorities did confiscate similar critiques of Patiala, such as "An Alarm Signal to Indian Princes" and *Shahdid Sardar Seva Singhji Ashram: Adarsh Unnati No. 1*.⁸¹ In addition to supplying information

on Sikh-princely relations, the publications raise questions about the tendency today to view the Akali Dal as a striking arm of Sikh militarism throughout its long career. Some contemporary authors, for example, charged Akalis with accepting bribes from Patiala and denounced Tara Singh for proclaiming "the Patiala cigarette smoker to be the contractor of Sikhism."⁸²

Concluding Remarks

A word of caution is in order for Punjab scholars attempting to use banned literature. Most works are polemic in nature and do not in any sense reflect "public opinion." To rely on Arya Samaj or Akali judgments as the sole yard-sticks of communal temperature, for example, would be highly misleading. Too much political writing did not fall into the British net, and as a result, the banned works must be evaluated in the light of non-banned material (the most striking examples include the publications of the Unionist party and the Punjab Muslim League).

Despite these limitations, proscribed material remains a valuable, untapped research tool. The biographies, reports, and histories contain verifiable data and personal accounts unobtainable from other sources. In addition, the words reflect how an author or a group of Punjabis looked at themselves and others. Perhaps the images were inaccurate, but some political and religious leaders held such views and acted upon them. Also related is the literature's utility as a means of exploring the style and varieties of political commitment among educated Punjabis. In particular, the communal publications underline the often ignored fact that secular nationalism was transient in Punjab, generally connected with local or religious incidents which made the Congress cause temporarily relevant (e.g., Congress support of the Sikh or Muslim cause, and the frontier disturbances). Until the literature of confrontation, so long removed from circulation, is given serious consideration, our understanding of areas of Punjab history will remain cloudy. Banned publications are not the only missing pieces, but without them, the puzzles may never be complete.

REFERENCES

1. For the purposes of this study, the Punjab is defined geographically as the pre-1901 Punjab (including the North West Frontier Province, Delhi, and Punjab). Financial support from the American Institute of Indian Studies, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Research Council of the University of Missouri made possible the research and writing.
2. For discussion, G. K. Roy, *Law Relating to Press and Sedition* (Hare Press, Calcutta, 1922), pp. 104-106. Background also is in J. Natarajan, *History of Indian Journalism* (Publication Division, Government of India, New Delhi, 1955) pp. 1-121.
3. *Ibid.* Also, background on postal and custom laws in Government of India Home-Political (henceforth, GIPOL), June 1909, 132-134A.
4. Notes and statistics in GIPOL July 1907, 178-80A. Many warnings occurred, but only a few papers were prosecuted under these acts.

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6. For example, the government periodically followed up *Tribune* Reports of bureaucratic *zulum* (injustice), and minimized Congress participation as an issue.
7. Detailed treatment in N. G. Barrier, "The Punjab Disturbances of 1907" (unpub. dissertation, Duke University, 1966). A useful collection of documents on the disturbances is in Ram Sharma, *Punjab in Ferment* (S. Chand, Delhi, 1971).
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9. Notes by Risly and Stuart (Jan. 1910). GIPOL July 1910, 5-32A. Proceedings are duplicated in that file, with the final act in Roy, *Law*, pp. 50-58.
10. PG to GI, 13 C, February 25, 1914, GIPOL March 1914, 108-116A.
11. Correspondence (particularly N.W.F.P. to GI, 2102, December 10, 1913), GIPOL October 1914, 241-256A.
12. Proceedings and correspondence in GIPOL August 1912, 93-98A.
13. Background in J&P files 4468, 1919 (India Office Library).
14. Proceedings from Council of Princes, November 10, 1921, and S. S. Telegram to GG, July 31, 1922, Jp 4468.
15. Background on the legislation and the *Rangila Rasul* case on communal problems is in JP 1513, 1927. For the communal situation, see JP 3833, 1924.
16. The background on these measures is found in the following J&P files: 117-B-1, 3094 of 1932, 4977 of 1930. A useful survey of the politics of the period is in the annual Moral and Material Progress reports; also, see Central Intelligence Bureau, *The Civil Disobedience Movement, 1930-34* (New Delhi, 1934).
17. For example a reprint of *Katha Salwi*, originally published in Delhi in 1852 banned around 1910.
18. Correspondence in C.R. Cleveland note (Aug. 28, 1914), GI Police, Sept. 1914, 177-178. Also, notes by H. Wheeler (Jan. 1913) and S.H. Butler (Jan. 8, 1913), in GIPOL May 1913, 9-13A.
19. *Ibid.* Notes by Adamson and Stuart (May 18, 1909). GIPOL Oct. 1909, 145-153A.
20. Bengal banned 119 items, prosecuted 43 publicists, forfeited 4 presses and securities, and gave 25 warnings. Bombay banned 204 titles. The N.W.F.P. banned 118 titles. Tables based on data from the following GIPOL files: May 1913, 9-13A; Feb. 1914, 67-68A; April 1914, 41-46A.
21. For two differing perspectives on the events surrounding O'Dwyer regimes see L.P. Mathur, *Indian Revolutionary Movement in the United States of America* (S. Chand, Delhi, 1970) and Michael O'Dwyer *Indian as I knew It* (2nd ed., London, Constable, 1925).
22. Pan-Islam and Muslim papers have been discussed in GIPOL March 1913, 45-55A; Aug. 1913, 40-41A.

23. Notifications under the Sea Customs Act are found in *General Rules and Orders Made Under General Acts of the Governor General in Council* (v. I, Calcutta, 1935), pp. 77-102. *Ghadar* publications treated in GIPOL Jan. 1914, 32-43A.
24. *Bandar Bant* (n.p., nd., c. 1932); Lala Nand Gopal, *Sada-i-Hind* (Lahore, 1909). A translation of the latter is in N. G. Barrier, *The Punjab in Nineteenth Century Tracts* Asian Studies Center, Michigan State, East Lansing, 1969).
25. Bhai Parmanand, *Tarikh-i-Hind* (San Francisco, 1918). I have given other illustrations in the concluding section.
26. For example, *Choose Oh Indian Princes* (London, c. 1909). Background in GIPOL July 1915, 56-72A. This pattern became more prominent after 1921.
27. Discussed in J&P 3784 of 1914.
28. Based on a handcount of books banned during the period. The British proceedings contain quarterly reports on proscription.
29. A useful survey is in Mohammad Yunus, *Frontier Speaks* (Lahore, Minerva Book Shop, c. 1942). An earlier edition was banned.
30. Background in Kali Charan Ghosh, *The Roll of Honour* (Vidya Bharrati, Calcutta, 1965), pp. 390-412.
31. Background in a confidential C.I.D. handbook, H. Williamson, *India and Communism* (Calcutta, 1933).
32. Trans. and discussion in JP 1513, 1927.
33. Useful surveys of the period include the following: Ruchi Ram Sahni, *The Gurdwara Reform Movement and the Sikh Awakening* (Desh Sewak Book, Agency, Jullundur, 1922); reports in J&P files, 3833 of 1924; 3651 of 1926; 8/680; 3998 of 1934; voluminous reports and correspondence in Hailey Collection, Eur. Mss. E 220 (India Office Library).
34. For example, replies to *Rangila Rasul* (*Barguzida Rasul-Fazl-i-Husain*) and Ahmadiya communal literature surveyed in Quarterly Report on Punjab Publication, 1927-1928 (I.O.L.).
35. GI Home-Pol. Despatch to S.S., 1773, Oct. 8, 1914, R&R Files (I.O.L.), 3336 of 1914; note by F. W. Thomas (Nov. 17, 1914), same file. Also, discussion in Minutes of the Trustee of the B.M., 1914-1926, p. 27 (B.M. Archives).
36. Note by M. Seton, Nov. 13, 1914, and Records Despatch 1, Jan. 22, 1915, R&R 3336 of 1914.
37. Noting and keep-with, R&R 3336 of 1914. Further information on the acquisition of Indian materials is contained in N.G. Barrier, "South Asia in Vernacular Publications," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, XXVIII (Aug. 1969), 803-810.
38. The author is preparing a guide to the B.M. and I.O.L. Hindi, Urdu, Panjabi, and English collections of banned works. Correspondence concerning the use of I.O.L. material should be directed to Miss J. R. Watson, India Office Library.
39. Correspondence should be addressed to Dr. G. E. Morrison, Assistant Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum.

40. The author appreciates the assistance of Prem Singh, Mrs. Usha Tripathi, Miss J. R. Watson, and Dr. G. E. Morrison in making the survey. Further information on the Punjab shipments is available in the B. M. correspondence books and in I.O.L. R&R 2129, 1938.
41. The C.I.D. records in Lahore, as well as those in Delhi, also may contain copies of important titles.
42. Background on specific items is provided in the concluding section.
43. *Arya Calendar* for 1919 (Delhi, 1919, BM 154, IOL F 10); *Khuni Ghadar* (Amritsar, c. 19124, GIPOL 33/11, 19125); *Barbad-i-Hind* (Lahore c. 1926, 1928-32 editions, Hindi and Urdu, NAI, BM 26). Reference to the location of the items (IOL, BM, NAI) is given only where possible.
44. *Gandhi Gayan* by Pandit Dev Raj Dev (Lahore, 1930, BM 29) Ram Sharma (ed.), *Angrezon Ki Tayen Tayen Phis* (Delhi, c. 1930—both Urdu and Hindi versions IOL 99, IOL B 314 BM 64); *Vatan Ka Rag* (Lahore, c. 1931, BM 29, NAI); *Rashtriya Gan* (Lahore, n.d., BM 282)
45. *War of Freedom of 1857* (n.p., n.d.) GIPOL 48/4, 1933). *Bharat Men Itihas*, Allahabad, 1939, BM 14, NAI 144); *Rise, Awake, Be Ready* (c. 1933, n.p., GIPOL 48/4, 1933); *The Philosophy of the Bomb* (n.d., n.p., BM 71); *Long Live Revolution* (Erehwan, c. 1929, IOL B 203). *Hindustan Nal Sab Ton Vadha Dhokha: Hindustani Naujawan Da Jagan De Vela A Giya* (Amritsar, c. 1934).
46. *In Memory of Pandit Chandra Shekhar Azad* (Hindustan Soc. Rep. Assn., c. 1933 GIPOL 48/4, 1933); *Vilayat Men Phansi* (Delhi, 1929, IOL B 183); Sachindranath Sanyal, *Azadi ke Shahid* (Cawnpur, 1939, BM 31, IOL B 30, NAI 91); Ashphaq Ulla Khan, *Khuni Raj* (Delhi, c. 1930, IOL B 133); *Zinda Shahid Babe* (various editions, Amritsar, BM 182, NAI).
47. Examples include the following: Yuvak Hraday, *Bali Vedi Par* (n.p., n.d., BM 8, IOL B 351); *Virlap* (Lahore, c. 1931, B.M. 8, GIPOL 116, 1932); *Shahid Sardar Bhagat Singh* (Lahore, c. 1931, BM 8, IOL B 352, J&P 4245, 1931); *Inkilab Zindabad* (Lahore, c. 1930, BM 9—a poster in red ink on Bhagat Singh denouncing nonviolence, and claiming "We want blood for blood").
48. *Phauji Elan* by Mohar Chandra "Masta" (Delhi, n.d., IOL B 225); *Thakar Sabhun, Police Ka Atyachar* (Delhi, c. 1930, BM 29, IOL B 111, NAI 45); Om Prakash Sahni (ed.), *Dard-i-Watan* (Lahore, 1930, GIPOL 28, 1930).
49. *Duniya De Mazduro Ek Ho Jao* (Amritsar, 1935, BM 159, GIPOL 37/2, 1935).
50. *Inkilabi Nara* (n.p., n.d., GIPOL 37/2, 1935). Other examples include *Vartman Rajat Halat Te Mazdur Kisanon Da Farz* (Amritsar, 1935, GIPOL 37/1 1935), *Sadai-i-Dard* (Sialkot, n.d., BM 81, IOL 173).
51. *Coloured Victims of the Great War* (Invalid Soldiers' Association, Delhi, n.d., BM 59, NAI); Shiv Lal Bismil, *Insaf Ka Khun* (Lyallpur, 1931, BM 8).
52. *Bage Jaliyan* (Jullundur, 1923), BM 177, IOL B 105); Suraj Bhan, *Sangit O' Dwyer Shahid Yani Mazlum Panjab* (Amritsar, n.d., Barrier Collection); *Rowlatt Act Ka Asli Mansha* (Delhi, 1919, Barrier Collection).
53. *Sarhadi Sher* (Lahore, c. 1930, BM 8). Other examples include *The Frontier Tragedy* (Lahore, 1932, Barrier Collection), *Nirah-i-jang* (Lyallpur, BM 162).

