

The Indian Archives

Jan - June 1981

A

V2 : 8m N81

N81.30.1

34764

21.4.1981

Esle

S.No. 2

INDIAN ARCHIVES

Volume XXX

Number 1

January-June--1981

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

Modern records: retirement and appraisal practice by *Morris Rieger*.

The Genealogical Society of Utah and South Asia: Present and future by *Monte McLaws*.

Letters to the West from Mughal India by *John Correia-Afonso*.

Published by the National Archives of India
A New Delhi

V2: 8mN 81

N 81-20-1

109

S.No 21

THE INDIAN ARCHIVES

Editor

S. A. I. TIRMIZI

Director of Archives

Assistant Editor

SATYA PAL

Assistant Director of Archives

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

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

Annual Subscription

Inland : Rs. 19

Foreign : £ 2.22 or \$ 6.84

Single copy

Rs. 10

£ 1.17 or \$ 3.60

All communications, contributions, and book reviews should be addressed to:

The Editor

The Indian Archives

National Archives of India

New Delhi-110 001.

Volume XXX

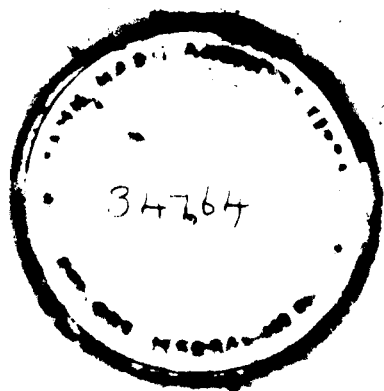
January—June 1981

Number 1

Published by the National Archives of India
New Delhi

1—241 Dir. of Arch. ND/81

169



V2:8 m N81

N81.30.1

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Modern Records Retirement and Appraisal practice by <i>Morris Rieger</i>	1
Genealogical Society of Utah and South Asia : Present and Future by <i>Monte McLaws</i>	15
Khatapatras as a Source of Urban History by <i>M. J. Mehta</i>	22
Letters to the West from Mughal India by <i>John Correia-Afonso</i>	30
The parsis and the West States through some unused Documents by <i>Dwijendra Tripathi</i>	36
Some Archival Observations on an Evangelical Tract by <i>Nancy Gardner Cassels</i>	47
News Notes :	
<i>India</i> : National Archives of India—Archival Activities in the States—Assam, Rajasthan	58
<i>International</i> : International Council on Archives—Executive Committee Meeting—Committee on Archival Development—Meeting of ICA General Assembly—ICA Round Table Conference—Meeting of Automation Committee—Meeting of Sigillography Committee—Committee on Business Archives—Meeting of the Joint Committee ICA/IRMF—Joint FID/ICA/IFLA Meeting—Seminar on Management of Archives—Seminar on ADP for Archives—Guide to Sources of History of Nations—Meeting of Swarika Executive Board—UNESCO—Australia—Canada—Chile—China—Dominican Republic—France—German Democratic Republic—Italy—Malaysia—Papua New Guinea—Spain—United Kingdom	63
Book Reviews :	
<i>Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru Volume X</i> , Ed. S. Gopal, reviewed by Ravinder Kumar	71
<i>Surendranath Banerjee and History of Modern India</i> , by Bani Banerjee, reviewed by M. N. Das	74
'White Mutiny' : <i>The Ilbert Bill Crisis in India and Genesis of the Indian National Congress</i> , by E. Hirschmann, reviewed by S. Gopal	76
<i>Rajputana Agency 1831—58</i> , by V. K. Vashishtha, reviewed by Raghubir Singh	76

(ii)

<i>The Rig-Vedic Culture and the Indian Civilisation</i> , by A.N. Chandra, reviewed by Lallanji Gopal	84
<i>Anglo-Maratha Relations and Malcolm</i> , by U. N. Chakravorty, reviewed by Sushma Varma	86
<i>The Administration of Lord Auckland in India, 1836—42</i> by P.S. Mukharya, reviewed by Hira Lal Singh	89
<i>History of Modern Karnataka</i> , by I.M. Muthanna, reviewed by S.V. Desika Char	91
<i>The Voyage of the Komagata Maru—The Sikh Challenge to Canada's Colour Bar</i> , by Hugh Johnston, reviewed by Hari Singh	92
Contributors to this issue	96

THE INDIAN ARCHIVES

Volume XXX

January-June 1981

Number 1

*MODERN RECORDS RETIREMENT AND APPRAISAL PRACTICE¹

MORRIS RIEGER

THIS paper is concerned with a crucial transitional stage in the life cycle of records, the stage during which records created or accumulated by an agency of government², are judged to be non-current and removed from active use by their creators and, in collaboration with concerned archivists, are 'retired'; i.e. after a series of processes culminating in their evaluation or appraisal, the records are either transferred to an archival institution for permanent retention there as archives, or are destroyed. This retirement stage is a transitional one, too, in the sense that it forms a bridge between the functions and activities of current 'records management', which take place primarily within the agencies of origin, and those of 'archives administration', which occur primarily in the archival institution.

Retirement of records as they become non-current is inevitable. The only alternative is between unplanned chaotic retirement on the one hand and considered systematic retirement on the other in which retirement decisions are made on the basis of record values.

Unplanned retirement, unfortunately, is very widespread. It usually consists, initially, in the relegation of non-current records to out-of-the way space in cupboards, corridors, attics, cellars, and the like, in order to free office space for the latest current records. Then, when there is no remaining space even in the attics and cellars, and yet more space is required in the operating offices for new records and staff, the agency authorities

¹Reproduced from the UNESCO Journal of Information Science, Librarian-ship and Archives Administration, Vol. 1, No. 3, July-September 1979 with kind permission of UNESCO—Editor.

often decide to destroy a greater or lesser part of the older records, usually on an arbitrary basis. The tendency toward this kind of thoughtless destruction has been greatly exacerbated by the typically greatly increased rates of records production in recent decades.

Wanton destruction of this nature not only deprives the archives of documentation having permanent archival value, but also deprives the agency itself of materials it may well need in the future as evidence of the evolution of its own past organization, policies, programmes and operations, and for background and precedential use in developing new programmes.

The only antidote to this kind of irrational retirement is a rational retirement process where thought is given to the future needs of the agency and the archival institution alike in so far as non-current records are concerned. During the past twenty-five to thirty-five years, beginning in the United States, experience has evolved a multi-stage retirement procedure that tends to ensure that all parties involved — particularly the agencies and the archives — know what they are doing and achieve the result they wish; that is, the elimination sooner or later of all non-current public records, except the small valuable core that merits permanent retention at the archives, while at the same time maintaining in existence the ultimately disposable records that have no archival potential as long as they are needed by the agency of origin, other agencies, and the public.

That multi-stage retirement process consists of (a) the preparation of inventories or surveys of all the extant records of each agency³; (b) the analysis of the agency inventory or survey from the retirement viewpoint³; (c) the preparation of retirement instruments of various kinds proposing and controlling the ultimate disposition (i.e. actions taken with respect to retirement) of the agency's records⁴; (d) the careful appraisal of the specific retirement proposals made in the retirement instruments — i.e. their review and their approval or disapproval, on the basis of objective criteria of value⁵; and (e) the implementation of the provisions of the approved retirement instruments in accordance with the applicable appraisal decisions⁵.

Closely related to the retirement process is the relatively new device of the intermediate records centre, which gives all concerned in the process the time to carry it out in a considered manner by eliminating, as a key factor, the essentially irrelevant pressure of lack of space at the agency of origin or at the archives.

It is the centre's primary function to provide temporary storage space for non-current records that is considerably less expensive than that at the agency of origin or at the archives. Thus non-current records may be maintained there economically until the provisions of the applicable retirement instruments become effective and the covered records may either be transferred to the archival institution or destroyed.

INVENTORIES OR SURVEYS

The first step in the retirement process requires that descriptive information be gathered by the agency of origin concerning all of the records in its custody, i.e. all of the records that will eventually be subject to retirement.

To establish this factual foundation for retirement action, it is standard practice for the official responsible for records in each agency (usually called the 'records manager' or some variant thereof) to make, and keep up to date, a comprehensive inventory of all of the current records maintained in his agency—at every hierarchical, i.e. organizational, level (bureau, division, branch, section unit, etc.)—as well as all noncurrent records kept in either accessible or inaccessible storage.

It is the 'series' which is typically used as the unit of description in the inventory and in the later phases of the retirement process. In archival terms a series may be defined as a body of records, of greater or lesser quantity, whose constituent documents or groups of documents are closely interconnected in some manner such as by a common pattern of organization, or by a common subject to which they all relate, or by a common physical format, or by any other common characteristic or characteristics that link them together into a distinctive whole. Usually the documentation comprising a series is arranged in accordance with a particular classification or other filing scheme, e.g. a decimal scheme, an alphabetical scheme, a numeric scheme, an alphanumeric scheme, a chronological scheme, or some more or less complex variation of any of these.

For each series in agency custody the inventory should provide the following minimal information:

- (a) the name of the custodial agency and of the organizational subdivision of that agency which created and has physical possession of the series;
- (b) a short descriptive title of the series;

- (c) the types of documents of which the series primarily consists (e.g., correspondence, reports, minutes, etc.);
- (d) the main subject or subjects to which it relates;
- (e) the inclusive dates of the period during which it accumulated (the beginning date only in the case of a current series);
- (f) its size in terms of linear feet or metres or fractions thereof (plus the estimated rate of annual accumulation for a still growing series);
- (g) a brief indication of its pattern of arrangement; and
- (h) an estimate, if it is a current series, of when it is likely to become noncurrent and therefore retirable.

The usual way for the records manager to gather the above information is by means of a questionnaire form which is filled out separately for each series in custody. This is customarily done either by the records manager (or one of his staff) or by personnel in the custodial office concerned.

ANALYSIS

Upon completion of the agency inventory or survey the next stage consists in its analysis by the records manager and his staff in order to determine, from the agency standpoint, the appropriate retirement action to be proposed to the archival authorities for each of the series covered by the inventory. Possible retirement actions include immediate disposal (i.e. destruction), disposal after a specified interval of time or upon the occurrence of a specified future event, disposal upon microfilming with permanent retention of the microfilm copy, or permanent retention of the original records in an archival institution.

RETIREMENT INSTRUMENTS

Retirement actions are proposed to the archival authorities by the agencies of origin, and their execution (if approved) is controlled, by means of a variety of retirement instruments. Among them are: the disposal list, the simple disposal schedule, the comprehensive schedule, the general schedule, and the transfer or accession offer to the archival institution.⁶ Each of these will now be defined in turn:

The 'disposal list' is a form serving as an application to dispose at once of an existing, specifically described body or bodies of records, usually one or more series. When approved by the

appraisal officials at the concerned archival institution, it provides one-time authorization to dispose of the records covered by it.

Because the disposal list was inefficient, i.e. because repeated resubmission of identical lists was necessary to dispose of recurring records, the 'disposal schedule' was developed. This instrument, when approved by the appraiser, authorizes, on a continuing basis, the destruction of recurring or continuing records, usually one or more series, after the lapse of a specified time period or upon the occurrence of a specified future event. Unlike the list, which is now rarely used, the schedule is still a viable instrument, its principal shortcoming is the fact that it provides only partial, usually very limited, coverage of the total records of the creating agency.

To remedy the latter deficiency two basic variants of the original simple disposal schedule have been developed: the 'comprehensive schedule' and the 'general schedule'.

The 'comprehensive schedule' covers all of the records relating to substantive matters of a relatively small ministry, department, or other agency, or all of such records of a major organizational subdivision of a large agency—bureau, division, branch, etc. What it does is to propose precisely, series by series, the disposition (i.e. the retirement arrangements), whether by permanent retention in the archives or by ultimate disposal, to be made of the records of the agency or agency subdivision involved. In other words the comprehensive schedule proposes an overall records retirement programme for the covered agency, although customarily it applies only to the latter's substantive records, leaving strictly administrative or 'housekeeping' records to be controlled by the general schedules which will be considered next.

The 'general records schedule' is retirement instrument that governs the disposition of specified recurring classes of records common to several or all agencies—records that are mostly of an administrative/'housekeeping' nature, such as those relating to personnel, budgeting, procurement and supplies, transportation, etc. Because they apply to records to be found in many or all agencies, the general schedules are prepared by the central archival institution on behalf of all agencies rather than by any one of them. The general schedules constitute a highly valuable retirement instrument because the great bulk—in sheer quantity—of records created by government agencies are covered

by them. The use of a relatively small number of general schedules—each concerned with a main class of administrative/‘house-keeping’ records—has enormously simplified retirement practices in the United State Government.

It should be noted that the general schedules are similar to the comprehensive schedules in that they both provide for retirement by archival retention as well as disposal action. The major difference is that the general schedules cut horizontally across all agencies by class of administrative records covered, while comprehensive schedules apply vertically to the substantive records of individual agencies. Indeed the two types of schedules are complementary in nature, having, between them, the potential of completely regulating agency records retirement programmes.

Another major retirement instrument allied to the comprehensive schedule and the general schedule is the offer to transfer records to the archival institution, often called the ‘accession offer’. Such offers are made when the offering agency considers the records involved to have permanent archival value. Ideally they should each cover only one or more series, previously included in a comprehensive schedule, which have been adjusted as ‘accessionable’, i.e. as having permanent value in the view of the archival appraiser. However, records, are often offered for transfer before the agency’s comprehensive schedule has been prepared, in which case any particular offer may well be rejected by the archives, when appraised, on the ground that it lacks permanent value.

It should be emphasized that, of the several retirement instruments that we have been discussing—the disposal list, the simple disposal schedule, the comprehensive schedule, the general schedule, and the accession offer—all but the general schedule are proposals for disposition submitted by the agencies that originated the records to the archival institution for its approval. This power of decision over disposition action is typically reserved to the archives in modern legislation governing the administration of public records because it is necessarily a fundamental responsibility of the public archival institution to determine which public records are valuable enough to merit permanent preservation in its custody. Prior archival approval of agency implementation of general schedules is unnecessary, however, because—by their very nature—they are developed by the archival institution itself.

APPRAISAL

The process by means of which the archival institution reviews the retirement instruments submitted to it by the agencies

of origin and decides whether to approve or disapprove them in each case is termed the ‘appraisal’ process, and the specialist archivists who are responsible for this work are called ‘appraisers’. Basically what the appraiser does is to determine whether the records covered by the retirement instruments are sufficiently valuable to be transferred to and retained permanently in the custody of the archival institution or, because they lack permanent value, to authorize their destruction after a greater or lesser period of time.

Determination of archival value is an act of judgement and therefore necessarily more or less subjective. But it is possible to minimize such subjectivity by defining the objectives and criteria of appraisal, i.e. by setting forth standards of value in terms of which the appraiser makes his judgements. It should be stressed that the appraiser is not concerned with ‘primary values’, those of the records for the originating agency in connection with the implementation of its basic functions, but rather with ‘secondary values’, the residual values the records may possess once they have become non-current. These secondary values fall into the following principal categories⁷:

- (a) Continuing administrative, legal and/or financial values for the agency of origin and/or other agencies even after the records have lost their primary value for current operations.
- (b) Values that records may possess which serve to protect the civic, legal, property and other rights of individual citizens or the public at large—the ‘individual rights’ values.
- (c) ‘Evidentiary’ or ‘functional documentation’ values—i.e. those reflecting the historical evolution of the creating agency in terms of its powers and functions as established by law or other regulation, its organizational structure, its programmes, policies procedures, decisions and significant operations. Key records having such values are needed over the long term as evidence of the agency’s stewardship of the powers and responsibilities officially assigned to it. Moreover, by exploiting the experience embodied in these records, future officials whose work lies in the same areas of responsibility may benefit from both the successes and failures of their predecessors. Basically records of this kind help to give continuity and consistency to the actions of the creating agency over time.

- (d) Informational values, i.e. those contributing substantially to research and scholarship in any field of knowledge. The appraisal process here weighs the potential research values of records for the historian, political scientist, economist, sociologist, geographer, statistician—indeed for social and physical scientists and students of the humanities in every discipline.

Determination, either positively or negatively, of archival values under categories (a), (b) and (c) above is relatively easy in view of the specificity and concreteness of the questions that the appraiser must raise concerning these categories. However, the competent appraisal of records for their informational values, i.e. category (d)—requires knowledge, on the part of the appraisers, of the subject-matter fields involved in the respective bodies of records under appraisal. In this connection, since no appraiser can be universally knowledgeable, each must specialize in a broad subject-matter field (such as foreign affairs, military affairs, industry, commerce, agriculture, labour, etc.) and in that field have a basic professional knowledge of research methodology, needs and trends as well as a substantive expertise in its particular subject-matter—all of this so that he may be capable of evaluating a body of records under review from the standpoint of its likely utility for research in the field in the foreseeable future. Moreover, in making his judgement the appraiser must take into account the existence of other relevant documentation, published as well as unpublished, and consider whether the possible informational value of the records under appraisal is not otherwise available. Above all, he must base his conclusions not on unsupported institution or supposition, but on a thoroughgoing logical analysis of all relevant data bearing on the case. Inevitably since it would be impossible for the typical archival institution to have on its staff a full complement of specialists in all fields of research, however broadly conceived, it will be necessary, particularly in borderline cases, for appraisers to consult outside experts, usually from the academic world.

We have discussed the four main criteria employed by appraiser-archivists to test the value of records referred to them. Records meeting one or more of these standards of value are considered accessionable by the archival institution, those which do not meet any of the standards are considered disposable. The appraiser typically incorporates his conclusions in an appraisal report on each retirement instrument—list, schedule or accession offer—submitted by the agencies of origin, a report which takes specific account of each constituent item therein. After the

appraisal report has been reviewed by higher authority within the archival institution—usually by its director—it is returned to the submitting agency for implementation.

Clearly appraisal is not an easy task, indeed it is probably the most demanding of all of the professional responsibilities of the archivist. The considerable effort involved, however, is fully justified by the importance of the appraisal phase of the retirement process. It is the key phase by virtue of the fact that appraisal decisions irrevocably determine the content of the archives to be preserved permanently and therefore the nature of the sources available for use in the future by government, the research community and the public generally.

IMPLEMENTATION

Generally speaking it is the agencies of origin that execute the retirement instruments in accordance with the appraisal decisions made by the archival institutions. There is only one significant exception: where the covered records have been deposited in an intermediate records centre⁸ by the agency of origin, it is the former which has the responsibility for implementation, acting, however, with the full knowledge of the latter.

In either case implementation takes two basic forms depending on the provisions of the retirement instrument as approved:

- (a) physical transfer to the archives of the originals or of high-quality microcopies of records adjudged permanently valuable, in accordance with a time-table agreed upon by the parties, and
- (b) disposal of records adjudged insufficiently valuable to warrant permanent preservation, such disposal to be carried out by the custodian—agency of origin or records centre—in strict conformity with the specific disposal instructions approved by the archives for each item in the retirement instrument.

Disposal instructions vary, but generally provide for either (a) immediate destruction of the originals and/or of microcopies of already accumulated records, or (b) regular destruction of the originals and/or of microcopies of records that are continuing to accumulate, upon the expiration of a stated 'retention period' the latter defined as a given interval after creation, or the occurrence of a specific event after creation, or a combination of the two. Actual physical disposal may be accomplished

by burning or shredding of the records if their content is security-classified or otherwise restricted, or, if not so restricted, by sale as waste for recycling.

To help ensure that agencies actually execute approved retirement instruments—this is mandatory under United States federal statute—reports on their implementation actions, citing the specific instruments involved, should regularly be submitted to the archival institution.

Two other subjects must now be considered as addenda to the above discussion of the main retirement process:

- (a) sampling and
- (b) the intermediate records centre.

SAMPLING

The need for sampling occurs when a very large body of records is judged to be permanently valuable by the appraiser, but is so large that is necessary, in the interest of spatial and financial economy, to compromise between that value determination and the reality of excessive quantity. In such a case the technique of sampling may be employed—i.e. the selection for transfer to the archives of a part, rather than the whole body, of the records involved.

The sample is selected in accordance with a purpose—designed sampling scheme, usually formulated by the appraiser in collaboration with the agency of origin, that is intended to preserve, in microcosm, the essential values of the records in question. It may be a 'representative sample' that truly reflects the overall informational content of the whole, or it may be a 'skewed sample', so devised as to select out those informational elements in the whole that are considered to have permanent value and to eliminate all others.

As a device to reduce, under the special circumstances described above, the quantity of permanently valuable records taken into archival custody, the sampling technique is most useful.

INTERMEDIATE RECORDS CENTRES

Though not actually part of the retirement process, the intermediate records centre is an invaluable adjunct facility closely associated with that process. The concept of the centre originated in the United States during the Second World War with the federal agency warehouses established to store in inexpensive space agency records referred to only occasionally.

In the years after the war, with legislative assistance, the individual agency warehouses were transformed into a nation-wide network of records centres centralized under the control of, and closely associated with, the United States National Archives.*

The intermediate records centre facilitates the retirement process in several ways.

First, the centre freely accepts transfers of records from the agencies of origin without any change in their legal status. Since the ownership of the records remains with the agencies of origin, the paperwork involved in the physical transfer is minimal. At the agencies' request records so transferred are serviced by centre personnel and lent back to the agencies without delay. All three of these factors—the maintenance of the original legal status as well as ease of transfer and rapidity of servicing—combine to encourage large-scale use by the agencies of low-cost centre space for the storage of their non-current records.

Second, the centre implements all retirement instruments currently in force which relate to records among its holdings. These instruments are applied by the centre just as they would be by the agency of origin if the records had remained there. Thus the centre regularly disposes of records scheduled for disposal in accordance with the appraisal decisions of the archival authorities. On the other hand it serves as a temporary holding area for records designated as permanently valuable in approved, comprehensive and other schedules, i.e. it temporarily stores such records until archival institution is ready to receive them.

Third, the centre itself prepares retirement instruments, particularly simple disposal schedules and transfer offers, for records not already controlled by such instruments upon arrival at the centre, and submits them—after obtaining the assent of the concerned agencies—to the archival institution for appraisal. For its part the archival institution regularly reviews the holdings of the centre to determine whether they include any unscheduled records worthy of transfer to the archives for permanent retention. Such records, after appraisal, are accessioned by the archives.

*For its history and historical evolution see D. R. McCoy, *The National Archives: America's Ministry of Documents*. See also *Director of Archives and Manuscript Repositories*. Both publications were issued in 1978 by the Society of American Archivists, Chicago, I 11.

In its intermediate position between the agency of origin and the archival institution, the records centre carries out its essential function of providing temporary storage space that is considerably less expensive, and more extensive, than that available at either agency or archives. The existence of such space—access to which is ordinarily easy to obtain—obviates, on the one hand, the danger that agencies would destroy records, regardless of their values, merely in order to clear needed space in their own premises, and, on the other, that, for the same reason, records of dubious value would be forced on the archives by the agencies. Basically the space resources of the records centre make it possible for the retirement process to proceed in a rational, carefully planned manner as the product of a close agency—archives collaboration.

Several concluding points remain to be made about the records retirement process in general.

First, it must be carried out regularly, systematically, and continuously, either in accordance with procedures like those described in this paper or in any other rationally conceived and designed manner. Such regular, systematic and continuous—indeed, orderly—retirement is indispensable if the archival institution, particularly the national archival institution, is to transcend the limited status of an historical archives and to successfully perform the task it has been established to perform on behalf of the Government it serves, the general public and the scholarly community—that task being to insure, over the long term, the preservation and use, under its knowledgeable professional control, of the small permanently valuable nucleus of the vast mass of records constantly being created by the government as a whole, and the efficient elimination of the valueless remainder.

Second, these considerations apply with particular force to the developing countries, where, despite several exceptions, there is typically no regular retirement of records created or otherwise accumulated in the government ministries after they have become non-current. Instead, for the most part, these records remain in ministerial custody, often under the conditions and subject to the dangers described in the second, third, and fourth paragraphs of this article. Moreover, over time this situation has been, and continues to be, exacerbated by the gradual increase in most countries of the number and size of the ministries in direct proportion to the increasing complexity of government responsibilities. As a result, in the majority of the countries of the Third World, the ministerial agencies of origin on the one

hand and the national archival institutions on the other are equally seriously handicapped in the performance of their essential functions by non-existent or defective records retirement systems.

Third, the solution to the problem lies in the realization by the appropriate authorities of developing nations of the need for, and the consequent adoption of, retirement programmes such as that outlined in this article, or its analogue. Beyond that, and indissolubly linked with it, is the need to train competent records retirement staff to operate the programme. Such personnel must be developed at two levels: records managers for the agencies of origin and archivists specializing in retirement and appraisal for the archival institutions. Opportunities for the required training already exist in developed countries and to a more limited extent in the several regional professional training centres and national training centres with a regional vocation now operating in the Third World.⁹ In addition, there is an increasing prospect for the provision of such training on an *ad-hoc* basis by means of seminars in records management¹⁰ promoted and sponsored by concerned intergovernmental and non-governmental bodies like Unesco and the International Council on Archives (ICA). Only with mounting official awareness of the urgent need for systematic records retirement and the gradual growth of trained retirement staff will it be possible to cope realistically with the present Third World crisis in this sphere.¹¹

NOTES

1. In recent years the author has given a course of lectures—dealing with the subject of this paper in greater depth and detail—to groups in the United Republic of Tanzania and in Argentina representative of their regions: respectively to (a) the Seminar on Records Management and Retirement held at Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, in October-November 1976 under the auspices of ECARBICA (East and Central African Branch, International Council on Archives) with the organizational and financial support of the German Foundation for International Development, and (b) the student body and interested faculty members of the Centro Interamericano de Formacion de Archiveros—the Latin-American regional archival training centre supported by the Organization of American States at the University of Córdoba, Argentina—in August-September 1977. The paper itself was read at the April 1978 General Conference of ECARBICA in Khartoum, Sudan.
2. We will here focus entirely on public records.
3. By the agency of origin.
4. By the agency of origin and/or the intermediate records centre (the latter to be discussed below).

5. By the archival institution.
6. These are the principal retirement instruments used by the U.S. Federal Government. Obviously the precise instruments will vary from country to country, but in every case they should be so designed as to carry-out effectively their essential purpose, that of proposing and controlling specific retirement action.
7. For a fuller discussion see: Morris Rieger, 'The Appraisal of Records for Potential Research Values', *Southeast Asian Archives*, Vol. 9, July 1976, p. 135-8; T. R. Schellenberg, *Modern Archives: Principles and Techniques*, p. 139-160, Chicago, I 11, 1956; 'The Appraisal of Modern Public Records', *U.S. National Archives and Records Service, Bulletin No. 8*, Washington, D. C., 1956; 'The Appraisal of Modern Public Records', *U.S. National How to Develop an effective Program for the Preservation and Disposal of Federal Records*, Publication, Nos. 50-53, Washington, D.C., 1949.
8. To be discussed below.
9. See: Morris Rieger, 'Archives in Developing Countries. The Regional Training Centre Movement', *American Archivist*, Vol. 35, April 1972, p. 163-71; 'Archivarausbildung für die Englischsprechenden Länder des Tropischen Afrika: Entwurf eines Curriculums für das Geplante Regional-Centrum in Accra', *Der Archivar*, Vol. 26, May 1973, p. 219-24.
10. Often the term 'records management'—which, in addition to records retirement, has a broader meaning involving the creation, maintenance, retrieval and use of current records—is employed as if it were synonymous with 'records retirement'.
11. See also *Planning of Archival Development in the Third World. Proceedings of the General Conference, Dakar, 28-31 January 1975*. Verlag Dokumentation, Posenbacherstr. 2b, D-8000 München, 1976, 117 p. (*Archivum*, special volume No. 1, edited by W. Lenz.)

*GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY OF UTAH AND SOUTH ASIA : PRESENT AND FUTURE

MONTE MCLAWS

THE Genealogical Society of Utah was founded in 1894 in Salt Lake City, Utah. Most of its facilities, including its library, are presently located in the headquarters building of the Mormons which organization totally finances its activities.

A complete catalogue of the types of sources being micro-filmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah is of course not possible for me to give here. It is sufficient to say that the society is primarily interested in the collection of records that permit the accurate identification of specific people in the past. While precedence is given to the acquisition of the more continuous and socially inclusive sources of information on named individuals, the Society sometimes supplements its collection of parish registers and civil registration with more specialized types of records such as census, probate, and naturalization. Collection is designed to be exhaustive of individuals' records, irrespective of national origin, race or religion.

The library of the Genealogical Society of Utah is open to the public without cost and although the great majority of its patrons are amateur and professional genealogists, scholars from a variety of disciplines also use its holdings. Recently, the University of Utah established the interdisciplinary "Centre for Historical Population Studies" to both conduct and to facilitate scholarly research in the collection of original source material on human populations gathered and administered by the Genealogical Society of Utah.

By preparing and publishing finding aids, promoting specific research projects, supporting outside researchers through fellowships, and sponsoring seminars, colloquia and conferences this Center is greatly assisting the library in fulfilling its commitment to the scholarly community.

At present the society's collections are being used for a study sponsored jointly by the American Cancer Society, the University of Utah, and the LDS Hospital endeavouring to

*Revised version of lecture delivered at the School of Archival Studies, National Archives of India, New Delhi.

determine whether cancer is hereditary and, if so, how we can predict it and warn living family members of the danger. The Yale University Medical School has spent many years in proving that twinning is based on heredity.

Although the Genealogical Society of Utah first filmed in 1938, the volume of its filming did not increase greatly until after World War II. In 1945 its collection consisted of only about 2,000 rolls which was the equivalent of 10,000 books of 300 pages each. By 1980 their holdings exceeded one million rolls and represented nearly five million volumes. It presently has over 100 cameras filming around the globe. The exposed film is sent to the Genealogical Society's processing center in Salt Lake City, Utah, Sao Paulo, Mexico City, Frankfurt, or Tokyo.

Each roll of film is assigned a computer control number so that its progress through the processing schedule can be closely monitored. The films are spliced together for developing in a processor. Once developed, each frame is inspected for readability. A spot check is also made to ensure proper light density. Any exposure not meeting a rigid standard of quality is retaken. Positive copies are then made for research use. Each negative roll is individually numbered and safely stored in vaults especially constructed and uniquely suited for the storage of microfilm. The Genealogical Society's vault facility has more than 5,850 square metres of floor space. There are six huge vault rooms with a total capacity for storing on film the equivalent of over twenty-five million volumes of three hundred pages each. There are nearly ninety metres of solid granite above the vault laboratory and office area and two hundred metres above the vault area itself. In such vaults microfilmed copies of the world's vital documents can be stored, securely protected from natural and man-caused disasters.

Although the Genealogical Society of Utah in one or two Western European countries has "completed", its work of micro-filming, in some other nations, particularly Eastern Europe, Africa, and Asia, it has only recently begun its acquisition efforts. One of these areas is South Asia.

South Asia for the Genealogical Society of Utah includes that part of the world included in the regional branch of the International Council on Archives called SWARBICA, or South and West Asia Regional Branch of the International Council on Archives which includes: Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India,

Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Although some preliminary work has been done in several of these countries actual acquisition of records on film from this area has taken place only in Sri Lanka.

The Genealogical Society of Utah has two current filming projects in Sri Lanka. One in the National Archives and one in the Registrar General's Office.

First, the National Archives. The Portuguese compiled registers of land ownership called "land Tombos". These Tombos legally described the land, recorded the full name, caste, and occupation of its owner along with the names of his family, including grandchildren and even more remote kinsmen of blood or marriage. The Dutch continued these registers and added a "School Tombo". In the villages of old Ceylon, schools and churches were closely connected. Wherever the Dutch Reformed Church established a church, a school was also started. The school master had to be of the Dutch Church and had the duty not only to teach but also watch over the Christian population and so registered the births, marriages and deaths in his parish. Sent to Colombo these registers were compiled into what were called school tombos, but in reality were "parish registers".

The Genealogical Society of Utah has nearly completed the filming of the records of this type that have survived and are deposited in the Sri Lankan National Archives. Unfortunately there is nothing from the Portuguese period, the dates running from 1696 to 1807. This is a relatively small project expected to total no more than fifty rolls.

A much larger filming project is in the Registrar General's Office. Whereas this office holds some school "Tombos" containing events dating back to 1704, as well as some Wesleyan, Roman Catholic and Baptist church records from 1822 to 1867, the vast majority of their records are marriage, birth, and death registers which date back to 1867. Recognizing their inadequate storage facilities and the high rate of document decay, the Sri Lankan government readily accepted the Genealogical Society of Utah's request to preserve their vital registers on microfilm. The actual filming of these records was begun in January 1980 and some 500 rolls have been completed to date. The size of the undertaking is enormous. It is anticipated the task will take about fifteen years with a yield of somewhere near 20,000 rolls and this is filming only down to 1930. These records are presently being catalogued for library use and donor copies have been made to be sent to the appropriate government office in Colombo.

Although the Genealogical Society of Utah has not yet begun filming in India itself it does have a sizable microfilm collection of records initially created in that part of the world but now deposited in England. I make reference to the Ecclesiastical Returns and the Testamentary records generated during the time of the British East India company and its successor, the India Office, and now housed in the India Office Library and Records in London.

The Ecclesiastical Returns, copies of church parish records of Christians in India, were sent to London from about 1700 on. Indexes were made regularly. These Returns, comprized almost totally of Anglican records but with a few Roman Catholic were filmed in 1967 by the Genealogical Society of Utah and total almost 900 rolls. Although virtually all are from India a few are of Pakistan and Burma. The returns are not complete. Some were lost at sea. Some were incomplete or incorrectly copied. It was also not unusual for the record keeper to annotate and update the original with new births and deaths that were never entered on to the copies.

The Genealogical Society of Utah is presently attempting to ascertain the extent of these deficiencies and if significant, whether originals, are extant and filmable.

The Testamentary records include copies of wills, and related administrative documents, inventories, and accounts associated with the probating of the estates of all persons of European extraction in India whether British subjects or not. This collection totals some 400 rolls and is largely in English. It has been indexed by the India Office Library, and catalogued by the Genealogical Society of Utah and available for research.

Beginning in January of 1981, the Genealogical Society of Utah, anticipates it will begin to add to its India collection by filming in India itself. Research continues to identify all the record types that we ultimately will seek to film but two major types have already been targeted for our initial acquisition efforts. These are Civil Registration and Hindu Pilgrimage registers.

Until 1969 there was no uniform legislation for the registration of births, and deaths applicable to the whole of India except the 1886 Act providing for the voluntary registration of vital events throughout the country. Prior to 1969 certain provinces passed their own Births and Deaths Registration Acts such as that of Bengal which dates back to 1873. Other provinces have legislated for birth and death registration by

framing rules under individual Municipal Acts. There is no registration of marriages performed according to the Hindu or Muslim rites and thus for the bulk of the population marriages are not registered. The birth and death records that do exist are not centrally located in Delhi or even in the capitals of each province, but rather scattered in Municipal, District, and provincial Offices. For example in Madras one finds civil registration records of that municipality dating back to 1867 deposited in the city's Health Department, whereas records of the population which commence as early as 1751 are found in the Provincial Registrar's Office in the same city. Microfilming could centralize these records and thus facilitate historical research. It is virtually impossible to estimate the total number of rolls the filming of India civil registration will produce, but it is surely to go over the half million mark.

A much less known but rich historical source in India is the Hindu pilgrimage records. There are some 142 "Pilgrimage Centres" in India. Some locations have very heavy pilgrimage visits from all parts of the country whereas others have clientele mostly of a local nature. Pilgrimages to some of these centres have been going on since before the birth of Christ. A tradition of keeping registers of these pilgrims developed in many centres, particularly in the North. These registers were called *bahis* and were kept by the Panda.

Not all entries in the *bahis* follow the same format. They vary depending on the Panda and upon the Pilgrim. However, the information seems to generally follow a certain pattern. The pilgrim first gives the place of his origin and then the place of his current residence, his name and the names of the members of his immediate family, then the names of his father and grandfather, and of his brothers and nephews, each relationship being carefully and precisely indicated. Caste and occupation is also noted. Then he records the date of his visit, the occasion of the visit—be it the death of an immediate relation, an ordinary act of devotion, or the performance of penance for a sin—. Frequently the payment of money or other gifts made to the Panda was also given.

Here in these *bahis*, at the centres of pilgrimage, is contained data which probably does not exist anywhere else. Although the interest in these records may be primarily genealogical they are capable of yielding information which goes far beyond the intention of the people who created them and now maintain them.

Using these records one might at a given point in time ascertain the population of a village, a town or region; the hierarchy of castes in the social order; the relative positions of the professions; the pattern of migration from one place to another. Perhaps the confusing caste situation with its attendant issues of mobility upwards and downwards could be clarified by using *bahis*. Linguistic and script development can be studied here as can literacy rates. A look at the number of pilgrims that came to the centres, how often they came, and their reasons for coming could give insight into both the nature of the Hindu religion as well as its followers. Perhaps the most informed on the historical value of these records is Dr. B. N. Goswamy who makes the following statement as to their worth:

"I believe it is possible, through these intensely human documents, to reconstruct a vivid picture of the common people, not the heroes alone, of an area at a given point in time. This is what neither cold statistics nor speculative reconstruction of the past succeed in doing. When a Rajasthani peasant of today prostrates himself on the ground on hearing the name of his ancestor read by the panda from his *bahi*, he put us in mind of the Pahari painter of two hundred years ago who, being illiterate, left his mark in the shape of a sensitive drawing in the *bahi* itself, of Shravana Kumar carrying his aged parents in a balance across his shoulders, because the occasion of his own visit was his taking his father in his old age on a long pilgrimage, perhaps his last. And with this a link, a remarkable continuity of attitudes, become alive".

The limitations of these records are several. They are restricted to the Hindu and the Sikh part of the population. Women tend to be left out of them up to the 19th century except when their deaths are sometimes referred to. These limitations, however, even though serious, do not by any means wholly negate their value. In spite of everything, this source of information remains vast, authentic, and continuous. This can be said of few records that go back to four hundred years or more in the past.

Whereas some of these records are in a good state of preservation many others are not. There is an obvious need to initiate a programme which will keep all these historically valuable documents from deteriorating.

If the Genealogical Society of Utah is fortunate to obtain permission to microfilm all the major pilgrim centres of northern India and the some 37 minor ones, it is estimated that the collection will total approximately 7,000 35 mm rolls.

No single institution can assume the total responsibility for the preservation of all India's important historical documents. However, through international cooperation, preservation of documents and the realization of their research potential can be attained.

The Genealogical Society of Utah wants within its own acquisition policy to help archivists and archival organizations dedicated to the preservation of documents vital to the understanding of the history of the peoples of India and indeed of the peoples of the whole world.

Cooperation is the key to any successful programme. By working together, archivists, governments, and independent national and international organizations can ensure that the treasures of the past will be handed down to the yet unborn generations of man.

KHATAPATRAS AS A SOURCE OF URBAN HISTORY

MAKRAND J. MEHTA

URBAN history is a new area of research and teaching in India. In recent years working historians are engaged in developing this discipline and in this endeavour have been seeking co-operation of the archival scientists. There is also an increasing co-operation between a historian and the specialists in the various branches of social sciences. While this has tended to refine the analytical tools of urban history, it has also given a new meaning to the sources which the historians have been generally using. Efforts are also made at exploring the diverse source material. This paper seeks to emphasise the *Khatapatras* in writing the history of Indian towns and cities. This and similar primary sources could be gainfully utilized in understanding and perhaps correlating some of the crucial factors of urbanization—style of living, technological development, social divisions of population, trade and market mechanism, social and economic institutions, physical layout of a city, housing pattern and the nature of the government and bureaucracy. The careful use of the data is likely to lead a historian to review certain accepted notions of urbanization.¹

The *Khatapatras* are a legal document pertaining to the purchase, sale and mortgage of houses, shops and land. They provide information on the prices at which transactions were settled, the name and caste affiliation of the persons engaged in the transaction, local and suburban markets and the nature and the location of property. We thus get a detailed description of the house, the street, and the *pol* (a group of houses having gates and community organisation), where it was located. The neighbouring houses and shops and their owners and their castes also figure in the *Khatapatras*. The legal nature of the transaction required the parties concerned to be cautious about the terms of transaction. To give a permanent and universal character to the contract, the dates of the contract and the names of the persons then holding power and position at the central as well as the regional and local levels were invariably stipulated in the document.

A large number of *Khatapatras* pertaining to Ahmedabad and its neighbouring villages (most of the villages being now

within the municipal limits of the city) are acquired by the B. J. Institute of Research and Learning, Ashram Road, Ahmedabad. About half a dozen documents are in Persian. More than ninety *Khatapatras* are in Gujarati language written in the *Devnagari* script. The documents are in the form of thick white cloth. This, together with the use of high quality ink, have enabled them to withstand the ravages of time. The following table gives the accession numbers of the *Khatapatras* preserved in the museum section of the B. J. Institute. Though the dates of the documents are in Hijri (in the case of Persian documents), *Vikram*, *Saka* and *Salivahana* (in the case of Gujarati language documents) years, we have converted them into Christian years for the sake of convenience of the readers.