54. *Arya Musafir* (March, 1937, Lahore, BM 161, IOL 16).
55. *Khun-i-Darvesh* (Lahore, 1927, B 62); *Swami Shraddhanand* (Ajmer, 1927, BM 112, IOL B 107, NAI 46).
56. *Nizam Defence Examined and Exposed* (Delhi, c. 1939, Barrier Collection); *Nizam Hyderabad Ke Dharm Yudh ka Itihas* (Delhi, c. 1939, BM 132); *Hyderabad Men Arya Samaj Andolan* (Delhi, n.d., Barrier collection); *Arya Satyagraha Satyadev Vidyalkar* (Delhi, 1942, BM 207); Background in Crown Rep. Papers, 1/29/1803 (IOL).
57. *Islami Bihisht Ki Haqiqat* (Delhi, n.d., BM 79, NAI); *Din-i-Islam Aur Uski Ishait* (Lahore, 1927, BM 54); *Aina-i-Islam*, by Hari Singh Khalifa (Delhi, c. 1935, BM 105, IOL 170, NAI).
58. A copy of the tract and background is in GIPOL 132, 1927; J&P 1513, 1927; Additional background on the case and the Punjab communal situation, see GIPOL 10/72, 1927; GIPOL 11/X, 1927; J&P 3833, 1924.
59. Quotes from Mansa Ram (Arya Updeshak), *Puranik Pol Prakash* (Lahore, 1936, BM 215, NAI 140); Also, Munishvar Dev, *Adarsh Dayanand* (Rawalpindi, 1937, GIPOL 37/1, 1937); *Jebi Pistol*, by Prem Chandra (Lahore, 1937, BM 25, NAI); *Puranic Dharm Ka Janaza* (Amritsar, c. 1936, BM 152, NAI 190); *Shashtrarth Arya Samaj Ka Khul Mandi* (Lahore, 1931, Barrier Collection); Arya Attacks on the Dev Samaj includes *Dhol Ke Pol* (Rawalpindi, 1937, GIPOL 37/1, 1937).
60. *Islam Ke Gale Par Churi Ya Vafadari Ka Sila* (Peshawar, c. 1931 BM 9, NAI); *Angrezon Ka Zulam* (n.d., n.d., IOL 10); *Islam Ki Faryad* (Delhi, 1921, IOL 142); *Nizam-i-Vajahat*, Vajahat Hussain (Lahore, 1914, BM 305, IOL 131).
61. *Paigham-i-Zindagi*, Abdul Rahim Azia (Amritsar, c. 1939, BM 181, IOL 110); *Bhonchal Bir Lashkar* (Rawalpindi, 1934, BM 158); *Akaid-i-Islam* (Lahore, n.d., BM 192, IOL 70).
62. *Tuphat al-Hind*, Nazir Husain (Delhi, c. 1925, BM 71); *Kissa Ashik-i-Rasul* (Lahore, 1934, GIPOL 37/6, 1934), On the Sikhs, *Sikh Mazhab Aur Kesh* (Kadian, 1936, BM 91).
63. *Ta'am-i-Hunud*, Muhammad Basit Yarkhan (Bareilly, c. 1929, J&P 720, 1930). Also, Azhar Usman's *Fughan-i-Muslim* (Delhi, 1933, BM 188, NAI), "Wail of the Muslims," a tract criticizing Hindu administration in Karnal district. Tracing injustices, the author notes that "it is just as silly to play a flute before a buffalo as it is useless to call on Hindus for justice."
64. *Mussalman Vah Hai Je Na Dogra Se Dara Na Gore Se*, Maulana Habib-ul-Rahman (President, Majlis Ahrar-i-Islam) (Lahore, c. 1931, GIPOL 117, 1932). Also, *Halat-i-Kashmir* (Lahore, 1931, BM 6); *Tere Kurban Mani Kashmir ko Jane Vale* (Lahore, 1932, GIPOL 117, 1932).
65. *Kashmir De Zulm*, Hafiz Amir Baksh Soz Multani (Multan, 1932, IOL, GIPOL 149, 1932). Background on Kashmir and the Khaksar Movement in J&P 8/680.
66. *Husain-i-Mazlum* (Lahore, 1936, GIPOL 37/2, 1936, Barrier Collection); *Kahar-i-Khudai Bar Sare Ibne Sabai*, Alam Syed Hussain Shah (Ferozepur, c. 1938, Barrier collection). *Zulfikar-i-Safdari*, Inayat Ali Shah Sialkoti (Sialkot, c. 1913, BM 66).
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69. Abdul Latif Afzal, *Khenchvan Ilham* (Gujrat, c. 1936, BM 173, IOL 114, GIPOL 37/2, 1936).
70. Quotation from Autar Singh "Azad", *Shahidi Parvañe* (Khalsa Dramatic Agency, Amritsar, 1924, BM 64A); also: Pritam Singh, *Kaumi Kahanian Arthat Dardan De Hanju* (Khalsa Sewak Agency, Amritsar, n.d., BM 64A, NAI 154); Bhai Vidhata Singh "Tir", *Tir Tarang* (Amritsar, c. 1923, BM 64A); *Azad Di Garj* (Amritsar, 1924, BM 80).
71. *Baghi Sikh Ki Sarkar?* (Amritsar, n.d., BM 64A). This tract got the author, Bhai Ratan Singh, five years imprisonment.
72. *Hirde Vedhak Bad Nasib Bharat De Bacchan Te Hoe: Zulman Da Asli Photo Arthat Sarhe Itihas Shahide Da Khuni Coffin* (S.G.P.C., Amritsar, IOL, NAI). Also *Kale Te Gore De Saval Jawab, Arthat Gora Shahi De Dhol Da Pol* (Amritsar, n.d., BM 64A, NAI 191), a dialogue on British rule.
73. From the S.G.P.C., *All for Law and Order* (Amritsar, 1922, Barrier Collection); *Truth About Nabha* (Amritsar, 1923, Barrier Collection) Sindh Committee: *Government Allegations Against the Sikhs Refuted* (Hyderabad, c. 1922, NAI, J&P 122, 1920); *A Brief Account of Military Sikh's Struggle For Religious Freedom* (Hyderabad, 1921, J&P 122, 1920); Ruchi Ram Sahni (ed.) *Report of the Guru-Ka-Bagh Congress Enquiry Committee* (Lahore, 1924, Barrier Collection).
74. For example, an Akali poster, *Zulam Di Had Hogai Nanka Shahivalan Sikhian Nun Khula Challenge* (Amritsar, 1930, GIPOL 171, 1930).
75. Exceptions include the following: an anti-British, anti-Muslim novel by Ranjit Singh "Tajvar", *Khun Karhan* (Amritsar, n.d., BM 163); Hari Singh Khalifa, *Vajh Zahur-i-Koran Majid* (Delhi, 1936, BM 83, IOL 171, NAI), criticism of the Koran; *Khalsaji Pind Pind Jathe Banae Ate Baqaida Shaster Abhias Sikhe* (Amritsar, 1935, GIPOL 37/2, 1935), in which the author claims that the Muslims are preparing to oppress Sikhs, and calls on all Sikhs to organize and learn the art of weaponry.
76. E.g., *Shahidi Yatra* (Amritsar, 1924, BM 64A, NAI 73); *Bal Updesh* (Lyallpur, 1938, BM 118), Pictures of Gurus' torture, then a primer with political themes; *Shahadat Namah* (New Delhi, 1935, BM 99).
77. Sardar Rattan Singh *Azad Di Garj* (Amritsar, c. 1924, IOL, GIPOL 33/11, 1925).
78. Bela Singh, *Gupat Hukamnama Pathsahi* (Amritsar, n.d., BM 88); Bhagat Singh, *Sri Guru Govind Singh Sahibji Ki Bhavikhat Bani* (Amritsar, 1930, BM 201, IOL).
79. Harnam Singh Svaich (Sewak?) *Sant Khalsa* (Ludhiana, 2nd ed., 1936, B, 174).

80. Background in Crown Representative Papers (IOL), R/1/29/545.
81. *An Alarm Signal to India Princes* (Amritsar, 1931, GIPOL 117, 1932); *Shahid Sardar Seva Singhji Ashram* (Amritsar, c. 1936, BM 120, IOL).
82. *Dukhi Parja Patiala Utte Navin Sahr Sati* (Amritsar, 1936, GIPOL 37/2, 1936); *Patiale Di Sikhi de Namuna* (Moga, 1936, GIPOL 37/1, 1936).

SOURCES FOR A WORK ON THE SOCIAL POLICY OF LORD DALHOUSIE

SURESH CHANDRA GHOSH

IT is a well-known fact that the social policy of Lord Dalhousie came in for sharp criticisms at the hands of the historians of the Rising of 1857. Dalhousie was held responsible for the catastrophe which swept the Indian sky not only for his expansionist policies but also for his attempt to reform and renovate the Indian society. This point was first made by Sir John William Kaye, a prolific writer on the British Indian history, in his *History of the Sepoy war in India*.¹ Kay's lead was too faithfully followed not only by his associate in his another work on the subject, G. B. Malleson,² but also by J. J. Mcleod Innes, G. W. Forrest and a number of historians on the subject. But none of them ever felt the necessity of studying fully and critically the social reforms and innovations of Dalhousie to place their judgment in sound perspective.

Historians of the Rising of 1857 were not, however, alone in neglecting a study of Dalhousie's social policy. They were joined by those who wrote Dalhousie's biography and produced some able monographs on his administration. For example, Sir W. W. Hunter, another prolific writer of the British Indian history, who produced a short but competent biography of Dalhousie in the *Rulers of India* series in 1890, covered his socio-economic reforms in two short chapters, while Edwin Arnold, a contemporary of Dalhousie and undoubtedly a critic of his administration, devoted one hundred and seventeen pages in his two-volume study on Dalhousie (which was published in London in 1862-5) to his socio-economic reforms which he described as "the minor acts of Lord Dalhousie" at the very beginning of his discussion on the subject.

It is a fact that these writers were denied the use of *Dalhousie Papers* which lay sealed at the Colstoun House, Haddington, Scotland, when they wrote their monographs. This, however, was not a very good excuse for their neglecting the socio-economic aspect of Dalhousie's administration for which information could be easily obtained from the records of the East India Company itself. Even Sir William Lee-Warner to whom access to these papers was granted six years before their opening to the public, for a work on Dalhousie, dismissed the socio-economic aspect of Dalhousie's administration with this introductory remark: "The dazzling success gained by Lord Dalhousie in wars and in the field of foreign policy are apt to throw into comparative shade his equally great achievements in the conduct of the home affairs of the Government of India"³. Lee-Warner thus set a fashion of neglecting the home affairs of the Government of India in

preference to Dalhousie's wars and foreign policies because of "the dazzling success" Dalhousie gained in them. And at least for fifty years to come Lee-Warner's example was followed by those who made use of *Dalhousie Papers*.

It was an Indian historian, Dr. M. N. Das, who finally came forward to break this tradition. In his *Studies in the Economic and Social Development of Modern India, 1848-56* (Calcutta, 1959), he makes a detailed study of the socio-economic measures of Dalhousie's administration and discusses their place in the making of modern India. Dr. Das has made use of the *Dalhousie Papers* at the National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh, as well as the *Wood Papers* at the India Office Library, London and as such his work is more authentic and informative than most of his predecessors in respect of this subject. But being a pioneer work on the socio-economic reforms of Dalhousie, it is mainly descriptive and there are still numerous points which need illumination rather than information. It is still possible to make much better use of Dalhousie as well as Wood Papers for a study of Lord Dalhousie's social policy by covering up the many lacunae in Dr. Das's Work. Dr. Das has not, for instance, placed Dalhousie's role in vernacular education in proper perspective. He is surprisingly silent on the movement for widow remarriage during Dalhousie's days. He has failed to assess the pressure of the Manchester group in the British Parliament which helped Dalhousie to push through his railway scheme. Not only the papers of Dalhousie and Wood but also those of Jeremy Bentham who appears to have shaped and influenced the basic factors behind Lord Dalhousie's socio-economic measures are of equal value. Dr. Das has not made use of them. It is proposed in this paper to deal with these source-materials at greater length.

Dalhousie Papers at the National Archives of Scotland are now well arranged and well classified than they were a decade and a half ago when Dr. M. N. Das consulted them. The chances of overlooking any relevant important materials which might have then existed are now a remote possibility and it is now possible to make fullest use of them, thanks to the scientific processing of these materials by the archival staff at Edinburgh. The history of these papers may be briefly told.

Before his death in 1860, Dalhousie had attached a codicil to his will by which he prevented the public from an inspection of his papers at least for fifty years to come. For years therefore *Dalhousie Papers* which were carefully arranged and meticulously indexed and copied by Dalhousie himself lay sealed at the Dalhousie Castle, Colstoun, Haddington. But as has been said before, six years before they were to be opened to the public, Sir William Lee-Warner got access to them for his before-mentioned two-volume study *Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie*. Later they were consulted by J. G. A. Baird who published selections from Dalhousie's letters to his most intimate friends, Couper, in 1910 and by D.G.E. Hall who edited *The Dalhousie—Phayre*

Correspondence, 1852-6, in 1932. In 1951 the present owner of the *Dalhousie Papers*, Lady Lindsay, deposited all of them except Dalhousie's Private Diary, in thirteen volumes at the National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh. Archival work on *Dalhousie Papers* began as soon as they arrived at Edinburgh and when Dr. Das consulted them for his *Studies*, this work was in progress. In 1959 the work was completed and a complete catalogue of the voluminous *Dalhousie Papers* has appeared since then.

The total number of Dalhousie's *Papers* as Governor-General of India is 539 and if to this we add his *Papers* as Vice-President and President of the Board of Trade (1843-46), it becomes 615. Most of his *Papers* are quite bulky and the number of pages in many volumes often exceeds the mark of several thousands. Dalhousie's *Papers* as Governor-General of India have been classified as follows:—

1. Series of bound volumes, 1848-1856. Nos. 1-118.
2. General series of letters, memoranda, minutes etc., 1827-1859. Nos. 119-236.
3. Papers concerning relations with princely states, including annexations, 1799-1856. Nos. 237-308.
4. Papers concerning military operations and other military matters, 1836-1860. Nos. 309-381.
5. Papers concerning finance, revenue, expenditure, trade, agriculture, public, works and communications, 1807-1857. Nos. 382-439.
6. Papers concerning relations with Persia, Russia and Afghanistan, 1836-1857. Nos. 507-519.
7. Papers concerning Burma, 1825-1853, Nos. 520-539.

In each of the above classifications excepting the first there are some *Papers* which are printed. In the second classification there are three thousand letters in twenty-seven bundles. They are indexed but not chronologically arranged. Towards the end of each classification excepting those numbered first and seventh there are also some papers which are not dated.

It will also be seen that excepting the first classification, each one contains papers which belong to a period much earlier than his governor-generalship of India. It was Dalhousie's wont to collect copies of his predecessors's papers on a subject so that he could study them to form his own judgment and policy towards it and these come to stay in his own collection as his own papers. So a scholar working for an earlier era than Dalhousie's, on any one of the above topics also may find plenty of materials among them. What is interesting to note here is that some of these papers also contain in the margin Dalhousie's views and opinions on matters of importance and as revealing as the *papers themselves*.

I quote below an unpublished little-known extract⁴ from these papers to indicate their value for any study of Dalhousie's policy. The extract shows how he argued the case for a comprehensive railway system in India.

"It cannot be necessary for me to insist upon the importance of a speedy and wide introduction of railway communication throughout the length and breadth of India. A single glance cast upon the map recalling to mind the vast extent of the Empire we hold,—the various classes and interests it includes,—the wide distances which separate the several points at which hostile attack may at any time be expected,—the perpetual risk of such hostility appearing in quarters where it is the least expected—the expenditure of time, of treasure, and of life, that are involved in even the ordinary routine of military movements over such a tract,—and the comparative handful of men scattered over its surface, who have been the conquerors of the country and now hold it in subjection—a single glance upon these things will suffice to show how immeasurable are the political advantages to be derived from a system of internal communication, which would admit of full intelligence of every event being transmitted to the Government, under all circumstances, at a speed exceeding five fold its present rate; would enable the Government to bring the main bulk of military strength to bear upon any given point in as many days as it would now require months, and to an extent which at present is physically impossible.

And if the political interests of the state would be promoted by the power which enlarged means of conveyance would confer upon it of increasing its military strength even while it diminished the number and cost of its army, the commercial and social advantages which India would derive from their establishment, are I trully believe, beyond all present calculation.

Great tracts are teeming with produce they can not dispose of. Others are scantily bearing what they would carry in abundance if only it could be conveyed whither it is needed. England is calling aloud for the Cotton which India does already produce in some degree, and would produce, sufficient in quality and plentiful in quantity, if only there were provided the fitting means of conveyance for it from distant plains to the several ports adopted for its shipment. Every increase of facilities for trade has been attended, as we have seen, with an increased demand for articles of European produce in the most distant markets of India; and we have yet to learn the extent and value of the interchange which may be established with people beyond our present frontier, and which is yearly and rapidly increasing.

Ships from every part of the world would crowd our ports in search of produce which we have, or could obtain in the interior but which at present we cannot profitably fetch to them; and new markets are opening to us on this side of the globe under circumstances which defy the foresight of the wisest to estimate their future extent.

It needs but little reflexion on such facts to lead us to the conclusion that the establishment of a system of railways in India judiciously selected and formed, would surely and rapidly give rise within this Empire to the same encouragement of enterprise, the same multiplication of produce, the same discovery of latest resources, to the same increase of national wealth and to same similar progress in social improvement, that have marked the introduction of improved and extended communication in various kingdoms of the Western World."

For such a work as the social policy of Dalhousie, materials are thus widely scattered in his papers. Information obtained from them is to be supplemented, examined and verified from a study of the papers of Sir Charles Wood who was the President of the Board of Control from 1853 to 1855. Wood's collection consisting of his papers as the President of the Board of Control as well as those as the Secretary of State for India-in-Council from 1859 to 1866 came to the India Office Library, London, when their owner, the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Halifax deposited them there on permanent loan. *Wood Papers* which are to be consulted for a work on Dalhousie's social policy are as follows:—

1. India Board Letter Books, Vols. 3 to 7 covering the period from 1853 to 1856, Vols. 1 and 2 were missing when the collection was deposited with the India Office Library.
2. India Board Correspondence, Vols. 1 to 32 covering the period from 1853 to 1856.

In his letters to Dalhousie Wood acknowledges the latter's contribution to the making of the Education Despatch of 1854 though the Despatch itself was surprisingly silent on the matter. This silence has been interpreted by historians like Dr. R. G. Moore as proof that Dalhousie made no contributions to the making of the official policy on education in 1854. Both Lee-Warner and Dr. Das make a claim on behalf of Dalhousie but are unable to substantiate it. I am quoting herewith Wood's own words extracted from his correspondence:

"I am also a good deal at sea in education. I have had no time to work into it myself and I don't see anybody who can give me a very unbiased opinion—for I shall be the more obliged to you for enlightening me about it..... I should wish you to desire somebody to prepare a report showing existing matters as they are—and also what is feasible in the way of extension.".....

"You seem, as you say, to have fairly done your best as to Education. We have, I think, done ours. We approve all you have proposed—you must execute all that we have directed. I made my statement (in the House of Commons) last night and the Education Schemes loudly and proudly approved and we were promised that our name should be handed down together as renovators of India. What prospects of immortality?"