Khatapatras (located at the B. J. Institute of Research and Learning, Ahmedabad) showing the year and the accession number

Year	Docu- ment No.	Year	Document No.	Year	Document No.	Year	Document No.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1482	94 (Persian)	1702	12	1728	55	1801	59
1616	28	1706	1	1739	92	1801	47
1627	91	1708	43	1748	45	1801	39
1642	96	1709	37	1762	34	1806	57
1656	50	1710	87	1762 (Persian)	35 (Persian)	1801 (Persian)	20 (Persian)
1660	84	1710	6	1771	101	1809	30
1663	18	1711	5	1774	9	1811	49
1673	29	1711	16	1775	46	1813	17
1677	42	1712	24	1778	102	1816	58
1677	53	1713	32	1779	103	1820	60
1677	31	1714	27	1780	104	1821	76
1678	15	1714	14	1785	38	1822	61
1685	23	1714	4	1786	85	1825	62
1686	11	1716	2	1793	56	1827	77
1687	33	1717	8	1794	25	1828	78
1688	40	1719	7	1795	3	1831	63
1688	19	1721	98	1796	105	1839	64
1696	51	1721	54	1797	106	1847	65

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1696 . .	52	1725	89	1797	107	1851	48
1698 . .	13	1725 (Persian)	95	1799	36	1851	66
1698 . .	86	1726	16			1852	79
		1726	44			1853	79
		1728	21			1853	82
		1728	26			1853	83
						1856	80
						1857	68
						1862	81
						1864	69
						1876	70
						1897	71
						1899	72
						1914	74
						1919	75

The above table shows that the *Khatapatras* in question have a fair degree of continuity and they also cover a large period. This in itself is valuable from the historical point of view. Seen in their totality, these documents give an idea of the changing environment, of urbanization in Ahmedabad, particularly during its transition from the pre-industrial phase to the period when its entrepreneurs took up modern industrial initiative. Quite a few *Khatapatras* describe the houses and shops in the *puras* (suburbs) developing outside the city walls as an extension of the economic life. Thus one could examine the concepts of primary and secondary urbanization in the context of the city's urban traditions.² Though a few *Khatapatras* have been critically edited and published,³ a lot more research needs to be done before a historian can get further⁴ insight into the urban processes in Ahmedabad on the basis of the *khatapatras* and similar sources. The department of history of the Maharaja Sayajirao University, Baroda, have also acquired *khatapatras* which throw light on the urban institutions of the Baroda town, particularly during the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. A concerted effort on the part of the university departments and archival institutions is likely to unearth a large number of *Khatapatras* in Gujarat and the other parts of the country.

We now reproduce below one of the unpublished *Khatapatras*,⁵ preceded by a brief explanatory note. It is pertaining to the mortgage of a house in Ahmedabad. The document shows that the contract was signed on Thursday, the 11th bright half of the *magh* month, the year being the *Vikram Sanyat* 1784 and *Saka* year 1649, corresponding to 28 December 1727. The *Khatapatra* records the names of the emperor and the ruling authorities in Gujarat and Ahmedabad at that time. The emperor was Muhammad Shah Gazi, great-grand-son of Aurangzeb, who had ascended the throne in September 1719.⁶ Though the Mughal empire had almost collapsed and the emperor had turned into a mere cypher, his name has been invoked with eulogizing phrases. This was but a ritual, but nevertheless significant one, as this accorded a legal and moral sanction to the contract. The emperor's name is followed by several dignitaries including the *subahdar* of Gujarat, (Mubariz-ul-mulk Sarbuland-Khan), *padshahi diwan* (Abdul Ghani Khan), *padshahi bakshi* (Amanatdar Khan), *Qazi* (Abdul Ahad Khan), *Mufti* (Muhammad Akbar) and *Kotwal* (Agha Asraf).⁷ Though the *nagarsheth* is conspicuous by his absence in this *Khatapatra*, there is a mention of the *sheths* and the *mahajans*.⁸ The role which the institutions of *mahajan* and *nagarsheth* played in the city shows that Ahmedabad was much more than the political capital of Gujarat.

The relationship between the development of the city markets and the social formation of the *pol* and *sub-pol* population is intricate indeed. The *pols* comprised a cluster of houses having one or two entrances with strong gates. The *pols* contained *sub-pols*, *khadkis* (lanes) and *khanchas* (uneven and narrow curves).⁹ The tradition of neighbourhood living with a set of community rights and obligations was institutionalised in the form of *pols*. The *pols* were, in fact, the self-governing institutions, having their own mechanism for conducting their affairs. They were set up as a device for ensuring security to the inhabitants.¹⁰ In substance, the *pols* were like the arteries of Ahmedabad and the other urban towns of Gujarat.

The *Khatapatra* under the review specifies that the house to be mortgaged was situated in the *Nagji Bhudarni Pol*. It also states that this *pol* was a part of the Mandavini *pol* probably the largest *pol* in Ahmedabad at a time when this *Khatapatra* was written.¹¹ A book published in 1851 states that *Nagji Bhudarni pol* was founded by a Jain banker bearing that name, on 22 July, 1704. This *pol*, with a strong gate at the front (which still exists) seems to have attracted new settlers, for, in the course of time, it evolved *sub-pols* and the *Khanchas*: *man-kodini pol*, *kuvavalo khancha*, *Nawabono Khancha*,¹² *Ubho*

khanchho, and *Derasarno khanchho*. The names of these khanchas are significant. For example, the word *kuvavalo khanchho* shows that the *pol* contained a common well. (This well is now covered with earth). The word *Derasar* means a Jain temple and it suggests that the *Nagji Bhudarni pol* contained a large number of Jain inhabitants. Even today, the Jains constituted more than 93 per cent of the *pol* population.

The *Khatapatra* states that the *Nagji Bhudarni Pol* and the *Mandavini Pol* led to the Astodia Road. The Astodia ward with a strong public gate, took a shape on the ashes of the older city of *Ashawal* in the fifteenth century.¹³

The person who mortgaged his house in the *Nagji Bhudarni Pol* in 1727 was Lalchand Natha, grandson of Tulsidas. He belonged to the *kansara* caste. The *kansaras* are the traditional manufacturers of metal utensils. The Ahmedabad *kansaras* had formed the *Kansarani Pol*, a few yards from the *Nagji Bhudarni Pol*. Although the *Kansaras* worked in their houses, they carried on brisk trade in the nearby Chowk market. They had a strong *mahajan tradition*.¹⁴ The person who took the house on mortgage was Nandram Kunvarji Dave, a Brahmin belonging to the *Jharola* sub-caste. The *Jharolas* (also called *Jhaloras*) took their name from the town of Jhalor, a trade centre in Marwar. The *Jharola* brahmins, who constituted one of the main sub-divisions of Gujarat brahmins usually earned their living as priests of *Jharola Vanias*.¹⁵ We do not know about the profession of Nandram Dave, but the fact that he took a large house on lease shows that he had accumulated enough wealth. He paid 275 rupees to the mortgager. The coins were issued by the Ahmedabad mint. The word नवारा (paragraph 37 of the *Khatpatra* produced below) means a new punch. Thus, Nandram Dave paid the new Ahmedabad coins.

The *Khatapatra* provides a detailed description of the house under mortgage along with its neighbourhood. It started with the steps and the main entrance facing the north. It abutted on a street towards the south. The house contained a *chowk* or an open space facing the sky. Towards the west of the *Chowk* there were a kitchen, a *paniharu*, or a place for keeping water pots, and an underground tank for storing water. The southern portion of the *chowk* led to a small passage and a *parsal* (a sort of verandah). The *parsal* led to a room towards the south. The house had two storeys towards the south, above the verandah and a room. It had one storey, that is the ground floor and the first floor, on the north.

The *Khatapatra* ends with the legal modalities involved in the transaction. It conferred full rights on Nandram Dave, the mortgagor, and his heirs to live in the house or to rent it. They could even mortgage this property to any other party. If any part or the whole house got damaged due to accident or any other natural or human act, the mortgager was in no way responsible. The *Khatapatra* laid down that, if Lalchand, the mortgager and his heirs paid Rs. 275 (irrespective of the possible rise or fall in the price) to Nandram Dave and his heirs, they had a right to the possession of the house.

NOTES

1. For example, the observation that "the precolonial urban centres had tended to be political at the core", allows only a secondary role to the non-political factors in the process of urbanization. Such observations should, at best, serve as a hypothesis, and be accepted, modified, or rejected on the basis of empirical studies. For the above view see Satish Saberwal, "Indian Urbanization: A Sociological Perspective" in Satish Saberwal (ed.), *Processes and Institutions in Urban India: Sociological Studies* (New Delhi, 1977) p. 2.
2. For further discussion see Milton Singer, "The Cultural Role of Cities" *Man in India*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 1956.
3. Dr. Yatindra Dixit's following articles are prominent in this respect: "Mogul Padshah Aurangzebna Samaynun Gujarathua Ek Hatasya Vikrit Khatpatra". *Swadhyaya*, pp. 4-17, Mogul Padshah Muhammad Shahna Samaynun Gujarathun Gharana Hissani Vahenchanninun Ek Khatpatra (Aprasidha)", *Vidya*, XX, January, 1977, pp. 28-39, "Mogul Padshah Shah Alam Bijana Samayanun Gujarathun Gharna Bahananun khatpatra", *Vidyapith*, Shishir 2035 Vol. 97, pp. 54-97.
4. Gillion's work in this respect is notable. See Kenneth L. Gillion, *Ahmedabad—A study in Indian Urban History* (Berkeley, 1969).
5. This *khatapatra* bears the accession number "21" and is in the museum section of the B. J. Institute of Research and Learning, Ashram Road, Ahmedabad.
6. For the career of Muhammad Shah, see Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire, 1739-1754*, Vol. I (Orient Longman, Bombay, 1971), pp. 4-7.
7. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, records the career of some of these officials. For details see M. F. Lokhandwala (ed.) *Mirat-i-Ahmadi—A Persian History of Gujarat (English Translation) Translated from the Persian Original of Ali Muhammad Khan* (Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1965), pp. 436-67.
8. A large number of *khatapatras* record the names of the *nagar-sheths* at different periods of times. They also refer to the *sheths* and the *mahajans* of the city. For details see Dwijendra Tripathi and Makrand Mehta, "The Nagarsheth of Ahmedabad: The History of an Urban Institution in a Gujarat City", *Indian History Congress, 39th Session, Hyderabad*, Vol. I, pp. 481-88.

9. For *pols* see Gillion, *opcit*, pp. 25-26, 107, 108, 124, 127-28, 148, 150, 170. Also see Harish Doshi, *Traditional Neighbourhood in a Modern City* (New Delhi, 1974) p. 11.
10. Bombay Government, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency: Ahmedabad*, Vol. IV (Bombay, 1879), pp. 292-95.
11. Maganlal Vakhatchand, *Amdavad-no Itihas* (Ahmedabad, 1851), pp. 205-07.
12. It is said that the Astodia region was a part of the old city of Ashaval, near which the city of Ahmedabad was founded. Astodia, having a gate was a very busy area with a large population in 1824. For details see, Ratnamanirao Bhimrao Jote, *Gujaratnun Patnagar Amdavad* (Ahmedabad, 1929), pp. 21, 338-39.
13. Maganlal Vakhatchand, *opcit*, pp. 12-14.
14. Bombay Government, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency Gujarat Population: Hindus* Vol. 9, Part I (Bombay 1901), pp. 186-88.
15. Ibid.

ખતપત્ર

1. સ્વત્વિ: શ્રીમન્નૃપ વિક્રમાર્ક: : સમયાર્તિત । સંવત 1984 ના વર્ષ શાકે ।
2. 1649 પ્રવર્તીમાને માહાથ માસે કૃષ્ણ પક્ષે 11 એકાદશીતીર્થો ગુરુદીને ।
3. અથેહશ્રી અહિમ્મદાવાદ મધ્યે વાસ્તવ્ય તત્ત્વ ગ્રહિતકાલે ખતપત્રમમી લક્ષં ।
4. તે । અથેહશ્રી ગુજરાદીશ । અર્જજર્મજન રીપૂરાયાં માનં મદન સકલ ।
5. ગયાં શોરોમણી માહારાજ રાજાધીરાજ તેજ પોટ પરતાપ પાતશાહી શ્રી ।
6. શ્રી શ્રી શ્રી શ્રી શ્રી 7 પાતશાહી મોહમ્મદશહ પાતશહી ગાજી શ્રી યાહા
7. નાદાદ મધ્યે 'વીજા રાજવીપ્રતે તત્ત્વ વીજારીતાને નવાબ શ્રી 5 નવાબ તે
8. જમુલેકલાન તત્ત્વસમયે શ્રી દક્ષણ દીશે અસવારીકુર્વતિ તત્ત્વ આગનાકારી
9. શ્રી યાહાનાવાદ મધ્યે સર્વકાર્યાકરિતા ખાન શ્રી 5 કુર્મરધીરવાન તસ્યાદે
10. શત્ શ્રી અહિમ્મદાવાદ મધ્યે સૂરો બનાબ શ્રી 5 નવાબ 'શોર બુલંદખાન'
11. તથા પાતશાહી દીવાની ખાન શ્રી 5 અબ્દલ ગણીખાન તથા પાતશાહી બક
12. શી મોર શ્રી 5 આનામદારખાન તથા કાદી શ્રી 5 કાદી એદહ તથા મફતીમમાં
13. મેહમ્મદ અકબર તથા કોટવાલી ચોતરે કોટવાલ ખાન શ્રી 5 આગા અમ
14. રક તથા મંત્રે કાનુગા સમસ્ત તથા સેઠ સમસ્ત તથા માહાજન સમસ્ત
15. એતાન સમસ્ત ધર્મન્યાય પ્રવર્તતે પત્ર હવેન્યા આસલોડિયાના મુકલત્ત
16. મંડીકાની પોલ નામગી ખુદરની મધ્યે વાસ્તવ્ય તત્ત્વ સ્થાને ધર ગ્રહિતકેદ
17. ત્તાનો પત્ર ગ્રહીને લેનાર વીપ્ર હારોલો । હાલીય વધે નંદરામ બિન કુશ્મજી
18. બિન ખામગી એ દે, નંદરામ પારનાત્ । ગ્રહિને આપનાર કન્મારા લાલચન્દ
19. બિન નાથા બિન તુલશીદાસ એ કે, લાલચન્દ હસ્તાક્ષરણી વત્તાદ્વ ધર । એ
20. ક તે મધ્યે ઓરડો । ટૂક તથા પડાલ । ઉત્તરાશમુખના છે એ ઓરડા પડમા
21. લ ઉપર મેડી લીજા માલ સુત્રો જડીત છે તે સહિત એ ઓરડા અરધનો પછીત્યે