We have already referred to the utilitarian influences which shaped Dalhousie's social policy and which Dr. Das has neglected. Dalhousie spent the formative years of his life first at Harrow and then at Christ Church, Oxford, when Benthamism was at its peak in England. How far Benthamism was able to impress upon him in his later life will be clear only by identifying the main principles of the philosophy with Dalhousie's thoughts and actions as the Governor-General of India. This presupposes a study of Benthamism itself and for this purpose an examination of *Bentham Papers* is essential.

Bentham Papers are deposited at the University College Library, London. By a will of 30 May 1832 Jeremy Bentham gave to his executor John Bowring all his manuscripts for the purpose of publishing a complete edition of his works and it was through Bowring that Bentham papers came to the University College Library, London. For some time they were kept in bundles within the wooden boxes in which they had been stored by Bentham himself. Later they were reboxed in dust-proof solanders, arranged in folders, subject-wise as well as chronologically though few of the papers written before 1800 have any date upon them and many after that year have none. The total collection consists of one hundred and seventy-six boxes of which those numbered X and CLXIX are important for Bentham's interest in Indian affairs and for the present study.

In a letter which reveals his view of the nature of the Government of India, Bentham wrote, "Mill will be the living executive—I shall be dead legislative of British India. Twenty years after I am dead, I shall be a despot, sitting in my chair with Dapple in my hand, and wearing one of the coats I wear now." James Mill shared this view about the nature of the Government of India. And in India itself Dalhousie looked upon himself as an oriental monarch, the source of all power and dispenser of all favour. He could therefore write to the Lt. Governor of the North Western Provinces a few months before his retirement from India: "By the end of April (1856). You know, I shall be 'oer the hills and farawa"—and you will have to apply to a new Pharaoh, for the sanctions you want."

The records of the East India Company during 1848-56 come next to these Private Papers for a study of Dalhousie's social policy. They may be consulted either at the National Archives of India, New Delhi or at the India Office Library, London. Since the transfer of the India Office Library to its present site at 197, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1, most of the records of the East India Company have been recatalogued. For our study, the following records covering the period of Dalhousie's administration of India are important:—

1. Despatches to India and Bengal.
2. Letters Received from India and Bengal.
3. Railway Despatches to Bengal and India.

4. Railway Home Correspondence.
5. Railway and Telegraphs, Letters Received from Bengal and India.
6. Telegraphs, Despatches to India, Madras and Bombay.

It will be seen that most of the despatches from India carry policy matters to the Court of Directors for approval, which have been earlier decided upon in the proceedings of the Governor-General's Council or other relevant departments. So for a deeper understanding of the subject these proceedings are also important in as much as they throw light on the different aspects of a matter.

The study of these primary sources which are unpublished should be supported or supplemented by a study of other primary sources which are published or printed. And they can be classified as follows:—

1. Parliamentary History (Debates).
2. Parliamentary Papers (House of Commons).
3. Various Reports and Publications of the Government of India on Railways, Education and Electric Telegraphs etc.
4. Contemporary Biographical and Historical Studies, Memoirs, Letters and Pamphlets.
5. Contemporary Newspapers such as: the *Bengal Hurkaru* and the *Calcutta Review*, both published at Calcutta, the *Friend of India* published at Serampore and the *Indian News*, published at London.

Of these the last mentioned newspaper served news items on India obtained from Indian newspapers (such as the *Bengal Hurkaru* and the *Friend of India*) among the public in Britain. Nevertheless its editorials are important as reflecting the contemporary thinking and opinion on important Indian matters such as the introduction of the railways in India. Among *Dalhousie Papers* itself there are some newspapers-cuttings with Dalhousie's comments on them which show his reactions and sensitiveness to the comments of the newspapers about his administration.

By an effective, wise and discriminatory utilisation of the primary sources discussed above as well as by a careful perusal of the secondary works and articles published on Dalhousie, it is not only possible to fill in the gaps in the earlier works on the socio-economic aspect of his administration but also to throw new light on a subject which has been hitherto neglected by the historians of modern India.

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DEVELOPMENT OF CONSERVATION OF RECORDS IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND LIBRARY OF MALAYSIA*

JOHN DAVIES

Introduction

IN archives and libraries where extensive collections of historical manuscripts, documents of value and books of inestimable importance are kept, the only positive insurance against their loss is organised and effective conservation programmes.

There was a time when the custodial function was simpler with fewer records requiring attention as most of them were in good handmade paper and fairly resistant to decay. Most of today's records, however, are on poor quality wood-based paper which deteriorates rather rapidly. Even the early records on handmade paper, the precious few that have survived the ravages of insects, climate and time are in danger of disintegration and complete disappearance in the course of time. However it is true that records are being lost mainly through sheer ignorance and negligence. But the manifold ills to which paper is subjected, its instability and capacity for internal breakdown etc., presented problems of preservation beyond the scope of archivists and librarians. It was in these circumstances that the crusade for the preservation of records, which is so vigorous today, came into existence.

Both Archives and Libraries are obliged to preserve their holdings for the future. It is their basic function and every effort should be made to meet this obligation.

Conservation of Records in Malaysia

For the National Archives of Malaysia (redesignated National Archives & Library of Malaysia in 1971 in view of its dual function) which was established in 1957 the need for a conservation programme was felt at the beginning itself. The situation of the records then may be observed from the following account from *The National Archives First Ten Years* :—

“In Malaysia, a considerable amount of her heritage of earlier public records have undoubtedly been lost through war, floods, fire and not least neglect. As a result there are numerous gaps existing in several series in the holdings of the National Archives, not mentioning works known to have existed but which have not come down to us. During the Second World War, for instance, a Japanese Kempitai in Seremban was reported to have made a bonfire of some of the State Secretariat files, while in other parts of the

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country looting was rampant. The materials that escaped the vandalism in many cases, were left neglected in attics and basements of Government buildings exposed to attacks by insects, vermin, dust, damp etc.

When the National Archives of Malaysia was established in 1957, therefore, emergency operations were immediately put in hand to rescue those records which survived but in deplorable conditions in order to arrest the processes of further deterioration until such time when they could be rehabilitated. The result was a tremendous accumulation awaiting restoration. However, owing to the shortage of both accommodation and trained staff, it was not until early 1962 that a Bindery was established as a preliminary step."

In 1965 in an endeavour to give due and proper care for the records in custody, the National Archives & Library of Malaysia established the Preservation Division (redesignated Repository and Technical Services in view of the increased functions of the division) patterned along general lines of similar services in the Public Record Office, London. Its activities initially covered preservation and restoration work but subsequently microfilming and photography were included. Broadly the specific functions of this division included:—

- (a) Co-ordinating all activities throughout the Department relating to preservation, physical protection of records, maintenance of repositories, restoration and binding of archives and library materials including lamination and similar processes
- (b) Providing reference and information services to other Government Departments and organisations on matters involving preservation and restoration, protection and physical custody of records and books
- (c) Providing liaison between Archives and other Government Departments and other scientific and professional organisations concerning the preservation of records and books.
- (d) Maintaining liaison with custodial divisions and other archives and library divisions on matters involving microfilming and photography
- (e) Maintaining a Film Library of master negatives of microfilms and photographs.

Restoration

The bindery which had been established in 1962 did very little which can be called book restoration. It was mainly engaged in binding work, especially of newspapers and periodicals which were being deposited by publishers in the country as required by law for preservation. A large portion of the salvaged records which was in need of treatment,

some requiring complete restoration and other minor repair etc. were awaiting attention and application of the treatment in one form or another. But due to the paucity of trained book-binders and restorers, coupled with a tight budget in the initial stages of the development of the service, it became evident that a comprehensive restoration programme was impracticable then. In the circumstances, a selective restoration programme in the light of the existing situation was introduced. The programme was implemented after the necessary training given to restorers and book-binders, and the following was the order of priority for items in need of treatment:

- (a) records damaged as a result of fire, floods or accidents where delayed action might render them irreparable were treated promptly;
- (b) whole series of important records or individual documents in fragile condition which were often required for consultation;
- (c) records of enduring value;
- (d) all early newspapers in fragile condition (which had already been microfilmed).

The restoration laboratory, as it gained experience, undertook a greater variety of restoration operations: protecting manuscripts and other documents by silking, cleaning and matting prints and photographs, repairs to maps, drawings and plans, binding, lamination and performing related tasks. All documents for traditional repair or lamination were first deacidified as a matter of routine.

Preservation

Presently organised periodical cleaning of records and books in the repositories is carried out regularly. The records are kept either in boxes or tied between treated plywood boards and stacked on steel shelves. However, accommodation is far from satisfactory for preserving records as the existing building is shared by several other Government Departments which thwarts all attempts at measures taken to prevent insect and rodent infestation in the repositories and also the entire building is air-conditioned for the working day only. The deficiencies in existing buildings for efficient administration of archives are recognized and for the new archives building which is being constructed steps have been taken to eliminate such deficiencies and problems. Only after many years of protracted negotiations the National Archives & Library of Malaysia has obtained a site in the downtown area of the Federal Capital for this long overdue National Archives building.

The Records Service Centre, an intermediary repository for the National Archives, was constructed in 1965. It is fully air-conditioned for 24 hours with the temperature and relative humidity controlled to provide optimum conditions for records storage. A brick-vault fumigation chamber with glazed tile walls is provided at this Centre for

fumigating all records transferred to it from various Government Departments so as to ensure that insect infestation is eliminated before cleaning operations begin.

Microfilming and Photography

In 1966 a microfilm unit was established. Its initial effort was mainly directed towards microfilming early newspapers but gradually microfilming of long series of important records, brittle books and other materials were undertaken as security microfilming and as an alternative to repair. The unit was progressively equipped with cameras and the necessary accessories thus enabling it to undertake greater variety of work. The Search & Publication Division sends to the Unit processing orders for microfilms, photographic prints etc, which are received from researchers, archives and other related institutions. All negatives of microfilms and photographs are retained and as a matter of procedure they are preserved in its film library which is air-conditioned 24 hours daily and only positive copies and prints are supplied for a fee.

Training Facilities

The main problem in Malaysia and perhaps also in many other countries is the absence of training centres where formal training in document restoration and book binding is offered. As a result the Department must train its own craftsmen both in restoration and binding. On-the-job training is therefore provided to restorers and book binders which commences immediately after they report for duty. Incidentally, it should be mentioned that there is no formal training centre in Southeast Asia yet where an individual can undergo such training and as a result the National Archives & Library of Malaysia has been the training ground for all aspects of archives administration for a number of years now for several archives officers from neighbouring countries. The training provided by the Repository and Technical Services includes not only the techniques and methods of restoration and binding but also microfilming and photography and the training periods vary from 3 to 6 months depending upon the needs of the individuals concerned.

Preservation Research and Testing Centre

One other serious drawback is the absence of facilities for research in conservation techniques and testing of repair materials etc., in Malaysia. The chemists in the Government Chemistry Department and the Forest Research Institute are occasionally approached for assistance which they willingly provide but it must be appreciated that they are far too busy being engaged in various other projects of their own and cannot spare the time for systematic and time-consuming investigations into the manifold problems encountered in this field. To compensate for this, albeit in a limited way, the National Archives & Library of Malaysia maintains close contacts with other research centres and professional associations around the world who are constantly striving to

better the methods of preservation and restoration of cultural property. Although paper conservation is on the fringe of the area covered by most of these centres, many of the viewpoints, theories, concepts and techniques of museum conservation are equally applicable to the conservation of archives and library materials. Besides it also subscribes to, among others, *UNESCO's Bulletins for Libraries*, *ICOM News*, *IIC's News*, its *Abstracts* and its *Studies in Conservation* in addition to archives journals; the *American Archivist*, the *Journal of the Society of Archivists of Great Britain*, *Archives* (Journal of the British Records Association) and *The Indian Archives* all of which provide useful information.

International Co-operation

In an effort to solve the numerous problems facing the developing countries in archives administration particularly in the Southeast Asian Region, the National Archives & Library of Malaysia initiated and successfully established with the support of UNESCO in 1968 the Southeast Asian Regional Branch of the International Council on Archives (SARBICA). The membership of SARBICA at present comprises Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. The main aim of SARBICA is to pool the resources of all the countries in the region to accomplish jointly what each country is unable to accomplish individually.

SARBICA held the first ever Seminar on Tropical Archivology in Djakarta from 16th-19th December, 1969. It proved to be very beneficial to the archivists and also librarians in the region not only for providing the necessary forum for the exchange of ideas and knowledge but also to keep abreast with developments outside. The seminar made several recommendations and one of them was on the Regional Research Centre which is as below:—

“Preservation of Archives:—Realizing that the knowledge and interest in the subject conservation and preservation of records in the tropic is still lacking, it is felt that the proposal to set up a regional research centre to conduct research on repair and conservation techniques as well as to carry out research on writing material should be given serious consideration by SARBICA.”

More recently at its First General Conference in Manila from 24th-28th May, 1971, one of the papers read at the Conference was the eagerly awaited report on “The Proposed Regional Institute of Archival Science for Southeast Asia” by Dr. Serafin D. Quison, Director, National Library of the Philippines, who had been assigned to the task by the Executive Board of SARBICA in 1968. This report was accepted *in toto* by the Conference and it appointed the Director General National Archives & Library of Malaysia to pursue the matter. It also authorised him to act on behalf of SARBICA in all activities relating to the establishment of the proposed Institute of Archival Science for

Southeast Asia, including the signing of agreements with aid-granting bodies and to have the proposed Institute established by June 1972.

Briefly, the aim of the Institute is to assure, on a regular basis, general and special archival training at all levels within the region in order to provide the participating countries with the required trained professional staff. Thus the Institute is expected to deliver full diploma programmes in archival science during the eight months (two semesters) to students with bachelor's degree. The Institute is also expected to conduct special courses for technicians in archives preservation, restoration and reprography. It is generally agreed that the Institute should be established in Kuala Lumpur as it is favourably situated in the centre of the region and that it should be attached to one of its universities in order to lend academic prestige to the course of study and its diploma.

UNESCO has accepted in principle to support this project and the formal establishment of the Institute is now, therefore, only a matter of time.

Conclusion

In conclusion it must be stressed that conservation of archives and library materials has become increasingly technical and highly specialised. Because of this it is essential that archives and libraries maintain liaison with research centres and professional associations so as to keep abreast with new techniques and methods in records conservation. However, as SARBICA has realised the need for a Research Centre it is hoped that the Centre will be established in the near future. This centre then could be responsible for research programmes in basic paper technology, specifications for permanent or durable paper, adhesive, storage conditions, binding and restoration methods, deacidification, microfilm, tapes and other problems affecting restoration and preservation of the collections under tropical conditions from first-hand experience.

It is not sufficient for the heads of archives and libraries to realize the importance of records conservation; research on the part of their respective governments in this field cannot be carried out without concerted effort and expense as well. It is encouraging to note however that with the increasing consciousness in the past few years over the value of records and books such ideas are gaining wider acceptance and this augurs well for the future.

Finally, we should acknowledge the services of scientists, chemists and other interested individuals who carry on investigations into the causes of decay of paper components of books and records and lend support for such research programmes. Their counsel and help in the past on the numerous problems encountered in the field of conservation have gone a long way to help archives and libraries in preserving their materials. Their enduring interest on the subject is most encouraging and welcome.

राष्ट्रीय अभिलेखागार में प्रशिक्षण की रूपरेखा

—ईश्वरानन्द वर्मा

हमारा आज का युग एक विकास का युग है और स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद हमारा देश भी तेजी के साथ प्रगति के पथ पर अग्रसर है। पिछले पच्चीस वर्षों में भारत ने प्रत्येक क्षेत्र में उन्नति की है। आर्थिक, सामाजिक, राजनैतिक, प्रशासनिक तथा औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों में नई नई संस्थाओं की स्थापना हुई है। समाज कल्याण और शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में नये नये प्रयोग किये गए जिनके परिणामस्वरूप अभिलेखों की केवल तादाद ही में वृद्धि नहीं हुई है अपितु उनके विभिन्न स्वरूपों का भी प्रादुर्भाव हुआ है। ध्वनात्मक तथा दृश्य अभिलेखों का सृजन इस युग को एक नई देन है। स्वभावतः इन सबके स्थायी परिरक्षण की मुख्यतः जिम्मेदारी राष्ट्रीय अभिलेखागार के ही कंधों पर है। परन्तु उनकी देख रेख तथा संभाल के पर्याप्त साधन तथा आवश्यकतानुसार विशेषज्ञ इस उत्तरदायित्व को वहन करने के लिए देश में उपलब्ध नहीं हैं। इस कमी का मुख्य कारण तो यह है कि कालेजों तथा विश्वविद्यालयों ने अपने पाठ्यक्रमों में अभिलेख विज्ञान के कमवद्ध अध्ययन का समावेश अभी तक नहीं किया है। इसी लिये इस विषय को अभी उस प्रकार मान्यता प्राप्त नहीं है जैसा कि दर्शन शास्त्र, राजनीति, अर्थ शास्त्र तथा इतिहास को है। ऐसी परिस्थिति में अभिलेख विज्ञान में प्रशिक्षित अभिलेखपाल पर्याप्त संख्या में कहाँ से मिल सकते हैं ?

भारतीय ऐतिहासिक अभिलेख आयोग ने, जिसका अधिवेशन लगभग प्रति वर्ष होता है, इस कमी को बहुत पहले ही महसूस कर लिया था और समय समय पर ऐसे प्रस्ताव पारित करता रहा है जिनसे विभिन्न अभिलेखीय प्रक्रियाओं, अभिलेख विज्ञान के समुचित विकास तथा प्रशिक्षण में सरकार अधिक दिलचस्पी ले। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि सरकार को इस ओर ध्यान देना पड़ा और 1942 में राष्ट्रीय अभिलेखागार (जो उस समय इम्पीरियल रेकॉर्ड्स डिपार्टमेंट था) के तत्वावधान में एक प्रशिक्षण योजना का सूत्रपात किया गया। तब से यह योजना बराबर चालू है और इसके द्वारा सरकार का यह प्रयास रहा है कि इतिहास के स्नातक अथवा स्नातकोत्तर विद्यार्थियों को इस विषय की ओर आकृष्ट किया जाय और इस प्रकार के व्यावसायिक प्रशिक्षण द्वारा दक्ष अभिलेखपालों को उत्पन्न किया जाये।

ऐसी बात नहीं है कि इस प्रकार की प्रशिक्षण योजना चालू करने में भारत ने ही पहल की हो। पश्चिमी देशों ने अभिलेखों की महत्ता हमसे पहले ही समझ ली थी और अब वे इस दिशा में काफी प्रगति कर चुके हैं। इस समय विदेशों में अभिलेख प्रशिक्षण के प्रमुख केन्द्र अमरीका, फ्रान्स, इंग्लैण्ड तथा रूस में हैं। इन देशों ने अपनी अपनी सुविधानुसार पाठ्यक्रम तथा उसकी अवधि निश्चित की है। इस सम्बन्ध में यह उल्लेखनीय है कि फ्रान्स की सरकार ने जो विषय फ्रान्स में उच्च शिक्षा के लिये निर्धारित किये हैं और जिनके अध्ययन के लिये भारतीय छात्रों को छात्रवृत्तियाँ भी प्रदान की जाती हैं उनमें अभिलेख प्रशिक्षण भी सम्मिलित है। राष्ट्रीय अभिलेखागार से भी कई एक अभिलेखपाल तथा सहायक अभिलेखपाल समय समय पर प्रशिक्षण के लिये फ्रान्स भेजे गए जहाँ से प्रशिक्षित हो कर वे इस विभाग में दक्षता पूर्वक कार्य कर रहे हैं। परन्तु जहाँ तक एशियाई देशों का सम्बन्ध है उनमें भारत ही अभिलेखाविज्ञान में अभी तक अग्रणी समझा जाता है और अभिलेख प्रशिक्षण के दृष्टिकोण से हमारे राष्ट्रीय अभिलेखागार का एक विशिष्ट स्थान है। इसी कारण कोलम्बो योजना के अन्तर्गत विदेशी छात्र भी इस प्रशिक्षण के लिए भारत आते हैं। पिछले वर्षों में श्रीलंका, नेपाल, मलेशिया, बर्मा तथा अफगानिस्तान की सरकारों ने अपने अपने छात्रों को यहाँ भेज कर इस प्रशिक्षण से लाभ उठाया।

व्यावसायिक दृष्टि से अभी यह एक नई प्रशिक्षण योजना है जिसके सम्बन्ध में जनता को न तो अधिक जानकारी है और न ही इसकी विषय सामग्री के बारे में कुछ पता है। परन्तु यह

व्यवसाय अब प्रगति के पथ पर है। अभिलेखों की विशाल वृद्धि को देखते हुए हमारी सरकार उनके प्रति कदापि उदासीन नहीं रह सकती क्योंकि उनका क्रमिक ह्रास देश को बहुत मंहगा पड़ेगा। इस समय हमारी सरकार तथा जनता दोनों ही ऐतिहासिक अनुसंधान की महत्ता को अच्छी तरह समझ चुके हैं और हमारे विश्वविद्यालयों के स्नातकोत्तर विद्यार्थी अभिलेख सामग्री का अधिकाधिक उपयोग करने के लिए उत्सुक हैं। परन्तु यह सामग्री अनुसंधान कर्ताओं को तभी उपलब्ध हो सकती है जब उसकी अक्षाप्ति अभिलेखागारों में नियमित रूपसे होती रहे जिसके लिये बड़ी संख्या में प्रशिक्षित अभिलेखपाल नितान्त आवश्यक हैं।

राष्ट्रीय अभिलेखागार में प्रशिक्षण की अवधि एक वर्ष निर्धारित की गई है तथा इसका पाठ्यक्रम सैद्धांतिक तथा प्रयोगात्मक दोनों प्रकार का है। सैद्धांतिक पाठ्यक्रम के अन्तर्गत अभिलेख प्रशासन के सामान्य सिद्धान्त जैसे अभिलेख परिभाषा, वर्गीकरण, अभिलेखों को तरतीब देने या क्रमबद्ध करने के सिद्धान्त, अभिलेख मूल्यांकन तथा रखरखाव के सिद्धान्त इत्यादि आते हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त संसार के प्रमुख देशों—विशेष रूप से अमरीका, इंग्लैण्ड, फ्रान्स, रूस, स्पेन, इटली, जर्मनी तथा आस्ट्रेलिया में अभिलेख प्रशासन का इतिहास तथा भारत में कंपनी के शासन काल से लेकर आधुनिक काल तक के अभिलेख समूहों के क्रमिक विकास का ज्ञान विशद रूप से कराया जाता है। अभिलेख परिरक्षण के क्षेत्र में भी वैज्ञानिक रीति से उनकी मरम्मत धूप, धूल, गर्मी, पानी तथा कीड़ों से उनका बचाव और माइक्रोफिल्मिंग के विषय में भी यथेष्ट ज्ञान दिया जाता है। समय समय पर गूढ़ विषयों की बोध-गम्य बनाने के लिए तथा उन पर नवीन प्रकाश डालने के लिए विशेषज्ञों को भी आमंत्रित किया जाता है। छात्रों के प्रयोगात्मक प्रशिक्षण पर उतना ही ध्यान रखा जाता है जितना उनके सैद्धांतिक प्रशिक्षण पर। प्रयोगात्मक ज्ञान के लिए छात्रों को विभाग की प्रशासनिक शाखाओं को छोड़कर प्रायः और सभी शाखाओं में कार्य करना पड़ता है जिससे ऊर्ध्वलिखित सभी विषयों का प्रयोगात्मक ज्ञान उनको हो जावे।

इस प्रशिक्षण के लिए कोई भी प्रत्याशी, यदि वह किसी भी संख्या से सम्बद्ध नहीं है तो स्वतंत्र रूप से और यदि किसी भी सरकारी अथवा गैर-सरकारी संस्था में सेवारत है तो उस संस्था के द्वारा अपना आवेदन-पत्र राष्ट्रीय अभिलेखागार में भेज सकता है बशर्ते कि उसमें निर्धारित न्यूनतम योग्यता हो। इसके अतिरिक्त कुछ स्थान ऐसे सरकारी कर्मचारियों के लिए सुरक्षित रखे जाते हैं जिन्हें विभिन्न विभागों या मंत्रालयों द्वारा मनोनीत करके प्रशिक्षण हेतु भेजा जाता है। इस पाठ्यक्रम के लिए न्यूनतम योग्यता भारत के आधुनिक इतिहास में बी० ए० (आनर्स) अथवा एम० ए० डिग्री निर्धारित की गई है। परन्तु सरकारी विभागों द्वारा जो कर्मचारी उस प्रशिक्षण के लिए मनोनीत करके भेजे जाते हैं उन्हें इस योग्यता स्तर में छूट भी दी जा सकती है। यह प्रशिक्षण न केवल निःशुल्क ही दिया जाता है बरन इसके लिए दो छात्र वृत्तियों का भी प्राविधान है जो योग्यता के आधार पर उपयुक्त छात्रों को दी जाती हैं। इनके अतिरिक्त कुछ विशिष्ट प्रकार के भत्तों का भी आयोजन है जो उन सरकारी कर्मचारियों को प्रदान किये जाते हैं जो दिल्ली के बाहर से इस प्रशिक्षण हेतु आते हैं। भत्ते 75 रु० प्रति मास के हिसाब से रखे गए हैं और इनको कुल संख्या छः है। प्रशिक्षण की अवधि पूर्ण होने पर छात्रों को सैद्धांतिक तथा प्रयोगात्मक दोनों प्रकार की परीक्षाओं में बैठना पड़ता है और पास हो जाने पर उनको शिक्षा मंत्रालय द्वारा डिप्लोमा प्रदान किया जाता है। इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार इस बात का भी ध्यान रखती है कि डिप्लोमा प्राप्त छात्र बेकार न रहने पावें और उचित पदों पर उनकी नियुक्ति यथा-शीघ्र कर दी जावे। राज्य सरकारों का भी लगभग यही प्रयास रहता है कि अपने अपने अभिलेखागारों के लिये प्रशिक्षित प्रत्याशियों को ही भर्ती किया जावे।

इस प्रकार भारत सरकार यथासम्भव अभिलेखीय प्रशिक्षण को प्रोत्साहन दे रही है और आशा की जाती है कि हमारे विश्वविद्यालयों के कुशाग्र स्नातक इसका पूरा पूरा लाभ उठावेंगे और अपनी प्रतिभा द्वारा इस क्षेत्र को समृद्ध बनाने में योगदान देंगे जिससे इस प्रशिक्षण को भी पुस्तकालय विज्ञान, अर्थ शास्त्र, इंजीनियरिंग अथवा दूसरे विषयों के बराबर विश्वविद्यालयों द्वारा मान्यता प्राप्त हो और वैज्ञानिक ढंग से प्रशिक्षित अभिलेखपाल आवश्यकतानुसार देश में उपलब्ध हो सकें।

PRIVATE PAPERS :

BENARSI DAS CHATURVEDI COLLECTION

SUDHARANI SARMA

BENARSI DAS CHATURVEDI had been a close associate of prominent figures in national life, like Mahatma Gandhi, C. F. Andrews, Rabindranath Tagore and Ramananda Chatterjee, during the crucial years of India's freedom struggle. He has also been an important personality in the world of Hindi Journalism, having been the editor of *Vishal Bharat* for several years.

The collection of his papers, when recently acquired by the National Archives of India, was in a state of amorphous assemblage. It has now been systematically arranged. Most of it consists of correspondence and press clippings. The former has been arranged in alphabetical order and the latter in chronological sequence. For the sake of convenience the entire collection has been divided into three parts, viz., the private papers of C.F. Andrews, the papers relating to overseas Indians, and the other papers exclusively concerning Chaturvedi.

The first part, consisting of C.F. Andrews' personal papers, contains his correspondence and press clippings. Among the correspondence that between C.F. Andrews and Chaturvedi covering 290 letters is of great importance. The letters mostly deal with the problems of overseas Indians, and relate to the tours of Andrews abroad for helping the depressed Indians. Andrews had great personal fondness for Chaturvedi, and it was at his personal request that the latter joined him at Santiniketan. Writing to him on 6 April 1923 he says: "Gurudev was talking a great deal about you last night and was saying again and again how deeply he had felt your services in the Ashram and your literary gift to it which he appreciates very greatly indeed. He is eager for you to come back. He feels certain that your power as a writer which he values very highly, will flourish in our Ashram and nowhere else". In his letters Andrews very strongly condemns his countrymen for their racial discrimination.

C.F. Andrews' letters to Swami Shraddhanand (Munshiram) shed profuse light on the Gurukul Kangri Vidyalaya affairs. These letters are 186 in number.

Then there is Andrews' correspondence with H.S.L. Polak and N.B. Mitter on problems of the Indians in East Africa and Fiji respectively.

There are also some letters addressed to Dwijendranath Tagore, the Poet's elder brother, who had great regard for Mahatma Gandhi and whose sympathies were with the Non-cooperation Movement

Andrews acted as Gandhiji's factotum during the difficult days of his fast and wrote to Dwijendranath Tagore conveying Gandhiji's regards when the latter could not write to him directly.

Mahatma Gandhi's correspondence with C. F. Andrews, consisting of 55 letters of which 13 are copies, is very illuminating. While writing to him, Gandhiji always signed as 'Mohan' and not as 'Bapu'. Gandhiji very freely expressed to him his views some of which sound interesting and amusing, particularly those on family planning and military training for the youth of the country. Especially important is an undated letter which reflects the importance Gandhiji attached to the eradication of untouchability: "You look at it with the eye of an observer, I as an affected and afflicted party. You can be patient, I cannot . . . It is a bigger problem than that of gaining Indian Independence". In the letter dated 25 August 1924, Gandhiji advises Andrews not to work at the expense of his health: "Will you not rest and be thankful for a while? Work is prayer but it can also be madness".

The first part of the collection contains, besides correspondence, a huge bunch of press clippings. A large number of these clippings are of Andrews' articles published in prominent papers like *The Bombay Chronicle*, *The Leader*, etc. on such current topics as the 'Ideal of Swaraj', 'Non-cooperation Movement', 'Homes of Gandhi and Tagore', etc. Apart from these, there are also texts of several lectures delivered by him at various meetings, and news items regarding him. Some of his articles were translated into Hindi by Chaturvedi.

Wherever C. F. Andrews went he was welcomed warmly and felicitated. This is evident from the addresses presented to him by the Indian community in outside countries.

Andrews' biography by Benarsi Das Chaturvedi and Marjorie Sykes had been serialised by *The Illustrated Weekly of India* in 1949. Clippings from the *Weekly*, containing parts of this book, have been preserved. The book was very favourably reviewed by the Indian and foreign journals.

Besides the articles covered by the clippings, there are, in the first part of the collection under review, C. F. Andrews' manuscript articles on subjects, such as 'Indian Disabilities in East-Africa', 'Racial Day-a-on subject such as 'Indian Disabilities in East Africa'. 'Racial Problems', 'Swami Dayananda Saraswati', 'Ideals of Santiniketan', 'My mother' etc.

In the second part of the collection, which deals with overseas Indians, there are more press clippings than letters. The letters include those addressed to Chaturvedi and to the officials of the Government of India concerned with overseas Indians, such as C. A. Dobson, G. L. Corbett, and R. Eubank. Andrews held Chaturvedi's services to the

cause of overseas Indians in high esteem. In a letter to him, which is undated, he writes: "The question of my need of you is every day becoming clearer to me. Polak aid to me 'There is only one single person besides yourself in the whole of India who has really taken pains and when I see Benarsidas I feel like giving him a good hug and embrace'."

The second part also contains two notebooks covering correspondence regarding the establishment of the 'Foreign Department' of the Indian National Congress. They also cover letters, memoranda, resolutions and petitions by various overseas Indian associations to the Colonial Office as well as to the Government of India.