22. ઇમીલીયુ છે તે સહિત પઠલાસની મડી
 23. ઉપે લીજો માલ છે એ પડમાલની મડી મધ્યે ઓરડો પશ્ચિમાશીમુખની છે એ
 24. પડમાલની ધાર આગત્યે છુટ પડમાલી છે તે મધ્યે રસોડું પશ્ચિમાશીમુખ
 25. નં, છે એ છુટ પડમાલી ઉપર મેડી જડીત છે એ પડમાલી આગત્યે ચોક અ
 26. ગાજો છે તે મધ્યે પાણીઠા પશ્ચિમાશીમુખનું છે તે મધ્યે ટાંકુ છે અગ્રે ચોક
 27. અગ્રે ખડકી પશ્ચિમાશીમુખની છે તે ઉપર મેડી આગાશી છે તે સહિત એ ધર
 28. નાદારા ઉપર પોંચ છજુ બારી છે એ ધરની સર્વસકલ સર્વોહિત એ ધરના ઘૂંટ: પૂર્વ
 29. ઓરડા પડમાલ ને ઘૂંટ મગવાણીઆની ખડકી છે તથા રવોડાથી તે ખડકી સુધીની
 30. ઘૂંટે સા તેછી નાનાનુ ધર છે એ ધરના નેબ ધોરે છે એ ધોરાનં પાળી એ ધરના ટાંકા
 31. મધ્યે છે પશ્ચિમે સા માળક રજીઆના પરિવારનું ધર છે કરા જુજુઆ તથા
 32. ખડકીનું દ્વાર છે નીકાલ છે નેવ છે પોંચ છજુ કે આગળુ છે અગ્રે ચાલ આદ્ય છે
 33. દક્ષિણે અરધ ઓરડાની પછીત્યે પંચની વાડો છે તે મધ્યે નેવ છે એ વાડા મધ્યે વાડે
 34. જાવાના પ્રમંથ સહિત તથા પડમીતીયાની પછીત્યે પોલનો ચાલ છે નેવ
 35. છે ઉત્તરે ધરનું દ્વાર છે નીકાલ છે તથા ખડકીની ઘૂંટે સા કેસવજી ધારીઆનું ઘે
 36. ર છે એ ચાર ઘૂંટાની એવં વી ઘહ એ ધર ગ્રહિત કે દત્તાની તસ્યોપરિ અહિમદાવા
 37. દની ટંકસાલના આકરાકોરા માસા 11 1/2 ના નવી 2 1/2 ના પાતશાહી હાલી સકાના
 38. રૂપયા 275 અંકે વેસહે પંચોતેર પરા દ નંદરામ પાસેથી કં રાલચન્દ એ
 39. તૈરાને એ ધર ગ્રહિને આવ્યુ છે હવે એ ધર પડુ આઘડુ તથા રાજકદેવક ત
 40. થા નલીઆની ઘોંટ એ સવે એ ધરના ધરીને સર છે વરે વાડોગામસાઈ આ
 41. પે મુલ્હે સંચરામણી વત્તનારની, એ રૂપયાનું વજ નહીં એ ધરનું ખાડુ નહીં એ ધર મ
 42. ધ્યે દે, કુશ્મજી તથા દે કુશ્મજીના પૂત્ર પરિવાર કસેવાસે ખાડે આપે તથા
 43. આઘ ગ્રહિને મુકે તાહારે એ ધરના ઘણી કશી વાતની કલવાન ન કરે વલતીયું
 44. એ કે દોકડા 5 પાંચ ત્રાતાના વલને ખાડાના વલતે એ ધીરે કં તથા લાલચન્દ કં
 45. રાલચન્દના પૂત્રપરિવાર એ રૂપયા આ, 275 અંકે રૂપયા વેસહે પંચોતેર પરા દે,
 46. નન્દરામ ને તથા દે નન્દરામના પૂત્ર પરિવારને આપે તાહારે એ ધર ગ્રહિનેથી છુ
 47. ટે એ ધરનો કોઈ વેરશા આવે તેહને એ કં રાલચન્દ તથા પૂત્રપરિવાર પ્રોછરે વેધારે સ
 48. મહવે એ ધરના ખાત પરનાલ નેવ નીછારો વાડો કરો હીંડવાનો ભાગ એ સર્વવધારેત્યે છે,
- | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 આતાપાત | 1 આતરાસવે |
| 1 કં રાલચન્દનાથી | 1 શ્રી જગદીશ |
| મેતુ ઉપરા લીજીશ્રી | 1 હીલીહ વટલજી શીનજી ઘણ 2 હજુર |

LETTERS TO THE WEST FROM MUGHAL INDIA

JOHN CORREIA-AFONSO

INTER-CULTURAL exchange is a most fascinating subject of study. It is not seldom that ideas and arts borrowed by one civilization from another become so well assimilated that they are taken for granted, and considered a part of a national heritage—yet they had their roots in other lands, where they may have actually vanished or have undergone profound modifications. At one time or another these cultural elements have made a journey, often hard and mysterious, and often too this journey has been made through the written word.

Scholars have long been interested in East-West correspondence, much of which is to be found in the archives of religious orders. The missionaries of the Society of Jesus, though not the first to despatch informative letters from Asia to Europe, were the first to set up a comprehensive system for correspondence and to provide Europe with regular information on the progress of their Eastern missions, and they did so with an abundance of supplementary data on the peoples and cultures of India, South East Asia and the Far East.¹

This paper will review briefly the nature of the Jesuit letters, and then study more closely those of the first Jesuit Mission to Akbar (1580-1583). The story of this mission is well known. Akbar, keen to learn about the Christian faith and about the Portuguese territories on the west coast of India, sent an embassy to Goa to ask for two Jesuit priests who might enlighten him. After some hesitation on the part of the Viceroy, the Jesuits were authorised to accept the invitation, and Fr. Rudolf Acquaviva set out for Fatehpur Sikri in November 1579, accompanied by Frs. Anthony Monserrate and Francis Henriques. They reached the Mughal court on 28 February, 1580, were warmly welcomed by the emperor, and were soon on terms of friendship with him.²

The relations between Akbar and the Jesuits are revealed in the correspondence of the missionaries. The Jesuit letters from the missions are a treasure trove long investigated, studied and valued by historians. "On several occasions when the missionaries

penetrated to places inaccessible to the secular writers", says Donald Lach, "their comments are far more profound and authoritative than those to be found in other European sources".³

The founder of the Society of Jesus was a gifted leader and organizer. Realising the importance of union among the members of the nascent Society, and of close contact between religious superiors and the men under them. Ignatius of Loyola prescribed that regular reports should be sent home from the mission field. These were of three main kinds: those addressed to the Superiors of the Order, those intended for the members of the Society in general, and those meant for the public at large. To these might be added a fourth class of letters: private communications to personal friends within and without the Society. In judging the value of these letters it must be remembered that every letter presupposes a correspondent to whom it is addressed, and who must be borne in mind if one is to interpret correctly its wording, understand its limitations and appreciate its shades of meaning.⁴

The Jesuit letters dealt primarily and essentially with the work the Jesuits were doing, in the missions in particular, and were limited in range. However, in supplying the necessary details of the background against which their work was carried out, the missionaries, provided in their letters valuable material for the students of secular history. No wonder they were titled, in a famous French collection, *Edifying and Curious Letters*, and became best sellers.

It was Vincent Smith who, with his *Akbar the Great Mogul*, obtained wide recognition of the value of Jesuit sources for the study of Indian history. Later Sir Edward Maclagan, basing himself on the works of H. Hosten and C. H. Payne, wrote his masterly and deservedly popular *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, full of information and insight, in which he declares: "The value of the Jesuit letters and reports from the Mogul Empire for historical purposes can scarcely be over estimated... Tested by such information as we possess from independent sources, Indian and European, they emerge from the examination with the greatest credit and may for historical purposes be looked on as authorities of a very high order."⁵

The letters of the First Jesuit Mission to Akbar contain the earliest impressions of the Mughal empire ever recorded by European writers. The scarcity of contemporary accounts of India in the days of Akbar, apart from the court chronicles, lends additional importance to these letters, for they report in part information unobtainable from other sources. What is more, they

shed an intimate light on the character and mind of the emperor, and afford the reader an insight into the general conditions of life in Mughal times.

Side by side with the Jesuit letters there grew up another type of Jesuit literature which we may term "allied documents".⁶ These are studies and treatises on particular topics, such as the life and customs, of a particular tribe, the account of some important missionary expedition, or the history of a major mission-station or institution. Being generally written by experts on the respective subject these allied documents are of superlative value.

The best known and most valuable reports of the type dealing with the First Jesuit Mission to the Great Mughal are the *Relacam do Equebar, rei dos mogores and the Mongolicae legationis Commentarius*, both from the pen of Anthony Monserrate. They are not considered here because they are not letters, and they were not written in their final form at the Mughal Court. Moreover, they were published long ago, together with a translation, by H. Hosten, and Monserrate's *Commentary* is well-known in the edition by J. S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerjee.

As was natural, the official letters of the Jesuit missionaries in India converged towards the principal administrative centres of their Order: Goa, Lisbon and Rome. But they did not always remain there, and the vicissitudes of the letters of the First Jesuit Mission make interesting reading. Here we can only give a brief account of their present resting places.

The most important Jesuit archives are, without doubt, the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus at Borgo S. Spirito 5, near St. Peter's.⁸ Launched in a regular but unpretentious manner in 1946, and out of Jesuit hands during the years of the suppression of the Society, these archives contain a wealth of historical material concerning India. They are arranged according to the structure of the Order itself, first according to Assistancies, and then according to the Provinces into which each Assistancy is divided. Under the heading *Provincia Goana et Malabarica* there are seventy-six codices which refer almost wholly to India. The section called *Historia* is concerned with the external and edifying history of the Province, which beginning from 1585 was made known to the missions: *Goa 38* contains in great part the material collected by J. P. Maffei for his *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI*, while *Goa 46* is dedicated to information regarding the activity of the Jesuits at the Mughal court. This activity is also recorded

in some documents that have got into the codices of the missions of the Far East, labelled *Jap. Sin.*, and in the *Acta* of the Provincial Congregations (Congr.).

Closely rivalling the Roman archives in richness of Jesuit historical material are the archives of Portugal. Lisbon was the point of departure and return for the Indian sea-journey, the residence of the Portuguese Provincial, and the training ground for many of the future missionaries of India. Consequently to Lisbon, and to Coimbra and Evora, where important colleges of the Society existed, were forwarded a large number of Jesuit letters, which were at times copied in big folio volumes, with some editing, for reading at table during meals. In 1758, at the time of the suppression of the Jesuit colleges and residences in Portugal under the Marquis of Pombal, the contents of their libraries and archives were seized, and they are to this day scattered in a number of public establishments. Two important collections of special interest to the Indian historian are the *Armario Jesuitico* and the *Cartorio dos Jesuitas*, both in the National Archives of the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon.⁹

The letters of the missionaries were often copied laboriously by hand, for preservation and also for further circulation. At times we have only these copies at hand, the original letters of the missionaries having long been lost. Such copies are widely scattered all over Europe, and the *Archivum Historicum Provinciae Toletanae Societatis Iesu*, the Jesuit repository in Madrid, has some that relate to the First Jesuit Mission to Akbar.

It might have been thought that Goa would have a lot of valuable Jesuit documentation, but it is not so. The Jesuit archives in Goa suffered many mishaps in the course of time, but the severest blow came from Pombal, who in 1774 ordered that the estate and ecclesiastical archives of the Portuguese territories should be sent to Lisbon by ship. There is reason to believe that the bulk of the Jesuit archives was in fact destroyed in Goa itself, but some Jesuit letters were saved and came into private hands and thence into public libraries.

And so an important set of Jesuit missionary records is to be found in the Marsden Collection of the British Museum (today the British Library).¹⁰ William Marsden presented to the Museum in 1828 a number of papers "brought from the Romish Church in Goa", and in 1835 he gave another collection of historical documents from the same source. In the documents of codices 9852 and 9854, the latter of particular interest for this study, it is expressly stated that they belong to the Jesuit Archives of Goa.

What do the Jesuit letters look like? In the 16th and 17th centuries missionaries generally wrote on sheet of quarto size, saving space by placing the lines close together and by writing with small characters. Each of their letters is usually headed with a cross and the invocation "Pax Christi", a common form of greeting, especially among priests and religious. On the top of the page is also to be found at times such a note as "la. via" "2a. via", showing what copy of the document is in question, since not seldom three or even more transcripts of the same letter were sent separately to Europe as a precaution against loss at sea.

The letters of the First Jesuit Mission are not all of them extant in the original. Rather, in most cases we have just contemporary copies, and at times not even that, as will be seen from the introductory note to each letter.

Which brings us to the question of publication. As the notes will again make clear, the letters of the First Jesuit Mission to Akbar appeared in print at various times. Perhaps the first to be thus circulated was the letter of the three missionaries from Agra, 13 July 1580, which appeared in part in the *Nouveaux Advis de l'estat du christianisme es pays et royaumes des Indes Orientales & lappon, Envoyes au R.P. general de la compegnie du nom de Jesus* (Paris 1582). The letters were used, of course, by Jesuit historians like due Jarric and Bartoli, who took extensive passages from them. But some of them have appeared for the first time in Volume XII of *Documenta Indica* on which this work is based.

With *Documenta Indica* Josef Wicki has placed in his debt all historians of the East. With exemplary thoroughness and skill he has put together so far records of half a century of special interest because they throw light on the points of contact between European civilization at the beginning of a new era of development and the millenary culture of India, and also yield valuable material for the social and political history of its west coast.¹¹ Proof of this will be found in the letters from Fatehpur Sikri of the First Jesuit Mission to the Great Mughal.

We can best conclude with the beautiful tribute which Sir Edward Maclagan paid to the Jesuit letters from Mughal India: Written as they were in distant localities, amid uncongenial and even inimical surroundings, in circumstances very often of discomfort, solitude, ill-health, depression and disappointment; by men who had abandoned the ordinary recreations of life, who existed in an atmosphere of study and penance, and who had

little hope of ever seeing the friends of their youth, they form a marvellous monument of the vitality and enthusiasm inspired by the Society to which the writers owed obedience".¹²

NOTES

1. Cf. Donald Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, I (Chicago 1965), 314.
2. The best accounts of the First Jesuit Mission are to be found in Francis Goldie, *The First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul* (Dublin 1897); P. due Jarric—C. H. Payne, *Akbar and the Jesuits* (London 1926); Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, (London 1932).
3. Lach, 329.
4. The nature and value of the Jesuit letters has been thoroughly studied in John Correia-Afonso's *Jesuits Letters and Indian History* (Bombay 1969).
5. Maclagan, 17-18.
6. Cf. Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters*, 18—20.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Cf. John Correia-Afonso, "Indo-Portuguese History in Jesuit Archives", in S. P. Sen ed., *Sources of the History of India*, I (Calcutta 1978), 530—540.
9. Cf. John Correia-Afonso, "Indian Historical Records in Lisbon: a brief Report", *Indica*, 14 (1977), 135—142.
10. Cf. Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters*, 135-136.
11. Cf. *Ibid.*, 42-43 *Documenta Indica* edited by Joseph Wicki, now runs into 14 volumes (Rome, 1948—).
12. Maclagan, 19.

THE PARSIS AND THE UNITED STATES THROUGH SOME UNUSED DOCUMENTS

DWIJENDRA TRIPATHI

THE Indian business class today is a veritable conglomerate of a number of business communities. One of the most prominent among these are the Parsis whose contribution to the business and industrial life of the country has been far beyond their numerical strength in India's population. It is believed that their business success to a considerable degree was due to their "close contact with the British East India Company."¹ And it is well known that the Parsis acted as the middle men for the British traders and merchants in India during the heyday of the English East India Company with considerable benefits to themselves. It has also been surmised that their proximity to the British exposed them to the Western ideas and culture and helped them perceive and exploit the opportunities for industrial ventures that arose in the latter half of the 19th century.²

The Parsi connection with the British, though most visible and impressive, should not be seen as an isolated phenomenon. It reflected their attitude to Western businessmen operating in Indian markets in general. Having learned the English language and imbibed many traits of European culture and behaviour, the Parsis found themselves at home in the company of Western traders and merchants and won their trust and confidence. They maintained close contacts with the mercantile interests of even those countries whose commercial presence in India was rather insignificant. Their relations with the American consulate in Bombay clearly brings this out.

Although the United States Government had initiated the move to establish consular offices in India soon after George Washington assumed the presidency of the new republic, British intransigence did not permit the opening of regular consulates in any Indian port for almost half a century after the first moves had been made. It was not until 1838 that the consular relations with India were reestablished and then about a decade and half elapsed before the local government in India extended its legal recognition to the American consular representative in Bombay. The trade between the United States and India then was at its infancy. Natural ice, dug out of the Boston lakes, was the only American commodity for which India had a regular

demand, thanks to the needs of European residents in the Indian climate. India exported to the United States piece goods, hides and skins, saltpetre, and some agricultural commodities in limited quantities. The number of American traders residing in Bombay, Calcutta, or any other Indian port was very small indeed. Neither the volume of trade nor the numerical strength of the American community justified any elaborate consular establishments in these ports. In fact, in Bombay, which was and continues to be the main centre of Parsi operations, consular services were often managed by one of the leading American merchants for a number of years after the consular services were established.³

From the very beginning, some Parsis in Bombay established very close liaison with the American Consul in Bombay. One of them was Dossabhoy Merwanji who won the confidence of Erward Ely, the first American official to be acknowledged by the British authorities. Merwanji had been to the United States several times and was well versed in the service and marine laws of that country. Ely was greatly impressed by the Parsi's knowledge of American consular regulations and his goodwill towards the United States. When the American official had to return home in 1852 because of illness and financial distress, he appointed Merwanji "to act in my name as Vice Consul of the United States at Bombay, I holding myself responsible for all his acts and fidelity." The consul then received no salary and the consular fees collected from the American ships visiting his port were woefully inadequate to meet his expenses.⁴ The head of the Dossabhoy Merwanji and Company, the Parsi vice consul of the United States was "intimately connected with the trade between America and Bombay."⁵ "In the absence of Americans at this place," wrote Ely to Secretary of State Daniel Webster, "I have preferred him (Merwanji) to any English merchant resident."⁶

It was by no means uncommon those days for the native residents of a particular country to look after American consular interests temporarily in their land, but seldom, if ever, were the residents of a subject nation entrusted with such responsibilities. Perhaps the suspicion and distrust prevailing between the United States and European countries in the 19th century prevented Ely from looking for help to European or British merchants in the city, but his preference for a Parsi from amongst the Indians to officiate for him in his absence was not a mere accident. For, the records show that Merwanji's clansmen were the largest single group of Indians participating in Indo-American trade or

taking keen interest in the affairs of the United States Consulate in Bombay. Among the consular reports for Bombay is a representation submitted to the American Secretary of State, Lewis Cass in 1860 by "merchants and shipmasters and so forth of Bombay." The representation bears the signature of twenty-nine representatives of Indian firms of which as many as eleven were Parsis including some of the most reputable houses.⁷ The representation sought to counter the demand made by a section of American merchants in Bombay for the dismissal of Luther H. Hatfield, who had succeeded Ely. The views of the American merchants prevailed and Hatfield resigned his post on the request of the Department of State but the Indian merchants' representation to Washington is a testimony to the keen interest that the Parsi merchants evinced in the affairs of the consulate.

Dossabhoj Merwanji was not a signatory to this representation. Perhaps he had joined the anti-Hatfield forces or preferred to remain neutral in the sordid game. But he was by no means indifferent to the consulate affairs. Whatever his reaction to Hatfield's departure might have been, Merwanji did not view with favor the idea of Hatfield's deputy on the job being designated as consul. George W. Healey, as Vice-consul, had taken charge of the vacant post, but was yet to be promoted when there was a change of administration in Washington following the presidential election of 1860. Hardly had the Lincoln administration taken over when Merwanji sent the following letter on behalf of his firm directly to Washington recommending a course of action with regard to the Bombay consulate.⁸

To

The Hon'ble Secretary of State

United States of America

Hon'ble Sir.

As merchants intimately connected with the trade between the United States and this City and understanding that there would be a change of the representative of the Government of the United States, we venture respectfully (to) bring to your notice, the great necessity for the Consul of your nation being an officer wholly unconnected with business and entirely devoted to the duties of his office, the same as the Consul of other principal powers of Europe.

Our attention has been remarkably drawn to this from the fact of our having seen the trade with America carried on when we had no Consul here and then the appointment of the late Dr. Ely who had no business or trade. At present however the Consul (refers to George W. Healey who was the vice-consul) is a partner of a Mercantile Firm and although he may not be activated with any but just feelings. Yet merchants and traders find it difficult to divest their minds of the idea that advantage might be taken of the official position for his own advantage and that of his House from the Knowledge of business of others passing through his hands and this acts as a bar to the extension of the trade.

It occurred to us therefore that on a suitable opportunity the anomaly of a double calling of the Consular office of this city might be done away with to the advantage of the Mercantile community and an independent consulship established at once worthy of the dignity of the mighty nation that he would represent and be able to do so with honor and credit and be duly respected instead of as now being looked upon as a object of perhaps underserved but natural suspicion by Merchants and people dealing with the Country he represented.

With due apology.

We have the honour to be
Sir,

Bombay, 27 August, 1861.

Your most obedient servants
Dossabhoj Merwanji and Co.

What precisely prompted the Parsi merchant to address the above communication to the United States Government cannot be known. It is possible that he had some personal grudges against Healey, or the firm with which Healey was associated competed with Merwanji's. It is also likely that some American merchants, who felt threatened by the prospect of Healey taking over the full command of the consular affairs, prevailed upon the influential Parsi to argue against Healey's appointment, hoping that the opinion of an Indian merchant, reasonably well known in the Department of State because of his previous connection, would be considered more impartial and, therefore, would carry greater weight with the authorities in Washington. It is not improbable at the same time that Merwanji was genuinely concerned about the possible adverse impact on Indo-American

commerce if Healey, while continuing his association with a business concern, were to be promoted. That he himself had performed such a dual role less than a decade before did not bother him. Whatever his motives, it is significant that he was aware that under the American practice, the change of administration in Washington might be an appropriate occasion for the change of top diplomatic personnel abroad. That he felt bold enough to address his letter directly to the Secretary of State about an issue he had little *locus standi* to interfere with, tells something about Merwanji's standing with the portals of power in Washington.

What effect did the Indian merchant's letter have on the counsel of American Government cannot be ascertained. But Healey was never promoted to the office of the consul even though he continued as vice consul for more than a year after Merwanji's letter of August 1861 to the Secretary of State. In fact no consul was appointed for almost a decade after Healey's departure from the scene in December 1862, and the Bombay consulate functioned under a number of vice consuls until January 1871. Nothing is heard of Merwanji after his 1861 intervention in the American consular affairs, but the Bombay Parsis continued to enjoy the trust and goodwill of American consular officers in the city. This is clear from the fact that in 1888 another Parsi, Hormusji E. Bode, was appointed America's vice consul in Bombay. In August 1889, when the consul suddenly died in the post, it was Bode who took charge of the consular affairs and continued to hold responsibilities until the assumption of office by a new consul, Henry Ballantine, in October 1890. Significantly enough, during one of Ballantine's absences from the headquarters in 1891, Bode again acted as vice consul in charge of the post even though an American, Ballantine's own son, had been appointed as vice consul a few months before the consul had to go out of the city.⁹ Perhaps Ballantine preferred to entrust his responsibilities to a more experienced man than his son.

While a few of the Bombay Parsis were closely involved in the affairs of the United State's consulate and a considerable number of them were actively engaged in Indo-American commerce, their kinsmen in an uncountrry town were toying with more interesting plans. The Parsis of Baroda in the 1870s were seriously considering emigration to the United States, not individually or in small numbers, but in a group involving the total community. Perhaps their design was inspired by the example of a large number of Gujaratis who were then emigrating to east African countries. Most of them who were going to East Africa

in search of better fortunes were Gujaratis of Hindu origin.¹⁰ But the Parsis of Baroda, perhaps because of the impact of Western culture on them, preferred to go to a more congenial region. They however, felt severely handicapped in their plans since their knowledge of conditions in the United States was woefully inadequate. The residents of Central and South European countries, who were flocking to the United States in large numbers at this time, did not suffer from this disability for, those from these countries or regions who had already migrated to the New World acted as the source of information, a resource group as it were, to the others made to follow their lead. While the letters from Amrica provided a great deal of impetus to migration from Europe,¹¹ the Parsis of Baroda had no such instrument at their disposal. For, Indian migration to the United States at that time was just a trickle in comparison to the European wave. Less than 200 Indians had emigrated to the New World during the half a century preceding 1870, and when the Baroda Parsis were contemplating their move, the number of Indians going to America for permanent residence averaged only around 15 in a year.¹² Naturally there was no Indian resource group in America from whom the Baroda aspirants could seek guidance in their ambitious plan. They, therefore, decided to seek advice from the American consul in Bombay. The following letter written by three leaders of the Baroda Parsis to Consul Benjamin F. Farnham in Bombay is self-explanatory.¹³

Cotton Ginning Factory
Baroda 30th August 1876

To

The American Consul
Bombay
Dear Sir,

Many enterprising and intelligent Parsis are desirous of emigrating to the New World and of establishing themselves as colonists on the same plan and system as Europeans (sic.) settlers have been doing. It is a thought uppermost in the minds of some of our Community to form themselves into a body and by so doing to invest a certain Amount of their own Capital in purchasing Cultivable lands of Considerable Area. The principal object of such an investment is to found a separate Colony of Parsees only in a land which has been from times immemorial the fostering nurse of many an enterprising and needy adventurer and well-to-do Capitalist where they can without the slightest

impediment, preserve and follow the religion of their forefathers. But they are not sufficiently informed as to the climate, resources and husbandry of the very vast country of the United States and the little knowledge they are in a position of obtaining from several books and pamphlets is so uncertain and so unreliable that it fails to make a vivid impression on their minds and attract them directly to the subject.

We the undersigned, therefore, deem you the Constituted representative of the Independent States as the Chief and very reliable source of all authentic information in the matter. You are perhaps already aware that the Parsis of Western India do not fall even a whit behind their immediate neighbours the Englishmen and their distinct fellow-men the Europeans wherever the Spirit of noble enterprise and great undertaking is concerned. A settlement in America at the earliest opportunity has become the subject of our grave considerations, but our minds are not sufficiently enlightened in it as they ought to be. Being placed in a position of the full particulars which we request you to supply us with, we intend to lay before our Community in public lectures and Journals, all the advantages derivable from their monetary concerns, their social connections and their taking part in a system of politics by making the foreign but cherished country as their new home and permanent domicile. But for a successful achievement of our plan and rendering our information and arguments unimpeachable we indispensably need your able support and co-operation. We fully comprehend the usefulness of all such informations (sic.) supplied by you, and we cannot but appreciate their full values which is really utcomparable (sic.) to that of all knowledge we can by dint of exertion and close applications gather from writers and authorities. We shall therefore, feel ourselves highly obliged by your favouring us at your earliest convenience with all particulars or references, for such particulars as are of paramount importance to us in the carrying out of our somewhat arduous scheme and with the successful accomplishment, your name shall be associated with grateful remembrance by all those who will in future profit hereby.