Press clippings dealing with the Indians in Fiji, British Guiana, New Zealand, Australia, Africa, Ceylon and Malaya have been kept in separate groups. Srinivasa Sastri's tours of the British Dominions had received wide newspaper coverage. The clippings containing his speeches and addresses and news regarding his tours are bound separately in four volumes.

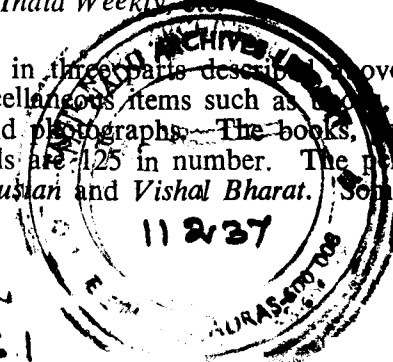
The third part of the Collection consists of the correspondence of Benarsi Das Chaturvedi with various other persons apart from C. F. Andrews. The most important amongst his correspondents are Jawaharlal Nehru, Ramananda Chatterjee, Rabindranath Tagore, C. Y. Chintamani, and Srinivasa Sastri.

Chaturvedi also maintained correspondence with several luminaries in the Hindi literary world, like Balkrishna Rao, Balkrishna Sharma 'Navin', Haridutt Sharma, Padam Singh Sharma, Prem Chand, Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, Maithili Sharan Gupta, Acharya Narendradev, etc. This correspondence is included in this part of the Collection. There are also a few letters in Hindi from Sampurnanand. Mahatma Gandhi and Purushotamdas Tandon.

Three letters to Chaturvedi from Hari Govil, who played host to C. F. Andrews in the States, about the American tours of C. F. Andrews and Rabindranath Tagore are very informative.

The press clippings, maintained by Chaturvedi on miscellaneous topics and included in this part of the Collection, are from well-known periodicals like *The Hindu*, *Young India*, *Leader*, *Independent*, *Servant*, *Rangoon Daily Mail*, *East India Weekly* etc.

Besides the items included in three parts described above, there are in the Collection some miscellaneous items such as pamphlets, periodicals, manuscripts and photographs. The books, pamphlets and back numbers of periodicals are 125 in number. The periodicals include *Sumitra*, *Saptahik Hindustan* and *Vishal Bharat*. Some of the



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books are rare and out of print, for instance, C. F. Andrews' *Christ and Labour*, and *India and the Simon Report*. There are also two biographies of revolutionaries in Hindi, one by Milindh and another by Chaturvedi himself.

Of the two manuscripts in the Collection, one is on 'Life in the Andamans' by Ramcharan Lal Sharma in Hindi, and the other is a collection of poems in Urdu by Amrik Singh Baghi, extolling revolution.

The total number of photographs in the Collection is 164. Out of these, 56 pertain to C. F. Andrews in different moods and poses and in groups. There are 9 photographs of Srinivasa Sastri another persons, 3 of Padam Singh Sharma, and the remaining 96 of various revolutionaries.

Among the collections of private papers in the National Archives, Benarsi Das Chaturvedi Collection holds an important place. It is invaluable for those interested in the study of history and literature of modern India.

NEWS NOTES

INDIA

National Archives of India

THE National Archives continued to receive for custody the non-current records of the Government of India. During the period under review these comprised records of the Foreign and Political Department (2,994 files); Department of Revenue and Agriculture, 1871-1938 (1,311 files); Legislative Department, 1869-1923 (1049 files); Railway Board, 1944-47 (2,650 files); and Salt Commissioner's Office, 1930-56 (30 files). It also received from the Ministry of Home Affairs authenticated copies of 66 Bills passed by the various State Legislatures and assented to by the President of India.

Private papers acquired in this period were those of the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant. Another noteworthy acquisition was a large collection of papers of the famous Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case (1924), consisting of the statements of the accused, opinions of assessors, and Judgment of Mr. Holmes, Sessions Judge, Kanpur, etc. Besides this, photocopies of certain letters of Vallabh Bhai Patel, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and his wife (formerly Miss E. Schenkel), and V. J. Patel were obtained from Shri S. V. Patel, Ambassador of India in Dublin, through the courtesy of the Ministry of External Affairs. The Department also received as a gift from Shri A. B. Pant, Indian High Commissioner in U.K., a collection of his papers.

The Department, in order to supplement its official holdings, continued the programme of acquiring microfilm copies of private papers of former Viceroys and Governors-General of India, Governors of 'Provinces' and other British agents in India. Among the microfilms acquired from the India Office Library and Records, London, were 8 rolls of papers of Lord Elgin, Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1894-99), 5 rolls of papers of Lord Erskine, Governor of Madras (1934-40) and 13 rolls of papers of Sir Charles Malet, Resident at Poona (1786-97).

Work of appraising the non-current records of the Government of India was continued and about 26,357 files belonging to the Department of Education, Health and Lands, Indian Council of Agricultural Research, and Foreign and Political Departments were appraised. 13,500 files out of these were marked for permanent retention.

Reference media compiled for the public records and private papers in the Department's custody consisted of the following: inventories of 10,814 files of the Central Board of Revenue (1929-46) and

1,515 files of the Home Department (Judicial Branch, 1860-61); check lists of 39,217 files belonging to the Census, Delhi, Jails, Judicial, Police, Port Blair, Public, and Lunatic Asylum Branches of the Home Department (1860-1921); subject list of 93 files of Home Judicial Despatches from Secretary of State for India (1860), 270 documents belonging to P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer Collection, and C. F. Andrews' letters in the Benarsi Das Chaturvedi Collection. A descriptive list of 318 Persian Letters Received (1922-24) was also prepared.

The Department attended, as usual, to a large number of enquiries from public and private agencies and individuals, which involved a detailed search among the manuscript and published sources in its custody and covered a wide range of topics, such as the constituting of Assam as a Chief Commissioner's province, records on the Gulf of Cambay and old Gujarat States (1900-1915), Indo-Nepal Boundary, and Assam Government Notification of 1910 regarding the inclusion of certain areas in Naga Hills District, etc.

Technical advice on preservation of records and rare books was also rendered to several institutions and individuals. Among them mention may be made of the Archaeological Survey of India, Smt. Paropkarni Sabha, Ajmer, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi, Baroda Record Office, Baroda, National Archives of Ceylon, Colombo, Tamil Nadu Archives, Madras, Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, and Signal Training Centre, Jabalpur.

A large number of scholars both from India and abroad availed themselves of the photo-duplication service of the Department. Among the latter may be mentioned scholars from the Universities of Tokyo, New South Wales (Australia) Teheran, London, Philadelphia, Chicago and Columbia. The former included scholars from the Chandigarh and Osmania Universities. The institutions which availed themselves of the photo-duplication facilities were the International Academy of Indian Culture, the C. F. Andrews Committee, Calcutta and the State Archives of Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh. The Department also undertook the microfilming of newspaper clippings in the M. R. Jayakar Collection available in its custody.

Under the publication programme of the Department a good deal of progress was made in the printing of *Fort William — India House Correspondence*, Volume VII (Public, 1773-76; Honorary Editor: Prof. R. P. Patwardhan); X (Public 1786-88; Honorary Editor: Dr. Raghubir Singh); and XI (Public, 1789-92, Honorary Editor: Dr. I. B. Banerjee). Volumes XVI (Foreign, Political and Secret, 1887-91; Honorary Editor: Prof. S. H. Askari) and XVIII (Foreign, Political and Secret, 1796-1800; Honorary Editor: Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad) were sent to the Press.

Volume III of the *Descriptive List of Mutiny Papers in the National Archives of Bhopal* was published, while editing of Volume IV of the same series was continued.

As regards the Journal *The Indian Archives*, Vol. XX, No. 1 (January-June 1971) came out of the Press. A special feature of this issue was an article in Hindi on Reference Media for Records by Shri I. N. Varma of the National Archives of India. The work of making the next issue of the Journal (Vol. XX, No. 2, July-December 1971) ready for the press neared completion.

The Department continued its programme of imparting training in Archives-Keeping. The 15 trainees who had joined the One Year Diploma Course in October 1971, received further instruction in the various aspects of Archives Management as well as practical training in the repair and preservation of records.

The National Archives of India participated in the Asia-Pacific Conference on Conservation of Cultural Property held in New Delhi from 7th to 12th February 1972 under the joint auspices of the International Centre for the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, Rome and the National Museum, New Delhi. One of the papers read at the Conference was on "New Approaches to Conservation" by Shri Y. P. Kathpalia, Scientific Officer of this Department.

Regional Office, Bhopal.— The usual work of checking, arrangement, repair and cleaning of the records was continued. In addition to this, lists were prepared of about 1,251 files of the Political Department of the erstwhile Bhopal State (1898) and 296 files belonging to the Central Board of Revenue (Separate Revenue Branch, 1896-1932). Compilation of the fifth volume of the Descriptive List of Mutiny Papers was taken up.

Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi

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

1. *Papers of Shri Brij Krishan Chandiwal.*— The papers of Shri Chandiwal, an eminent Congress leader of Delhi and an active social worker, consist of his correspondence with Jawaharlal Nehru from 1958 to 1964. Among the subjects dealt with in the papers are slums of old Delhi, use of Khadi, role of Bharat Sewak Samaj, and Rajghat prayer meetings.

2. *Papers of Shri B. G. Kher.*— These papers consist of 6 files of the period between 1937 and 1954 and contain Shri Kher's correspondence with Jawaharlal Nehru when the former was the High Commissioner for India in U.K.

3. *Papers of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad.*— This is a small collection of thirty-three letters deposited by Shri V. R. Bhende of Bombay. They cover the years 1899-1944. The correspondence includes letters

from Cowasji Jahangir, N. V. Gokhale, H. Monerieff Smith, Leslie Wilson, Lord Willingdon and others to Chimanlal Setalvad. The earliest letter in this collection is of 1899 jointly addressed by Setalvad, D. E. Wacha and N. V. Gokhale to Sir George Cotton and Bomanji Dinshaw Petit opposing the move to raise a memorial to Lord Sandhurst.

Also received with these papers were five letters of Shri C. Y. Chintamani addressed to Shri V. R. Bhende.

4. *Papers of Shri Jaglal Choudhary.*— This small collection comprises files and some loose papers. They cover the period from 1948 to 1952. The files deal mainly with the work of the Harijan Sewak Sangh, Bihar Harijan Enquiry Committee and plans for the uplift of Harijans. As Minister for Public Health and Harijan Welfare in Bihar Government, Shri Choudhary had correspondence with a number of national leaders including Rajendra Prasad, Jagjivan Ram, A. V. Thakkar etc., on the problems of Harijans.

5. *Papers of Dr. N. S. Hardikar.*— They comprise Dr. Hardikar's correspondence with Lala Lajpat Rai from 1914 to 1928. The letters for the period 1914-20 were written by Lala Lajpat Rai when he was in the United States and relate to the affairs of the India Home Rule League and its monthly organ, the *Young India*. The letters for 1928 relate to the proposal by Lala Lajpat Rai for the appointment of Dr. N. S. Hardikar as incharge of publicity work of the Nehru Committee Report.

6. *Papers of Shri Jagat Narain Lal.*— These papers fall into three categories, viz. Shri Lal's autobiographical notes from his early days to the year 1942, notes on Pakistan covering its genesis and working, and notes on various topics of science and fine arts which interested him. Besides these notes, the collection includes a few pamphlets on the activities of Christian Missionaries in the tribal areas of Bihar.

Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi

The Indian Council of Historical Research has been set up by the Government of India as an autonomous body. According to its constitution it is to have as members the following:—

- (a) An eminent historian nominated by the Government of India as Chairman;
- (b) Eighteen historians nominated by the Government of India;
- (c) A representative of U.G.C.;
- (d) Director-General of Archaeology;
- (e) Director of Archives, Government of India;

(f) Four representatives of the Government of India, including one each from the Ministry of Education, the Department of Culture and the Ministry of Finance;

(g) Member-Secretary.

The objects of the organisation in brief are to give proper direction to historical research, and to encourage objective and scientific writing of history.

Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta

Two discussion meetings were held in March and April 1972. At the first meeting Lt. Col. B. N. Majumdar (Retd.) gave an informative and interesting talk on "The Bangladesh War and its impact on Indian Defence". In the second meeting Dr. Milsolav Krasa from the Oriental Academy, Prague, Czechoslovakia and at present a Fellow of this Institute spoke on "The Relations between the Indian National Congress and the Wafd Party of Egypt."

Archival Activities in the States

Andhra Pradesh

State Archives.— Shri Md. Abdul Waheed Khan, Director of Archaeology and Museum, held charge of the State Archives till 10 January 1972 when Dr. (Miss) Sarojini Regani took over as Director of Archives.

During the period under review the State Archives received for custody 23,874 fly-leaves and 622 files from various Secretariat Departments; 4,983 fly-leaves and 953 files from the Board of Revenue; 2 *Muntakhabas* from the District Collectorate, Hyderabad; 4,154 *Siyahs* from the *Qazis* of Andhra Pradesh; and 621 documents, 60,621 Land Mortgage Bonds and 281 bundles of records (including District Records, Gazettes, and Electoral Rolls) from other agencies.

The Department attended to 2,828 requisitions for records, etc. from public and private institutions and individuals. As regards appraisal of records, about 34,959 files of the Home, Health and Municipal Administration Departments were examined, and 337 files out of these were marked for permanent retention.

The reference media prepared during the period include a list of 3,164 files of the Salar Jung Estate Records series, and a catalogue of papers in a number of private collections. Volume I of the *Descriptive Catalogue of Documents pertaining to Shahjahan's Reign* has been made ready for the press, and work on the next volume of the Catalogue is making steady progress.

Under the publication programme of the State Archives printing of "A Brief History of Andhra Pradesh" and "A Guide to the Records in State Archives" made further progress. Monographs on the "Finances and Fiscal Policy of Hyderabad State (1900-1956)" by Dr. B. K. Narayan and "The Rate Schools of Godavari" by Dr. (Miss) J. Mangamma are also in the press. Very recently 4 Research Cells have been opened for the publication of English, Telugu, Urdu, Persian, and Marathi records in the custody of the Department.

Under the Research Fellowship Scheme of the State Archives 13 full-time and 12 part-time scholars continued their research work. Ph.D. degree was awarded by the Osmania University to one full-time and one part-time Research Fellow.

Oriental Manuscripts Library and Research Institute, Hyderabad.— This is a Branch Office of the State Archives. About 2,182 palm-leaf and paper manuscripts are in its custody. Steps are being taken to acquire from the State Central Library about 17,060 manuscripts. The Library has published the following works: (i) *Seetha Kalayanam*, (ii) *Srungarapadamulu*, (iii) *Indumati Parinayam*, (iv) *Radha Vamsheedhara Vilasa Natak*, and (v) *Geeta Govindam and Geeta Sankaram*. Three other manuscripts, viz., (i) *Vaikritachandrika*, (ii) *Kasyatra Charitra*, and (iii) *Naradeya Puranam*, are in different stages of printing.

Regional Records Survey Committee.— The Committee met on 28 February 1972 and discussed the action to be taken in regard to the acquisition of manuscripts and appointment of Research Assistants and Pandits for survey work. A provision of Rs. 19,000 was made by the State Government for the purpose. The documents and manuscripts purchased so far by the Committee were fumigated and repaired. Work was taken up on the compilation of necessary finding aids like descriptive lists and catalogue cards. The Committee proposes to publish them in the near future for the use of research scholars. As a result of the survey work carried out at Hyderabad and Vishakhapatnam, besides a few miscellaneous items, the papers of Md. Abdul Hadi Khan and Smt. B. Kamla Devi were acquired and deposited in the State Archives.

Assam

Secretariat Record Office.— During the period under report the Office accessioned 3,683 non-current files of the different departments of the Government of Assam, attended to 2,161 requisitions for files, and appraised 2,894 non-current files in its custody, marking 1642 files out of them for permanent retention. The finding aids prepared during the period consisted of an Amalgamated Index to the Government of Assam Proceedings (1964-65), and a Descriptive List of pre-1874 records of the State Government. Also progress was made in

the preparation of the Amalgamated Index to the Proceedings for 1966. About 14 research scholars carried on research among the records and other source materials available in the Secretariat Record Office.