We remain etc.

Sigd/ Roostumjee Mehrwanji N.
(Narelwala)
" Sorabjee Muncherjee Master
" Eduljee Jamsetjee Nehory

The letter is significant in many ways. First, it reveals that the Parsi plan for migration was prompted by the same economic

motive which was the guiding force behind the European migration to the United States in the 19th century. Secondly, this was perhaps the only attempt ever made by Indians to emigrate in a group with a view to forming a settlement of their own in the New World. Thirdly, the letter indicates that behind the apparent goodwill and admiration that the Parsis had for the British in India, was a hidden discontent and latent resentment born out of a sense of discrimination they thought they were subjected to under an alien rule. And lastly, the Parsi communication gives some idea of the Indian image of the United States in the latter half of the 19th century.

Farnham forwarded a copy of the Parsi letter to the Department of State in the hope that "there may be some Department that can give information upon the subject," which the Consul had no doubt, was "an important matter" for those who had written it.¹⁴ His Baroda correspondents must have waited for the reply with high hopes and great enthusiasm. They probably expected a helpful response in view of the flattering tone of their enquiry. If this was so, they were in for a rude surprise. For, the Department of State threw icy cold water on the Parsi designs through a letter which is reproduced below.¹⁵

Department of State

Washington, Oct. 24, 1876

Benjamin F. Farnham Esq.
Consul of the United States
Bombay, Bengal
Sir,

Your dispatch of the 14th of September, last No. 125, with the enclosure which accompanied it, has been received.

In reply, I have to state that the request for information made to you by the gentlemen who had addressed you in relation to the resources of this country, and their wish to form a colony here, is so general, extensive, and deficient in particulars that it seems to be useless to attempt to furnish any particulars.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant
John L. Cadwalader, Acting Secretary.

It will be difficult to support the Department's contention that the Parsi letter was too vague to deserve a suitable reply. In fact the Indians were reasonably specific in their request for

data regarding "climate, resources, and husbandry" of the United States to supplement their knowledge of the country gained from "writers and authorities". The obvious conclusion is that the Department did not want to get involved, even indirectly, with the Parsi move. The reason is not far to seek. The American society, though tolerant of European immigrants¹⁶ who were coming in large number, had yet to overcome its racial prejudice towards the entrants from Asian countries. The fear from India was yet to become a factor in American thinking since so few of its population were entering the United States at that point of time, but the influx of the Chinese labourers who were flocking to the United States in thousands was already causing consternation in the American mind. In 1876 both major political parties had included anti-Chinese planks in their platform for presidential election.¹⁷ Within a few years the United States would resort to a statutory ban on the entry of the Chinese altogether.¹⁸ American writers and publicists would raise the sceptre of a possible "Hindu invasion"¹⁹—the word Hindu referring to all Indians—and an attorney general would rule that natives of British India were ineligible for the United States citizenship.²⁰ The American public and policy makers feared that the peculiar social institutions and religious practices would prevent the assimilation of the Asians with the rest of the nation.²¹ The Department of State under these conditions could have hardly countenanced the thought of encouraging a group of Indians to come to the United States to establish their own "colony". It was one thing for the American merchants and consular officers to befriend the Parsis and avail of their help and services in India, but to permit them to be a part of the American society was an entirely different matter.

There could have been yet another factor behind the cold reception given to the Parsi proposal by the Secretary of State. It was barely five years before the Baroda letter was received at Washington that the United States had signed the Treaty of Washington with Great Britain heralding an era of enduring friendship with the then mightiest empire in the world.²² Any encouragement to a process of what appeared to be leading to a collective migration of a group of Britain's Indian subjects was likely to create suspicion in London about America's *bona fides*.

Whatever the reasons, the brief one-sentence communication from Washington killed for ever, the bold initiative of the Baroda Parsis. Never would the Parsis make another attempt towards collective migration, but they continued to work closely with Americans in Bombay and elsewhere. Also enterprising Parsis continued to draw inspiration and material support from

the United States in their industrial ventures. J. N. Tata's use of American technology and American technicians for his giant steel venture is probably the most outstanding example of this attitude.

NOTES

1. Ashok V. Desai, "The Origins of Parsi Enterprise", *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. V, No. 4 (December 1968), 310.
2. Dwijendra Tripathi, "Indian Entrepreneurship in Historical Perspective: A Reinterpretation", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. VI, No. 22 (May 1971), M63.
3. Holden Furber, "The Letters of Benjamin Joy: First American Consul in India", *Indian Archives*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (July-December 1950), 219-227; also Dwijendra Tripathi, "United States and India: Economic Links, 1860-1900" (Ph.D. dissertation University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1963), 2; and "Indo-American Trade, 1880-1900: Ice and Kerosene", *Itihas Anushilan*, Vol. I, No. 1 (June 1967) 81-90.
4. Edward Ely to Daniel Webster, 4 June 1852, Department of State, *Despatches from the United States Consuls at Bombay*, henceforward cited as *Despatches* (Manuscript, National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C.).
5. Dossabhoy Merwanji and Co. to Secretary of State, 27 August 1861, *Despatches*.
6. Ely to Webster, 4 June 1852, *Despatches*.
7. The letter bears no date but its position among the *Despatches* and the fact that it was addressed to Lewis Cass, James Buchanan's Secretary of State, leaves no doubt that it was written in 1860.
8. Dossabhoy Merwanji and Co. to the Secretary of State, 27 August 1861, *Despatches*.
9. Department of State, "Highlights in the History of the American Consulate at Bombay prior to 1924" Research Project No. 267 (Typescript, Division of Historical Policy Research, Office of Public Affairs, n.d.), 5-6. A copy of this paper is available at the (National Archives of the United States, Washington, D.C.).
10. J. S. Mangat, *A History of Asians in East Africa* (Oxford, 1969) contains a good discussion on the Gujarati migration to East Africa.
11. Maldwyn A. Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago, 1960), 99-100; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New York, 1971), 14-15.
12. Department of Commerce, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, (Bureau of Census, Washington D.C. 1975), pt. I, 107-08.
13. R. M. Narelwala, S. M. Master, and E. J. Nehory to Secretary of State, 30 August 1876, *Despatches*.

14. B. F. Farnham to Secretary of State, 14 September 1876, *Despatches*.
15. John L. Cadwalder to B. F. Farnham, 24 October, 1887, Department of State, *Despatches to Consuls* 17 October 1876—31 January 1877, Vol. LXXXIV (National Archives of the United States, Washington D.C.), 37.
16. Philip Taylor, *The Distant Magnet: European Migration to the United States* (New York, 1971), 241.
17. Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labour and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, (Berkeley, 1971), 105.
18. *Ibid.*, 177-78.
19. A sample of such writings is the following passage from an article, "West and the Hindu Invasion" published in *Overland Monthly* n.s. Vol. LI (April 1908), 303—08 by Agens F. Buchanan: "The sacred writings of the Vedas say: 'I gave the earth to the Arya'. This is a propitious moment for the State Department to adopt an amendment to the Vedas and to tell our brothers of the East that while the earth is large enough for us all, there is no one part of it that will comfortably accomodate both branches of the Aryan family". The writer added that the immigration from India was a racial problem complicated by the caste system and ritualistic adherence of the Hindu. Also see Gary R. Hess, "The Forgotten Asian Americans: The East Indian Community in the United States", *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XLIII, No. 4 (November 1974), 576—95.
20. Referring to the ruling, the *Outlook* Vol. LXXXVII (1907), 7-8 opined editorially that the ruling was entirely justified.
21. Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy*, 105.
22. Several differences between the United States and Great Britain had persisted for almost a century following the birth of the American republic. The immediate purpose of the Treaty of Washington was to settle the problems aggravated during the Civil War. The enduring effect of the treaty, however, was the beginning of an era of perpetual friendship between these two countries.

SOME ARCHIVAL OBSERVATIONS ON AN EVANGELICAL TRACT

NANCY GARDNER CASSELS

PERHAPS one of the best known tracts in the archives of the East India Company is Charles Grant's "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain particularly with respect to Morals and on the means of improving it, written chiefly in the year 1792".¹ As an Evangelical pamphlet, it is generally considered to be a classic. It appeared in print under order of the House of Commons in 1812-13 and again in 1831-32. Authoritative scholars are in the habit of citing the "Observations..." as they appear in the *Parliamentary Papers* of 1812-13, presumably on the assumption that the printed papers are identical to Grant's manuscript.² However, although the *Parliamentary Papers* of 1812-13 and those of 1831-32 are identical, careful examination and comparison of the manuscript and printed papers reveals that there are significant differences.

These differences are partially explained by the fact that the manuscript and the printed papers reflect different phases of the Evangelical controversies which peppered debates among Company Directors and Proprietors at the turn of the century. To begin at the beginning of the archival history of Grant's tract, it is necessary to go back to 1787 when a young clergyman and a pious Persian scholar worked with Grant in Calcutta to draft "A Proposal for Establishing a Protestant Mission in Bengal and Behar". There were fourteen copies of this proposal, three of which were sent to Thomas Raikes, an influential City merchant, William Wilberforce and Charles Simeon, the Cambridge fount of Evangelical inspiration.³ Thomas Raikes solicited support for the proposal from the Bishop of London; Charles Simeon launched

1. India Office Library, *European MSS.* E. 93. Hereafter cited as I.O.L., *Eur. MSS.* E 93.
2. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1812-13, Vol. X, Paper 282, Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1831-32, Vol. VIII, Paper 734, General Appendix No. 1.
3. C. H. Philips, *The East India Company 1784-1834*, Manchester: 1961, pp. 158 and 350. A. T. Embree, *Charles Grant and British Rule in India*, New York: 1962, p. 32 and pp. 141—52.
E. M. Howse, *Saints in Politics*, London: 1960, p. 69.

plans which led to the formation of the Church Missionary Society and to the appointment of Government Chaplains in India; and Wilberforce, though hampered by illness, placed the "Proposal" in the hands of the Prime Minister, William Pitt. Grant's Evangelical friends in England urged him to return home to argue his cause. Before leaving India, Grant arranged an interview with Governor General Cornwallis who was cordial but neutral to the "Proposal". After Grant returned to England to campaign for the introduction of missionaries into India, he expanded this "Proposal" into the tract "Observations... written chiefly in the year 1792".

In a footnote at the end of the manuscript it is recorded that Grant's concluding propositions for the reform and education of the Hindus were "violently attacked" in a discussion which took place in the General Court of Proprietors of the East India Company in April 1793.⁴ Undaunted, Grant submitted his proposal to the Court of Directors of the East India Company in 1797. The Chairman of the day ordered the tract to be printed. However, it was also suggested to the author that "the character he had given to the Hindoos might be controverted" and that therefore he ought to review what had been said in their favour as well as what had been said against them. Grant accepted this suggestion and retained his manuscript thereby suspending printing operations. But, although he dutifully collected evidence from a variety of European authors, public duties prevented him from rewriting his "Observations..."⁵ It was only in 1812-13 that William Wilberforce and Grant's friends in the Clapham Sect launched their campaign to inject into the new charter permission for the Company to license missionaries in India. In conjunction with this campaign, Grant presented his "Observations..." to the House of Commons and they were promptly printed. The next appearance of the tract was in 1832 on the eve of charter renewal when Charles Grant's son led the Evangelical campaign against "Hindoo idolatry". If the Calcutta Proposal is taken into consideration, Grant's Evangelical tract was actively discussed, rewritten, printed and quoted for the better part of half a century—1787-1832. The original text of the Calcutta Proposal is no longer extant.⁶ But it is possible to compare the manuscript of the tract "Observations..." with the printed *Parliamentary Papers*. Such a comparison yields interesting food for thought.

4. I.O.L., Eur. MSS. E. 93, fol. 222.

5. *Ibid.*, "Supplementary note, 1811".

6. Grant's official biographer did publish the full text of the original letter to William Wilberforce containing the terms of the Proposal. Henry, Morris, *Charles Grant* London: 1904, pp. 108-14.

The most pervasive difference between the manuscript and its printed version is a difference in style and attitude. Substantive changes do not occur until the concluding portion of the final chapter. Overall, the printed papers show that Grant has intensified his faith in the civilizing and Christianizing mission of the British in India. His rhetoric in the printed papers is far more dramatic than the rhetoric in his manuscript. An example of this change of style is provided by the language Grant used to proclaim the Evangelical credo calling for proselytization. This credo is advanced in both the manuscript and the *Parliamentary Papers* in order to relieve general concern for the security of the British dominion in India. But in the manuscript Grant adopted a defensive tone while presenting the Evangelical plea for Christian faith. After asserting that "the truth is that the Character and state of the people, tho' favourable to us for the acquisition of the Country, are the reverse with respect to our retention of it, because they will equally favour other invaders", he suggested that religious conversion could serve as a technique of assimilation which would "attach the people to ourselves, that we may be secured against a change".⁷ In the paper which Grant submitted to Parliament for printing in 1812-13, this phraseology does not appear. Instead, his language becomes more dramatic. In the printed papers there is an expanded discourse upon India's vulnerability to invasion. Ruminating upon the possibility that Nadir Shah might have established a new dynasty when he sacked Delhi in 1739, Grant injected a new footnote into the printed papers to the effect that if Nadir Shah had been successful "we might probably have still been mere merchants in India".⁸ Although the printed papers do call for assimilation, they unveil a greater preoccupation with the simple advantages of promoting the truths of Christianity. Evidently, when Grant prepared his manuscript for printing in 1812-13, he was eminently confident that British missionaries were needed in India. In the heat of the campaign for the admission of missionaries into India, Grant no longer viewed religious conversion as a defensive tactic of assimilation. By 1813, the Evangelicals promoted the proselytization of Christianity as a goal sufficient unto itself.