Regional Records Survey Committee, Assam.— The Committee made good progress in the surveying of records. It acquired during this period copper plates bearing an inscription, one gold coin and a few old deeds. The inscription is undated but on paleographic grounds, it is ascribed to the 11th century A.D. The Committee also unearthed a number of seals, *para-kakats* and genealogies.

Bihar

State Archives.— About 56 volumes of correspondence in English from the Saran (Chapra) Collectorate and 900 issues of Gazettes of India and Bihar were acquired by the State Archives. Appraisal was done of 1,000 files of various public agencies. Under its publication programme the State Archives completed the "Handbook of the Bhagalpur Collectorate Records". Several scholars from India and abroad were given facilities to carry on research among records and other source materials.

Goa

Historical Archives of Goa.— About 160 new and rare publications on Archives, Art and Archaeology were added to the Reference Library. Besides supplying information to individuals and institutions on various subjects from among the records in its custody, the Archives attended to 90 applications for certified copies of notarial deeds, inventory proceedings, village community records and quit rent lease records. It also provided 6 research scholars with facilities for consulting records.

Gujarat

The State Archives.— The State Archives started functioning from August 1971 under the control of the Chief Editor, Gujarat District Gazetteers. During the period under report a questionnaire was circulated to all the Collectors in the State regarding old records and historical books with a view to procuring them for the State Archives and its Library. The schemes proposed for the Fifth Five Year Plan period are: (i) Acquisition of private papers and manuscripts connected with the administration of the British Government and the Princely States; (ii) microfilming of important old records which are lying in Baroda and Rajkot record rooms and are brittle; (iii) Research Fellowship Scheme; and (iv) publication of selections from the State records.

Jammu and Kashmir

State Archives Department.— During the period under report the Department accessioned about 29,000 non-current files. The work of appraisal of documents was continued and about 1,027 files were marked

out for permanent retention. The Department also attended to 358 requisitions for records and provided facilities to a number of research scholars for consulting the records in its custody. The work of indexing records made further progress. The State Archives Department, recently provided with a Map Officer, has traced among its records extremely valuable information and maps pertaining to inter-State and internal boundaries. The same have been supplied to the Survey of India, Dehra Dun.

Kerala

State Archives.—During the period under review the State Archives surveyed and scrutinized a large number of non-current records deposited with the various agencies of the State Government, including the Office of the Advocate General, Ernakulam; Munsif's Court, Peerumbavoor; Collectorate, Kozhikode; and the Public Department, Kerala Government. The old records of St. Francis Church at Cochin were also surveyed. Compilation of reference media continued to make progress. A list each was prepared of the *Cadjan* records, and the Travancore High Court files for the period 1952-54, available in the Kozhikode Archives.

The State Archives Department displayed several exhibits at the 'Our India Exhibition' organised at Trivandrum by the N.C.E.R.T., Government of India. Exhibits were also displayed at the All India Exhibition at Trichur.

Maharashtra

Department of Archives.—During the period under report the Department examined 294 files received from the Collector, Nasik with a view to checking their historical value. The private records acquired included 25 *rumals* (approximately 30,000 documents) relating to the 17th and 18th centuries from the Shirke family of Satara; 8 *rumals* (about 5,000 documents) pertaining to the 18th century from the Abhyankar family of Satara; 37 *rumals* (about 40,000 documents) from the Raja Saheb of Sangli (Patwardhan family); 75,000 documents from the Gharge and Hivrekar families of Aundh and the Nandoshi Math of the same place; and 8 files of the "Prabodh" (1925-48) published from Dhulia.

As regards preparation of reference media, the Department completed the work of cataloguing (i) papers in the Chitnishi Section (45 *rumals*) of the Peshwa Daftar, Poona; (ii) papers in the Pant Amatya Bavda Daftar Section (67 *rumals*) of the Kolhapur Records; and (iii) 47,511 documents from the Holkar Records in the Bombay Archives. The revision of catalogues of the Public Department Diaries is in progress.

Under the publication programme of the Department the Commemoration Volume of Sir Jadunath Sarkar Birth Centenary was brought out during this period. It was released to that public by the Governor of Maharashtra. Further, three more publications of the Department, viz., *Maharashtra Archives Bulletin* No. 9 pertaining to correspondence of Nana Saheb Dhondopant in 1857; *Descriptive Catalogue of Papers in Parasnisi Section, Kolhapur Record Office and the Ibrahimnana*, edited by Shri Devisinh, are in different stages of printing.

Orissa

State Archives.—The State Archives received 2,270 sheets of records, 57 volumes and 14 files for custody in this period. The record room of the Revenue Divisional Commissioner Northern Division, Sambalpur was surveyed with a view to transferring the defunct Political Agent's records to the State Archives. The reference media completed during the period were descriptive lists of Balasore Revenue Records and the lists of records (114) for the National Register of Records. Research facilities were extended to about 17 scholars for consulting records and published materials available in the State Archives. A number of rare and valuable books were added to the Library of the Department.

Regional Records Survey Committee.—The Committee acquired some important documents in this period. Among these were the documents obtained from the Raja Sahebs of Manjusha (17) and Parikud (6). Also acquired were documents of Sri Madhu Sudan Das (10), Sri Dinabandhu Das (6), Choudhry Madhabanda (6), and P. Mukherjee of Bhubaneswar (3).

Punjab

State Archives.—During the period under review the State Archives acquired 3 files regarding the Akali Movement from Barnala, District Sangrur, for custody. Under compilation of reference media the following got completed; listing of 1,933 files; indexing of 471 files; and cataloguing of 93 manuscripts. Appraisal of records was continued and about 668 files were appraised. The Department also attended to 69 requisitions from private and public institutions and individuals, and gave facilities to 24 scholars for carrying on research among the records deposited with it.

Photo-duplication service was rendered to the U.S.S.R. and the Survey of India, Dehra Dun. To the former the Department supplied a copy of the *Humayun Nama* and to the latter a copy each of the Press-lists of volumes 13 and 15 relating to the Indo-Pakistan Boundary.

Rajasthan

State Archives.—The State Archives prepared lists of 592 files from the Kota, Dungarpur and Sirohi records, and prepared microfilm copies of about 4,534 documents. It attended to 1,708 requisitions received from public and private agencies and extended research facilities to 50 scholars to conduct research among the records in its custody. Under its publication programme the State Archives published *Descriptive List of the Vakil Reports*, Vol. II.

Tamil Nadu

State Archives.—Considerable progress was made in the Publication Programme of the State Archives. *The Classified Catalogue of Books Registered* for the period 1921-25 was published and that for the period 1926-30 sent to the press. Similar Catalogue for the periods 1931-35 and 1936-40 were made ready for the press. Printing of the *Despatches from England*, Volume No. 52 (1758-59) made further progress. About 34 research scholars conducted research among the records available in the State Archives.

Uttar Pradesh

State Archives.—About 567 volumes, 9,290 files and 314 bundles were checked and arranged during this period. An inventory was made of 904 items, and 109 documents were photocopied. 17 research scholars were given facilities to carry on research among the records in the custody of the State Archives.

Regional Records Survey Committee.—A meeting was held at Varanasi on 15 February 1972 which recommended 44 manuscripts and 79 documents for purchase. Exhibits of Archival interest were displayed at the exhibition organised on this occasion. The exhibition lasted from 15th to 18th February, 1972.

West Bengal

State Archives.—The West Bengal State Archives accessioned during the period under review 4,890 files of various Departments of the West Bengal Secretariat, besides 351 copies of the Calcutta Gazette. Appraisal of 15,581 non-current public files was completed. Under its programme of compiling reference media the Department prepared indexes to the records of the Revenue (Cinchona) Department (1921-28) and Education (S.A.) Department (1971). About 70 research scholars availed themselves of the facilities afforded by the State Archives for conducting research among the records in its custody.

INTERNATIONAL

UNESCO

UNESCO has renamed its series of 'Library Manuals' as 'Documentation, Libraries and Archives: Studies and Research'. The first volume in the series since its renaming, prepared by the International Council on Archives at the instance of UNESCO, deals with a draft model law on archives. It contains the text of the proposed model law, accompanied by an explanation and description of the articles dealing with general principles, structure of autonomous archives administration, staff, control commissions, intermediate repositories, right of access to archives, etc. The need for establishing a new legal basis and for revising the legislation relating to archives so as to bring it in line with the political, legal and technical calls of modern development had become imperative due to freer access to archives and their increasing role in public administration and national development. The object of bringing out the volume in question is to meet that need.

Thirteenth International Round Table on Archives

The 13th International Round Table on Archives was held at Bad Godesberg in the Federal Republic of Germany on 13-16 September 1971. The main subjects of discussion were: (i) the use of electronic data processing (EDP), which several developed Archives were already using for producing finding aids, and (ii) the archives of international organisations. The work on the first item being still in an experimental stage, it was suggested that in order to consolidate and promote international cooperation among the interested Archives and to stimulate technical progress at national level, the International Council on Archives should set up an international *ad hoc* committee, that the member states of I.C.A. should establish national commissions for dealing with EDP in Archives, and that efforts should be accelerated to study in detail the problems posed by the preservation of new types of archival materials such as cards, discs and tapes. In regard to the second subject of discussion it was recommended that a guide to the archives of the United Nations System (including the League of Nations) should be compiled, that access to these archives should be liberalised as recommended by the International Congress of Archives held at Madrid in 1968, and that the access rules should be standardised.

Asia-Pacific Conference on Conservation of Cultural Property

The Asia-Pacific Conference on Conservation of Cultural Property, sponsored jointly by the National Museum, New Delhi, and the International Centre for the Study of Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, Rome, was held in New Delhi on 7-12 February 1972. The papers read at the Conference mainly related to the Conservation of monuments and museum objects but the one* by Mr. John Davies of the National Archives of Malaysia dealt with conservation of

*Included in the present issue.

records in the National Archives and Library of Malaysia. The Conference made a number of valuable recommendations concerning the conservation of cultural property, one of them being that the Rome Centre should support SARBICA in setting up a research centre responsible for research programmes in basic paper technology, specification for permanent and durable paper, adhesives, storage conditions, binding and restoration methods and other matters affecting the restoration and preservation of the collections in the South East Asian region.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

National Archives, Washington

James E.O'Neill, Special Assistant to the archivist since May 1971, has been appointed Deputy Archivist of the United States in the place of Herbert E. Angel who retired on 8 January 1972.

Recent accessions of the National Archives include records (1939-54) of the Bureau of the Budget relating primarily to domestic programmes but also to foreign aid and other commitments abroad, central foreign policy files (1945-49) of the Department of State; records of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest; records of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography; records (1942-46) of the Office of Production Research and Development, which planned and directed the War Production Board's scientific and engineering research and development work; records of the General Land Office relating to land grants, national forest proclamations, tax lists of certain States, etc.; U.S. Supreme Court records (1934-51); continuations of some series already in the National Archives, such as U.S. Senate records (1963-68), Geological Survey records (1882-1906), etc.; maps and plans (1846-76) of Fort Jefferson, computed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and later transferred to the National Park Service; Department of State maps and diagrams of post-World War II territorial problem areas of the world; and a few motion-picture films received from the Department of Labour, Office of the Secretary of Agriculture and the Naval Photographic Centre. Other significant accessions include the papers of F.P. Lee, Special Counsel to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and the diaries of E.S. Stettinius, Secretary of State (1944-45).

Among the recent publications of the National Archives those worth mentioning are: *The Administration of Modern Archives: A Select Bibliographic Guide*; *Select Picture List: Indians in the United States*; *Select List of Sound Recordings: Voices of World War II, 1939-45*; *Select Picture List: United States Navy Ships, 1775-1941*; *List of National Archives Microfilm Publications Relating to World War II*; and *Guide to Cartographic Records in the National Archives*.

The National Archives has also established a Centre for the Documentary Study of the American Revolution. It is located in the National Archives Building and is almost a 'one-stop' centre for research

relating to the American Revolution. The Centre is preparing a guide to pre-Federal records in the National Archives and is planning to prepare an index to the Papers of the Continental Congress. The Director of the Centre is Mr. H. B. Cox, formerly of the National Historical Publications Commission.

A new Microfilm Research Room has been opened in the National Archives Building. At present it houses 41 microfilm readers, but there is space in it for some more machines.

Regional Archives

The fifteen Federal Records Centres, 11 of which have Regional Archives Branches, have started a campaign to ensure that the records in their custody, occupying over 11 million cubic feet, are assigned retention periods. At the Centres records having archival value are maintained in Archives Branches. Records of ephemeral value are regularly weeded out after predetermined periods.

Chicago.—The Archives Branch of the Federal Records Centre at Chicago has accessioned, among others, certain records of the U.S. District Courts for Eastern (1905-46) and Northern (1867-1946) Districts of Illinois, Eastern (1839-1946) and Western (1863-1946) Districts of Wisconsin, Southern District of Indiana (1837-1946), and Northern District of Ohio (1855-1946).

Denver.—The accessions of the Archives Branch consist of General Land Office records (1855-1914) documenting the survey and sale of Federal land in Utah, and records (1861-1924) of the Bureau of Land Management, concerning survey of Indian reservations, military installations, etc. in Colorado.

San Francisco.—The Archives Branch has accessioned records (1848-1958) of the District Director of Customs, Port of San Francisco, and the Deputy Collector for the Port of Eureka, California. It has also accessioned certain records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Northern California and Nevada Agencies (1920-53), and the San Francisco Mint and Assay Office records (1854-1960).

Seattle.—The records (1851-1922) accessioned by the Archives Branch belong to the Oregon office of the Bureau of Land Management and consist of correspondence, district land office registers, tract books, and lists of available railroad lands. The Customs records (1851-1913) from the Puget Sound area have also been accessioned.

Waltham (Mass.).—The Archives Branch has accessioned records (1789-1945) of U.S. District and Circuit Courts for the Districts of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Vermont, comprising dockets, minutes, term papers, naturalization records, records of several U.S. Commissioners, etc.

Presidential Libraries

Herbert Hoover Library.—The Library has begun to organise, arrange and edit Hoover's papers (1929-33) for publication by the National Archives and Records Service as part of the Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States' series. The work of enlarging the building of the Library is progressing satisfactorily and the additions so far made have provided further space for the museum which reopened sometime back. Among the recent accessions of the Library mention may be made of the electrostatic copies of selected records of the President's Organisation on Unemployment Relief (1931-33), and the correspondence between President Hoover and W.C. Mullendore, member of the Second Hoover Commission.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.—Recent accessions of the Library are addition to the Elbert D. Thomas and S. I. Rosenman papers, films from James Roosevelt's papers including the N.B.C. News film of Mrs. Roosevelt's burial, recordings of R. G. Tugwell's interviews with the President's friends and neighbours in Georgia, and a collection of photographs showing Roosevelt's activities in and around Washington (1936-45). The Library has brought out the second edition of President Roosevelt's press conferences during 1933-45. The new wings of the Library are now in the final stages of construction.

Harry S. Truman Library.—The library has recently accessioned the papers of Henry F. Crady, Ambassador to India (1947), correspondence (1946-53) of J. W. Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury, Jonathan Daniels's research notes compiled in preparing his biography of Truman published in 1950, and one of the two sets of official certified lists of votes of the electoral colleges for the 1948 presidential election. It has completed a review of White House staff files among the Truman papers and thrown most of them open for research. Also it has published a sort of guide entitled *Historical Materials in the Harry S. Truman Library, an Introduction to their Contents and Use*.

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library.—Recent accessions of the Library include papers (1933-65) of William E. Robinson, former president and chairman of Coca-Cola, Inc., and a close friend of Eisenhower; correspondence, photographs and diaries (1935-45) of Brig. Gen. William L. Lee, Eisenhower's friend and military associate; and the papers (1916-60) of Donald A. Quarles, Deputy Secretary of Defence during Eisenhower Administration.

John F. Kennedy Library.—During early 1971 the Library opened for research over 70 oral history interviews, and recently a large part of President Kennedy's papers have also been thrown open. The construction of the Library building is expected to start by October 1973. The Library has recently accessioned the papers of Leon B. Poullada, Ambassador to Togo during the Kennedy Administration.

Lyndon B. Johnson Library.—The permanent building of the Library on the University of Texas campus, Austin, was dedicated on 22 May 1971, and its exhibit areas were opened to the public. The Library, however, is not yet open for research purposes.

Library of Congress

Recent acquisitions of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress consist of the journals of Benjamin B. French, covering the period 1828-70 and presenting a panoramic view of life in the U.S.A.; the final segment of the papers of Carl W. Ackerman, war correspondent; the papers of Ross A. Collins of Mississippi, documenting his legislative career; papers of Herbert Feis relating to his academic life and Government service; the papers of Frederick J. Libby concerning his work in the peace movement; and several letters of 22 Presidents, specially the correspondence of Woodrow Wilson with his Secretary of State, W. J. Bryan. The Manuscript Division has also acquired some more papers of Sigmund Freud. Most of the Freud papers are closed for research purposes until 2000 A.D.

Office of Records Management

The Records Management Office of the National Archives and Records Service has issued three new Records Management Handbooks. One of them entitled *Information Retrieval Systems* describes 50 different information retrieval applications in Government offices and other organisations. The other, *Microform Retrieval Equipment Guide*, provides detailed guidance on the selection of microfilm readers, reader printers, and other microform display and reference equipment. The third one, *Managing the Mail*, emphasises the tasks in planning and designing a system for effective and economical handling of agency mail.

National Historical Publications Commission

At its meeting held on 13 May 1971, the Commission gave continuing support to 11 documentary publication projects. The following five projects are supported by a Ford Foundation Grant: The Adams Papers (Massachusetts Historical Society), Benjamin Franklin Papers (Yale University), Alexander Hamilton Papers (Columbia University Press), Thomas Jefferson Papers (Princeton University), and the Papers of James Madison (University of Virginia). The other six projects are financed from appropriate funds: The Letters of W. C. Bryant (Tusculum College), J. C. Calhoun Papers (South Carolina Department of Archives and History), Jefferson Davis Papers (Rice University), U. S. Grant Papers (Southern Illinois University), J. K. Polk Correspondence (Vanderbilt University), and B. T. Washington Papers (University of Maryland). At its meeting on 9 September 1971 the Commission gave financial support to four more letterpress publication enterprises, one of them being a project at Cornell University to assemble and edit the papers of Marquis de Lafayette. At its next

meeting held on 29 November 1971 similar support was given to the University of Puerto Rico to publish reports of U.S. consuls in Puerto Rico (1817-98). In February 1972 financial support was given for publication of Jonathan Trumbull papers in the University of Connecticut.

The repositories participating in the Commission's microfilm publication programme completed and released to the public microfilm copies of the papers of R. G. Harper, H. D. Lloyd, D. B. Warden, Daniel Webster and A. D. White. The use of microfilm as a medium of publication has revolutionized historical research by making hundreds of archival and manuscript collections all over the world accessible to scholars. The National Historical Publications Commission has been one of the leaders in this revolution. It makes grants to manuscript and archival repositories for arranging, describing and microfilming suitable collections or bodies of records and for publishing descriptive guides to the microfilms.

Society of American Archivists

The Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Society was held at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel in San Francisco on 12-15 October 1971. It was attended by nearly 400 members. After the welcome address read on behalf of Mayor J. L. Alioto by his representative, the President of the Society Philip P. Mason presented an interim report which was approved with some additional suggestions from the members. At the sessions which followed, lively discussions were held on a number of topics, noteworthy among them being: "The Archivist and the Donor", "Documentary Publications", "Confidentiality of University Archives", "Nuts and Bolts of an Oral History Programme", "Preserving Local Public Records of California", "Accessioning and Establishing Initial Control over Holdings", "To Keep or Destroy: Preparation of a Retention and Disposal Schedule", "Public Records: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow", "Reference Problems", and "Promotion of Archives in Developing Countries". The meeting ended with the annual business meeting on the afternoon of 15 October 1971 at which, besides transacting other business the names of Charles E. Lee as the new President of the Society, W. I. Smith as Vice-President and R. M. Warner as Secretary were announced.

South Carolina Department of Archives & History

The South Carolina Department of Archives and History has recently brought out the *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, 1754-1765*. This volume, edited by William L. McDowell, Jr., completes the publication of manuscripts in the South Carolina Archives known as "Indian Books". The Department published in 1956 *Journals of the Commissioners of the Indian Trade, 1710-1718*. This was followed in 1958 by *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs, 1750-1754*, in which were reproduced three of the Indian Books. The volume published

recently includes the last two Indian Books, containing documents for the years 1754-60, and an additional "Journal of the Directors of the Cherokee Trade, 1762-1765". The documents comprise, among others, letters to the Governor from military officers, traders and Indians as also those from the Governor to the Indians; and the Journal is a record of the attempt to make trade with the Cherokee Indians a public monopoly, the documents accompanying it being letters to Edward Wilkinson, the factor in charge of the trading factory at Fort St. George, legislative acts establishing and abolishing the monopoly, correspondence with the Governor, appointments, and tables of goods and prices.

CANADA

Public Archives of Canada

Among the recent accessions of the Manuscript Division are records of the Departments of Trade and Commerce, Immigration, Labour, and External Affairs; records of the Canadian National Railways and the Geological Survey of Canada; files of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women and the Royal Commission on Pilotage; and papers of Norman Robertson, F. L. Packard, P. Thompson, Dana Wilgress, and Air Vice Marshal Collishaw. The Public Archives has initiated a medical and scientific archives accessioning programme in cooperation with the Canadian Medical Association. It has also launched a labour archives programme for implementing which it has sought the cooperation of labour unions, labour historians and others. It has made satisfactory progress 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. Vol. I of the *General Inventory of Manuscripts* has been published very recently.

The Picture Division has acquired, among other collections, the Manoir Richelieu collection comprising 2,500 oil paintings, drawings, engravings, maps, etc. on Canadian history upto 1867. The Collection is being catalogued, and plans are being made to exhibit the materials in galleries and museums throughout the country.

The Map Division is continuing its work on the development of a National Union Catalogue of Maps. It has recently published *Country Atlases; a Descriptive Catalogue*.

UNITED KINGDOM

Public Record Office, London

The P.R.O. contained, by the beginning of 1972, a total of 350,000 foot-run of shelving or records scheduled for permanent preservation. The holdings then were divided thus: Chancery Lane (117,000 ft.), the repository at Ashridge (157,000 ft.), the records centre at Hayes (49,000 ft.), and the new temporary search room and store at Portugal Street (27,000 ft.).

An announcement has been made in regard to the records which will be stored at the new repository to be built at Kew, opening in 1975. After this date the P.R.O. holdings will be divided between Kew and the existing office in Chancery Lane; Broadly, the oldest archives and those of the Courts of Law, and archives of the State Paper (c. 1500-c. 1782), Privy Seal and Signet Offices will all remain at Chancery Lane, while all Departmental records, including those of the Treasury, Board of Trade, and Colonial Offices will be at Kew.

British Records Association

The thirty-ninth annual conference of the British Records Association was held at the premises of the Royal Society, London, on 2-3 December 1971. Dr. F. G. Emmison presided over the opening meeting at which the place of exhibitions in archival work was discussed. Among the main speakers on the subject were G. A. Chinnery, P. I. King, K. C. Newton, Mrs. D. M. Owen and Miss E. A. Hawke.

The chair at the annual general meeting was taken by the President of the Association, Lord Denning. He presented the Annual Report and commented on various points in it, particularly that relating to the impact of the proposals for local government reform on the keeping of local records. This was followed by the election of office-bearers.

The meeting of the Records Preservation Section was held on 3 December and presided over by the Vice-Chairman, Hon. D. Erskine. He presented the Section's Annual Report and eulogised Mrs. D. M. Owen's work as Chairman of the Section during the past five years. Miss J. M. Imray was then elected as Chairman for the next twelve months, with Mr. Erskine as Vice-Chairman, and members of the Committee were elected or re-elected. Miss Imray took the chair at the ensuing discussion meeting. The subject of discussion was "Postal History and the Preservation of records" and the principal speakers were R. M. Willcocks, J. K. Bates, E. H. Sargeant and F. B. Stilt.

At the discussion meeting of the Association the Chair was taken by Mr. R. H. Ellis and the subject of discussion was "The Art Historian and his Archive Sources". Among those who participated in the discussion on the subject were Cecil Gould, H. M. Colvin, Pattison, Miss R. Meredith and Miss J. M. Imray.

Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts

On the retirement of R. H. Ellis, G. R. C. Davis has succeeded him as Secretary to the Commission.

The Commission has brought out the fourth edition of its publication entitled *Record Repositories in Great Britain*. This replaces the third edition which appeared in 1968. While only 304 establishments were listed in the earlier edition, the new one lists 322. Most of the additional entries relate to archives offices of firms.

University College, London

The course for the Diploma in Archive Administration at the University College, London has recently been re-named as the course for the Diploma in Archive Studies. The revised syllabus contains courses on Record Office Management, Records Management, Preparation of Finding Aids (for post-medieval documents), and Description of Medieval Records. The first three of these have to be taken by all students, while out of the other courses numbering fourteen any six can be offered. Some of the other courses are those on the English Administrative History and Local Government Organisation, Administrative History: Overseas (for foreign students), Historical and Bibliographical Sources, History and Literature of Science and Technology, Information Studies, Law of Real Property, History and Development of Company Law and Accounting, Reading and Interpretation of Documents in medieval English, modern English and (if necessary) foreign languages. Anglo-Norman French does not find any place in the new syllabus, and attendance at the Medieval Latin Course is required only of students offering courses involving work on medieval documents. Three weeks of practical work in a record repository is, however, compulsory for all students.

FRANCE

Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

The diplomatic archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the period prior to 31 May 1918 are open to the public (with the exception of Private Papers and Personnel Files subject to special regulations). The rule of 30 years could not be applied to these records hitherto because of the destruction of the Foreign Office (Central Administration) archives, which occurred during the last world war. It is understood that reconstitution and reconstruction of the archives has progressed so satisfactorily that the files of the period from June 1918 to 1920 are expected to be thrown open in early 1973. The reorganisation of the files of the subsequent period upto 1945 is likely to be completed in 1976 when the rule of 30 years will be applied to them as well.

ZAMBIA

National Archives of Zambia

The National Archives of Zambia published in 1970 the first volume of the guide to its holdings. Though the records accessioned so far begin with the inception of the colonial rule and come up to 1950, only those up to 1940 have hitherto been fully processed. It is therefore that the first volume covers the period 1895-1940. The Archives plans to issue the next volume covering later accessions in due course. The present volume indicates that the archives of Zambia are arranged

according to the well-established principle of provenance. Besides lists of the main series of records, the guide gives administrative history of each of the departments of the Government of Zambia.

IRAN

National Archives

In 1970 the Iranian Government established the National Archives as an agency attached to the State Organisation for Administration and Employment Affairs. It also set up an Archives Council composed of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Culture and Fine Arts, the Attorney General, the Secretary General of the State Organisation for Administration and Employment Affairs, the Attorney of the Accounts Tribunal, and two persons well versed in the history and culture of Iran appointed by the Council of Ministers for a term of 3 years. The functions of the Archives Council include approving disposal lists and schedules drawn up jointly by the National Archives and the various Ministries, approving regulations for selecting and accessioning non-current records, for managing and preserving archives, and for making records available to the public, and prescribing fees for documentary reproductions. Cyrus Parham, Archivist of Iran, is the Secretary of the Archives Council, and he is responsible for executing its decisions besides administering the Archives. The National Archives is presently engaged in identifying, evaluating, weeding and disposing of a 70-year accumulation of records—amounting in Teheran alone to a million cubic feet.

JAPAN

National Archives

The plan of the Japanese Government to house under one roof all its important records reached its final stage with the opening of the new National Archives building in Tokyo on 1 July 1971. The structure is situated in Kitamaru Park near the Imperial Palace and has four stories above ground and two below with a total floor space of 115,000 square feet. The length of the shelves in the building is about 39 kilometres. By the end of 1974 about 230,000 volumes of official records now kept by the various Government agencies will be shifted to the new building.

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of South Kanara by Dr. K. V. Ramesh (Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1970; pp. 340+4 maps and 7 plates; price Rs.30.00).

DR. K. V. RAMESH, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist, Mysore deserves to be congratulated for having written this scholarly book on the history of South Kanara, a region which played its own role in shaping the history of India in general and of Karnatak in particular but has not been noticed by the historians of India. Col. Mackenzie, Buchanan, Sturrock and M. Ganapati Rao Aigal made their own contributions to the history of South Kanara. But their accounts are not based on relevant sources and as such chronology in their works is faulty. In 1936, late Dr. B. A. Saleotre wrote *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol. I, or *History of Tuluva*, a book based on all sources available at that time. Since then, many new inscriptions have come to light, rendering his work out of date. Need for reconstructing the history of South Kanara was therefore keenly felt. In the book under review the author has tried to meet this need.

Introductory remarks on South Kanara, its political history from the earliest times till the fall of Vijaynagara and its cultural features are the main contents of this work. The conclusions of the author are mainly based on the inscriptions. The present District of South Kanara is indentified with a Tuluva country in this work (Introduction, p. XVIII).

The author identifies, Satiyaputra, mentioned in the inscription of Asoka, with the Tuluva country by new arguments (pp. 11-12). It would have been more convincing if the author had given epigraphical evidence in support of his contention.

The reconstruction of the early history of South Kanara is done by the author with the help of Sangam literature. On this basis, the role of Kosar in Tuluva country, and the activities of Nannan in this region as also the extent of his Kingdom are narrated (pp. 14-26). As regards the date of Nannan, the author admits that it is impossible to fix, and concludes that he appears to have lived and ruled "some-time in the first three centuries of Christian era" (pp. 25-26). It is strange that such a powerful ruler is completely forgotten in the region in which he ruled.

The part played by the Kadambas of Banavasi in the history of South Kanara has been stated with the support of Halmidi inscription of the 5th century A.D. The author rejects the un-historical accounts connected with the Kadamba rulers (see pp. 28-29). The Kadambas' sway in South Kanara continued till the succession of Kirttivarman who subdued the Kadambas and the Alupas.

Then the author narrates the history of Alupa rulers, 24 in number, in three chapters: the early Alupas, the medieval Alupas and the later Alupas. While tracing the political history of the Alupas, the author has fixed the chronology and genealogy of these rulers in a more precise manner than other scholars. Throughout these chapters the author describes the relations of the Alupas with the ruler of Karnataka and Tamil. He critically examines the views of other scholars like Fleet, Dr. Saletore, Dr. G.M. Moraes, and Coelho, and his conclusions are based on the new inscriptions, thus making this book an improvement on the earlier works.

A note on the early inscriptions in South Kanara is given on pp. 73-75. In it the author not only fixes dates of these undated inscriptions, but also shows that the independent scriptal development in the later inscriptions was due to the political isolation of the Aluva Kheda, which followed the expulsion of Chitravahana II, from the Pombuchcha region. These points have not been noticed by the other scholars who worked on the history of the Alupas.

The undated inscription of Talangere refers to Jayasimha. The author considers him as a member of the Alupa family and Kundavarma's successor (p. 100). It is difficult to accept this opinion of the author. The inscription traces the descent of King Jayasimha to Gautama, his son Saradvat, his brother Santanu, his son Kripa and, after many other kings, Salya. From this one can get an impression that Gautama, Saradvat, Santanu and Kripa were rulers before Jayasimha. But the names of these rulers are not found in the genealogy of the Alupas. Therefore, Jayasimha mentioned in the inscription may be the ruler of Kumbala, where Talangere is now situated. Of course, it was then within the Aluva Kheda.

As regards the Karadi Inscription dated 1115 A.D., the author points out the mistakes committed by other scholars in interpreting it. He gives the text of the inscription as follows: "Aluvakhedava-aruasasiradalu nigalavikki" and then interprets it as "having pressed against (the territory of) Aluvakheda 6000" (p. 109). This interpretation has thrown new light on the Alupa-Hoysala relations which were entirely different according to Dr. Saletore, Coelho and Derrett. In the light of this interpretation, we have to form the opinion that "Setti-gavunda was not defending the Hoysala territory or the principality of Santalige-1000 against Alupa invasion, but that he had led an invading army into the Alupa kingdom itself, and was successful" (p. 109). Setti-gavunda invasion took place before 1107, and this did not result in the loss of territory for the Alupas. The author has arrived at this conclusion on the basis of the inscription.

Chapter V deals with the Hoysala occupation of South Kanara, their contact with the Alupas and its effect on South Kanara. The encounter between the forces of Ballala III and the Tuluva army is

recorded in an inscription from Hangavadi dated 1319 A.D. According to it, Basava Deva of Candavuru below the ghats had rebelled against the Hoysalas for some unknown reasons. At this Sankiya Sahani, the brother-in-law of the senior house (palace) minister Baiclya Dananayaka, was directed to march against Basava Deva. Candavuru was destroyed and Sankiya Sahani proceeded against Mutla.....which he besieged. In the battle of the ghats, as it is called in the records, the Tuluvas were destroyed". On the basis of this the author remarks, "the inscription clearly suggests that Basava Deva was assisted in the battle against the Hoysala forces by the ruler of the Tuluva country by which is meant the Alupa ruler" (p. 137). In this connection he quotes the inscription which refers to the reign of Alupa Soyidevarasa in the southern part of North Kanara. He thinks that Basava Deva, the ruler of Chandavura, was in all probability a feudatory of Alupa Soyidevarasa (p. 138).

On the following grounds it is difficult to accept the interpretation of the author that Basava Deva, ruler of Chandavara, was assisted by the Alupa ruler:

- (1) The record nowhere clearly mentions the help given by the Alupa rulers to Chandavara against the Hoysala.
- (2) Epigraphical evidence shows that the Alupas neither lost their territory nor acknowledged the suzerainty of the Hoysala as a result of this battle (Author accepts this on page 138). This itself indicates that the Alupas were not involved in this conflict with Chandavara against the Hoysala. This conflict affected Chandavara only.
- (3) There is a possibility to believe that by that year Chandavara was within Tuluva and the Tuluva forces here mean the forces of the Chandavara Kadamba.
- (4) The Hoysala inscriptions start appearing in South Kanara from 1333 A.D.

On the effect of the Hoysala invasion on South Kanara, the author remarks: "It marked a turning point in the history of South Kanara which once for ever came to lose its political isolation" (p. 134) "for a brief period South Kanara was simultaneously ruled by three powers, those of the Alupas, of the Hoysala queen, Chik-kayi-Tayi and of Vijayanagara" (p. 149).

The activities of Vijayanagara in South Kanara are narrated in detail in Chapter VI. Vijayanagara reign in South Kanara is noticed for the first time in a record dated 1345 A.D. It is worth noticing the interpretation of the author regarding the circumstances which brought about the annexation of South Kanara. The author observes: "the rulers of Vijayanagara could hope to build up a formidable cavalry only with the help of horses imported from Arabia and for

doing this they needed suitable ports. It is not unlikely that South Kanara, which possessed such ports in Mangalore and Barakuru was annexed to the empire on this account" (p. 151). In this chapter the author mentions the names of the Governors who served under Vijayanagara, narrates the history of local dynasties like the Bangas, the Chautas, the Kalasa-Karkalas and the Saluvas, indicates their connection with Vijayanagara, and describes inter-dynastic relationship. These are his original contributions.

From the lists of Governors of Mangaluru and Barakuru rajyas we are able to see that (1) same Governor was ruling over Barakuru and Mangaluru rajyas on occasions; (2) from 1515 A.D. the appointment of Governor for Mangaluru rajya was given up due to the existence of "a number of principalities in Mangaluru rajya and Krishna-Devaraya appeared to have let these petty chieftains much to themselves as long as they proved their obedience to his authority. This practice continued till 1565 A.D." (p. 213); (3) a Muslim Governor, Yekadhalakhana-Odeya at Barakuru, took keen interest in restoring the grandeur and sanctity of Kotesvara temple in 1551 A.D.

On the evidence of epigraphy the author asserts that most of Barakuru rajya continued to form a part of the empire without a break, during the troubled days which followed in the latter half of the 15th century in Vijayanagara (p. 202).

As regards early history of Chauta, the author relies on the article of Standford Smith, 'Chowta', published in the quarterly journal of Mythic Society in 1955 (p. 159). But the author of this article has simply copied the accounts given by Mr. Ganapati Rao Aigal, including the chronological errors contained in them. Much reliance therefore, should not be placed on this article while tracing the early history of the Chautas. It is wrong to say that someone other than Vikra Chauta was the first known ruler of this dynasty. Similarly, with reference to the end of the Bangas the author quotes the view of Buchanan (p. 232), which is not correct. Study of inscriptions, contemporary literature and other sources prove that the Bangas continued to rule till the fall of the Keladi Nayakas.

Pandyappa-Odeya, mentioned in the Venur inscription dated 1537 A.D. found at Shantisvara Basadi, is stated here as a ruler of Karkala (p. 233). The inscription mentions "Salura Pandya Devarasarada Ajila". This gives an impression that Saluvapandya Devarasa was not the Bhairarasa ruler of Karkala but the Ajila ruler. At the same time there is no record which proves that the Ajila territory was included in the kingdom of Kalasa Karkala.

The reign of Gururaya-Odeya of Sangitapura actually came to an end in 1532 A.D. and not sometime before 1542 A.D. as the author has noticed (p. 229). Gururaya-Odeya was followed by Immadi Deva

Raya, whose name has been left out in this book (see *Karnataka Inscriptions* Vol. III, part I, no. 78 of 39-40, p. 54; *ibid* no. 77 of 39-40 p. 43).

On the basis of two inscriptions found at Bhatkala the author traces the conflict of Chennadevi Amma with the Portuguese (pp. 229-30). To make it clear, it would have been better if the author had stated the circumstances which led to the conflict. "Chennadevi Amma is to be identified with Chenna-Bhairadevi-Amma" (p. 230). The study of inscriptions dated 1542 and 1556 A.D. reveals that these were two different rulers (see *Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part I, no. 76 of 39-40; *ibid*, no. 80 of 39-40).

While tracing the Nagari rulers, the author observes that Immadi Devaraya had another name Immadi Saluva Krishna Devaras Odeya (p. 237). The same is mentioned in the genealogy of Nagari rulers, but an inscription dated 1542 clearly mentions that Salva Krishna Devarasa was different from Immadi Devaraya (see *K. I.*, Vol. III, part I, no. 74 of 39-40, p. 31). The author ends the reign of Krishna Devarasa in the year 1547, but epigraphical evidence proves that his reign extended upto 1559 (see *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy*, 1957-58, inscription no. 336; *ibid*, no. 339; *Annual Report, South Indian Epigraphy*, 1939-40, no. 113).

It is surprising why the author has not stated a few words about Chenna-Bhairadevi of Geresoppa whose reign commenced from 1562 A.D. (see *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy*, 1950-51, no. 24, p. 12).

The nature of kingship, administrative units and other features are discussed in detail in Chapter VII. While describing these features the author has thrown light on the working of local assemblies and the guilds which flourished during the period. The differences among Nakhara Settikars and Hanjamanas have also been mentioned. The word Hanjamana has been discussed thoroughly and here the author suggests that there is a possibility of existence of Arabic and Persian merchant settlements in the Coastal kingdom of the Alupas (p. 253). This remark induces future historians to investigate this matter and bring to light the nature of contact between the coast of Karnataka and Arabia. The last two chapters narrate the social, economic, and religious condition of South Kanara till the fall of Vijayanagara. The chapter on religion would have been enlightening if the author had said a few words about Islam and Christianity, especially the former since it formed a powerful section in Vijayanagara.

While describing the social and economic condition of South Kanara, the author has ignored the accounts of foreign travellers. Incorporation of a critical study of these travellers' accounts would have further enhanced the value of this work. Index and contents are properly arranged. From the bibliography given on pages 314-17 one

can notice that the author has made no study of *Dakshina Kannada Jilleya Prachina Itihasa* by M. G. Aigal, 1923-24. The present work would have been more interesting if the author had critically examined the views of Aigal.

The printing and get-up are good. The reviewer may point out one minor error in the work: the equivalent of 1379 Saka has been given as 1557 A.D. instead of 1455-56 A.D. (p. 190).

The book contains a weighty foreward by Dr. G. S. Dikshit, which informs us about the original contributions of the author.

On the whole, the book is a useful contribution to the field of history. It narrates the history of South Kanara primarily from inscriptions; therefore, it is better to call it "History of South Kanara from Inscriptions". By presenting this well-written and well-documented work, the author has attracted the attention of lovers of history. We may confidently expect from him further useful work in the field of history.

K. G. VASANTHA MADHAVA

British Diplomacy and Administration in India by Dr. S. R. Bakshi (Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, New Delhi, 1971; pp. 228; price Rs. 28.00).

MINTO I held the office of Governor-General between Wellesley and the Earl of Moira. His period (1807-13) marks an important stage in the development of British foreign policy and administration in India. However, no serious attempt has been made to study his Governor-Generalship. It is, therefore, welcome to note that Dr. S. R. Bakshi has undertaken the study of Minto I. His book fills a serious gap in modern Indian history.

The major portion of the book deals with diplomatic and foreign affairs. Chapter I discusses the attitude of Minto towards the threat of a French invasion of India following the extension of French influence in Persia. Minto decided to counteract this danger by concluding defensive alliances with the border states. Consequently, he sent diplomatic missions to Lahore, Sind, Kabul and Persia.

The author has explained the circumstances which compelled the border states to conclude treaties with the British Government, but he has nowhere referred to the role of Charles Metcalfe, Captain Seton, Mountstuart Elphinstone and John Malcolm in the negotiations that led to the conclusion of the treaties. It may be argued that while the idea of despatching missions to the border states was that of Minto I, the credit for its implementation goes to men like Elphinstone, Malcolm and Metcalfe.

Chapter VIII deals with the administrative measures of Minto I. According to the author, "the administrative measures adopted were largely intended for the welfare of the governed" (p. 157). Few would agree with the contention. The welfare of the governed was only an incidental consideration for the British rulers in India. Their primary aim was to perpetuate their rule in India and to achieve that end, they subordinated all principles of administration to imperialist considerations.

The chapter on administration is descriptive and uncritical. There is no attempt to analyse the administrative policies of Minto I, or to examine them in their proper historical perspective. The concluding chapter suffers from the same defect.

In spite of its shortcomings, the *British Diplomacy and Administration in India* is a welcome publication. Based on a study of original sources such as Home, Foreign, Military, Revenue and Judicial Departments records, Parliamentary Papers and other official documents, the book will be useful for students of modern Indian history. It is only hoped that in the revised edition, the author would attempt a critical analysis of the foreign and domestic policies of Minto I. He would also do well to refer to the early life and career of Minto I which has so far not been studied by any historian.

MUSHIRUL HASAN

Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vol. 1, edited by Dr. S. Gopal (Orient Longman Ltd., 1972; pp. 410; price Rs. 60.00).

TO the modern disciples of Pyrrho, history will appear not exactly what a historian is pleased to write, but, more fundamentally, what the source material for facts will actually bring to light. Within the dimensions of objective inquiry, the historian's new emphasis, therefore, is projected towards a study of the source material with the obvious intension of letting the facts speak for themselves. Dr. Gopal's treatment of the Nehru Papers is an intelligent approach to modern Indian history through the selected writings of a man who as a historical personage established for himself a place in the imagination of the Indian nation second only to the Mahatma during the Gandhian era of national struggle, and after Gandhi, claimed an era of his own in modern history as the Prime Minister of the world's largest democracy for 17 years.

Nehru as a boy of 14 in 1903, or as a youngman of 35 in 1924, could not have anticipated the greatness for which he was destined. But the period from 1903 to 1924, more or less, was a formative period in the life of Nehru as a man for the future. From his writings of that period, which the first volume of the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* contains, the making of the man as well as the evolution of his mind both in a strictly personal and a wider national background are

discernible. The Editor's credit, while arranging the documents, lies in giving in briefly worded footnotes, references to related subjects in a broader context. That links the Nehru Papers to national history.

For nearly 10 years at London, the student Nehru was an inquisitive, though distant, observer of the Indian political developments. With his father actively participating in Congress politics, and the Congress moving towards more radical ideologies, young Nehru's interest to know things was natural, and while expressing his views to his father on what he gathered, he ventured to express the radicalism of the Indian youth, typical of the period 1905-10, and could not mentally adjust his thought to the known ideas of the cautious old guards, including the redoubtable Motilal whom he would not hesitate to criticise as "immoderately moderate". At 18, Jawaharlal raised the issue with his father: "You are still very moderate but I hardly expected you to become an extremist. I personally like to see the Government blamed and censured as much as possible but perhaps it is better to be temperate. As regards John Bull's good faith I have not as much confidence in him as you have." Jawaharlal's estimate of many Indian leaders of that period was deeply meaningful in a historical perspective. The Editor's brief reference to such leaders helps the reader to recollect their respective roles and policies.

On a strictly personal level, the letters of Nehru's early years reveal much of the development of his inner personality, traits of character and individuality. The future agnostic, the social reformer, and the freedom fighter in him gradually stand revealed in his strictly personal correspondence. Side by side, the joyous, care-free and happy-go-lucky youngman was growing up into an intellectual of serious concerns for a purposive future. From a biographical point of view, Nehru's letters and writings are no less revealing than his autobiography.

The emergence of Nehru as a political leader and political thinker is clearly perceptible in his writings as a young lawyer and nationalist. His early political addresses are fine specimens of thoughtful political considerations worthy of a future statesman. Such essays as "Roads to Freedom" (being an incomplete review of Bertrand Russell's book, *Roads to Freedom*) are testimonies to Nehru's literary genius. Side by side, they manifest his scholarly approach to political theories. Nehru's letters to editors and his other personal correspondence throw a good deal of light on the inner developments of the Indian politics of those years. Almost intuitively the young leader had understood the Hindu-Muslim problem in its real depth, on which the future history so much depended, and had developed an ultra modern approach to it wherein he wanted to raise politics far above dogmas which separated the two communities. One also discovers a quickly developing thought process in Nehru leading him, as if compellingly, towards Gandhian ideologies. The depth and nature of that identification are also clear. On a strictly personal side, there are confessions of personal weaknesses, examples of rear honesty and truthfulness typical of the man.

Nehru's writings of the era of Non-cooperation bring to forefront the real patriot in him. Some excellent pieces of patriotic utterances came from his pen during the early twenties of the century. Defending himself at the Court of Trial in 1922 he declared that "the Courts in India merely register the decrees of the executive. They are being used today even more than ever before to prop up the fabric of a Government which has misgoverned India long enough and of which the prestige is gone for ever." (Statement at Trial on 17 May 1922 before the Judge K. N. Knox). "I marvel at my good fortune. To serve India in the battle of freedom is honour enough. To serve her under a leader like Mahatma Gandhi is doubly fortunate. But to suffer for the dear country, what greater good fortune could befall an Indian unless it be death for the cause or the full realisation of our glorious dream." In those years of national struggle, Nehru's writing also reveal the making of an internationalist, a sphere in which he earned reputation in the years to follow.

Finally, there was the making of a historian in Nehru inside the British prison during the Non-cooperation days. The books he studied, and the understanding that followed the study, point to a mental inclination which culminated in later years in attempts to write some valuable works on history.

The first volume of *Collected Works* shows roughly the formative half of Nehru's life. It is natural to expect that the subsequent volumes would reveal the man in his more elaborate role amid the complex developments of national and international history. A little more elaborately descriptive footnotes from the Editor's pen may further add to the historical value of the said volumes.

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