Such Evangelical zeal was bolstered by crude defamation of Hindu character. Although Grant had conscientiously undertaken

7. I.O.L., Eur. MSS. E. 93, fols. 208-09.

8. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1812-13, Vol. X, Paper 282, p. 103. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1831-32, Vol. VIII, Paper 734, General Appendix No. 1, p. 81.

in 1797 to study writing sympathetic to Indian culture, when he came to prepare his manuscript for printing, he made no effort to modify the derogatory evidence against native character which he had originally compiled. Much of his writing conveys sheer venom. In his manuscript he referred to "Bengaleze" as "Harpies". In a rather irrelevant footnote he proceeded to defend the fortunes brought home by individual nabobs with the remark that such fortunes were acquired "not by any mode of extortion... of Individuals" but that Europeans made "their own part good..., notwithstanding all the dishonest artifices of the Hindoos whom they are obliged to employ".⁹ In the printed papers he made no effort to amend his accusations; instead, he intensified his vendetta. In his grossly elaborated final chapter he inserted a passage from Robert Orme's *History of Military Transactions* which remarked upon "the general effeminacy of character which is visible in all Indians" and attributed to the "natives of Bengal... a stupidity which neither wishes, nor seems to be capable of extending its operations into any variety of mechanical dexterity".¹⁰ He even allowed blatant racist insinuations to be printed. Thus he defined the "universality of great depravity" in India as "a general moral hue, between which, and the European moral complexion, there is a difference, analogous to the difference of the natural colour of the two Races".¹¹ As supporting evidence he conjured up endless quotations from such prominent individuals as Robert Clive, Sir John Shore, Governor Holwell and Governor Verelst. He also included an unlikely, or a typical, quotation from Warren Hastings, the noted 'Asiatic'. And he searched back through time to find a seventeenth century quotation from Bernier. His final piece of evidence consisted of a particularly vicious quotation from Tamerlane's *Institutes* dated approximately 1400.

Charles Grant could not perceive any positive qualities in Indian civilization. He dwelled instead upon the horrifying customs of sati and dacoity. He could not appreciate the domestic security which other more secular minded Company

9. I.O.L., Eur. MSS. E. 93, fol. 51.

10. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1812-13, Vol. X, Paper 282, pp. 96-7. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1831-32, Vol. VIII, Paper 734, General Appendix No. 1, p. 76.

11. I.O.L., Eur. MSS., E. 93, fol. 64; Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1812-13, Vol. X, Paper 282, p. 31; Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1831-32, Vol. VIII, Paper 734, General Appendix No. 1, p. 25.

servants observed to grace the lives of most Indian women.¹² Grant found obscure Hindu scriptures which defined the nature of women as "vile", even "useless and dangerous".¹³ In Grant's view too many Indian women were "doomed to joyless confinement through life and a violent premature death". And the men were "under little restraint from moral considerations".¹⁴

At the root of Grant's negative view of Indian civilization was his understanding or misunderstanding of caste. Of course, Grant was writing long before the time of Sir Herbert Risley or Edgar Thurston. But he rejected out of hand any contemporary effort to explain caste in terms of the inviolable rights of different segments of society. In his manuscript he deliberately dismissed the efforts of an unidentified Dr. Robertson to discover "profound Political Wisdom" in the caste system. And in the printed papers he made no effort to revise the judgment which he originally pronounced in his manuscript to the effect that caste was nothing but a mode of "Despotism... indissoluble and eternal, the work of a crafty and imperious Priesthood".¹⁵

True to his Evangelical mission, Grant insisted that he abhorred the idea of "needlessly or contemptuously exposing the defects of any... set of Men." Nor did he wish "to excite detestation". It was his aim "to engage compassion" and demonstrate that such evils as dacoity, sati, caste despotism and the general depravity of Hindu character could be traced to "moral sources capable of correction".¹⁶ Only after proving to his own satisfaction that the "Character of the Hindoos be in a moral view now low", was Grant prepared to defer to Indian history, literature, mythology and science as "a great desideratum

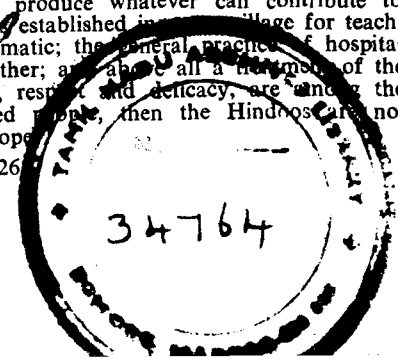
12. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1812-13, Vol. X, Paper 294, p. 15. On April 12, 1813, Col. Thomas Munro testified before a Parliamentary Committee: "If a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to convenience and luxury, schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic; the general practice of hospital and charity among each other; and above all a freedom of the sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which a civilized people, then the Hindoos are not inferior to the slaves of Europe."

13. I.O.L., Eur. MSS. E. 93, fol. 126.

14. *Ibid.*, fol. 100.

15. *Ibid.* fols. 96 and 98-9.

16. *Ibid.* fol. 83.



V2:8m N81

in human knowledge...of eminent importance to mankind".¹⁷

The aspersions against Hindu character which had provoked the Directors to call for review of Grant's manuscript in 1797 were mild compared to the invective contained in the *Parliamentary Papers* printed in 1812-13. In 1797 when Grant submitted his manuscript to the Court of Directors, he entered a long footnote in an effort to counter the arguments used by the Proprietors against his proposal in 1793. Paraphrasing the Proprietors' foremost objection that "the principle of proselytizing was impolitic", Grant interjected a parenthetical reference to idolatry. Thus he cited the Proprietors' contention: "That it would be a most serious and fatal disaster if Natives of Character (that is to say Idolaters)...were converted to Christianity".¹⁸ In the 1812-13 *Parliamentary Papers* Grant expanded his parenthetical remarks in order to call for theological war against idolatry. In the printed papers, after citing the Proprietors' concern for "Natives of Character", Grant replaced his brief reference to "Idolaters" with the following diatribe in a separate footnote:

It will be remembered that these are chiefly Idolaters, something of whose character and worship we have already seen. With whatever indifference idolatry may be viewed, and however venial it may be accounted in these times, even by persons born in Christian countries, it is a crime against which the displeasure of the holy and true God...is expressed with peculiar indignation, contempt and abhorrence, throughout that revelation which he hath vouchsafed to us; and it is therein shown to have often brought on, by its nature and effects, the misery and ruin of individuals and nations.¹⁹

Fearless of fundamental controversies, Grant was supremely confident in both his manuscript and the printed papers that the English language was the best medium for the moral education of Hindus and Mohammedans. He declaimed without hesitation the superior advantages of the use of the English language. And he pronounced with finality the dictum:

that it is perfectly in the power of the Country, by degrees, to impart to the Hindoos our language; afterwards, through that medium, to make them acquainted with our easy literary

17. *Ibid.*, fol. 91.

18. *Ibid.*, fol. 224.

19. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1812-13, Vol. X, Paper 282, p. 107.

compositions upon a variety of subjects; and, let not the idea hastily excite derision, progressively with the simple elements of our arts, our philosophy and Religion.²⁰

Furthermore, in the printed papers he injected a fresh lengthy footnote proclaiming the advantages of English education.²¹

Such plain and simple truths, so obvious to the Evangelical mind, survived Grant's manuscript to appear in print unchanged. Another eternal verity to survive in print unscathed was a total commitment to a loyal army. Experienced India hands of all ranks in the Company's service were terrified of the effect that Christian conversion would have upon the army. Recent mutinies at Vellore and Bareilly had given ample cause for concern. Of course, Grant had been in the forefront of Evangelicals who disclaimed all responsibility for the Vellore Mutiny. And he left unaltered the answer which his manuscript provided for Company statesmen who predicted dire consequences as the result of religious proselytization. He insisted that the Indian Army must remain a totally British institution without any provision for Indian officers or any form of Indian control:

Military arrangements are matters entirely in the hands of Government and as we now ultimately depend not only on British Officers, but on British Troops, so ought we to do in all times to come. We can at least foresee no period in which we may not govern our Asiatic Subjects more happily for them, than they can be governed by themselves or any other power, and doing this we should not expose them to needless temptation, and ourselves to needless danger from without and from within by giving the Military power into their hands.²²

It was only in his final chapter that Grant made substantive changes. At first, he made some minor adjustments. Maintaining the format of his original conclusion, he anticipated a short list of eight objections to his proposal of proselytization. By raising and then answering these objections, he was attempting to silence

20. I.O.L., *Eur. MSS.* E. 93, fol. 180.

21. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1812-13, Vol. X, pp. 97-99. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1831-32, Vol. VIII, Paper 734, General Appendix No. 1, pp. 76-78.

22. I.O.L., *Eur. MSS.* E. 93, fol. 215.

his secular critics.²³ The first six objections tackle the issue of the practicality of Evangelical effort in India. Reasonably succinctly, Grant answers the charges that his plan was visionary; that it was impracticable; that it would face Brahmin obstruction; that the vile and contemptible nature of the Portuguese who spoke English belied his enthusiasm for teaching English; that success in conversion was so far very limited; and that civil laws were sufficient to insure peace, order and happiness. His ready replies to these objections emerge more or less unchanged in the printed papers. One noticeable alteration is the omission of a footnote referring to 62,000 Christian converts in Ceylon who are designated as proof of successful conversion. In a footnote to his manuscript, Grant admitted that some of these converts were "ignorant", even "hypocritical".²⁴ But in the printed papers he simply eliminated this contradiction to his argument. The eight objection and answer which conclude the manuscript contain a simple affirmation of the ideal of religious proselytization. Grant added a footnote to his manuscript recalling that in 1793 the Proprietors had criticized his proposals for being "obnoxious, impolitic, unnecessary, full of mischief, dangerous, useless, unlimited".²⁵ Appealing to lofty considerations, he chided in response: "But the principle which they censure as the most wild... is the principle of the Gospel itself".²⁶ Thus he complained that "the whole of this discussion appears to have been undertaken with a vehement determination against the principle of introducing Christianity among our Asiatic Subjects". He charged that the opposition used "arguments subversive of each other, assertions palpably erroneous, assumptions clearly unwarrantable".²⁷

But the seventh and eighth objections in the original manuscript underwent radical alterations. Apparently in the politically charged atmosphere surrounding charter renewal in 1813, an

ardent statement of conviction was not a sufficient conclusion. In the printed papers Grant withdraws his affirmation of faith from its climatic position. Thus the statement of principle in answer to the eighth objection in his manuscript becomes part of the discussion of the seventh objection in the *Parliamentary Papers*. Conversely, the seventh objection in his manuscript becomes the eighth and final objection in the printed papers. This arrangement allows him to expand threefold his discussion of his opponents' practical concern over the danger of religious proselytization.²⁸ "The grand danger" envisioned by Grant's detractors was "that the communication of the Gospel and of European light may probably be introductive of a popular form of government and the assertion of independence".²⁹ For Grant it was inconceivable that Hindus could become inspired by western ideals of liberty and a democratic form of government. Of course he seizes the opportunity to remark that such considerations are totally inconsistent with those objections, which challenge the practicability of his plan. And he dismisses the criticism easily by conjuring up once again an essentially racist view of Hindus:

More calculated for passive suffering than for arduous attempts, they little love such exertions as freedom demands, and wish rather to be protected, than to have the trouble of protecting themselves. Where then is the rational ground for apprehending, that such a race will ever become turbulent for English liberty? A spirit of English liberty is not to be caught from a written description of it, by distant and feeble Asiatics especially... It has grown in the succession of ages from the active exertions of the human powers; and perhaps can be relished only by a people thus prepared.³⁰

23. One Director warned his colleagues:

"Great pains have been taken in various publications to misrepresent the character of the natives of India, to place them in a degraded and barbarous light, and to keep their good qualities and real state of civilization out of sight. When minds take a certain bias they pervert, bend and twist everything to their particular object: defects in the moral character of the people of India, arising from political, have been attributed to religious causes... Concealment and artifice are the usual resources of weakness against tyrannic oppression and grinding exaction." Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1812-13, Vol. X, paper 294, pp. 5-6.

24. I.O.L., *Eur. MSS.* E. 93, fol. 193.

25. *Ibid.*, fol. 222.

26. *Ibid.*, fol. 225.

27. *Ibid.*, fol. 226.

28. In I.O.L., *Eur. MSS.* E. 93, the seventh objection occupies fols. 201-15; the eighth objection, fols. 215-31. In Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1812-13, Vol. X, Paper 282, the eighth objection becomes the seventh objection and occupies pp. 89-92; whereas the seventh objection becomes the eighth objection and occupies pp. 92-109. In Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1831-32, Vol. VIII, Paper 734, General Appendix No. 1, the corresponding page numbers are: pp. 70-72 and 72-86.

29. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1812-13, Vol. X, Paper 282, p. 96. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers* 1831-32, Vol. VIII, Paper 734, General Appendix No. 1, p.

30. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1812-13, Vol. X, Paper 282, p. 97. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1831-32, Vol. VIII, Paper 734, General Appendix No. 1, p. 7.

Somewhat surprisingly, the final paragraph of both manuscript and printed papers struck a chord in harmony with the political and secular minds of Grant's most bitter and disgusted critics. Drawing upon the classical education which was common to so many Company pundits, Grant summoned forth a grandiose vision of imperial greatness. Thus he proclaimed:

We are called... to imitate the Roman Conquerors who civilized and improved the Nations whom they subdued, and we are called to this, not only by the obvious wisdom which directed their policy, but by local circumstances, as well as by sounder principles and higher motives than they possessed.³¹

Indeed he had already tried to outmanoeuvre his secular critics by taking a political view and asking: "What are the best means of perpetuating our empire there?"³² He deftly circumvented those of his critics who would answer, "by securing to the people their religion and laws". Grant insisted:

and in the just sense of the words, namely, that no violent change in either, contrary to the sense of the people, is to be enforced, we agree to the proposition. But what if the religion should be less favourable to our dominion than another system, and the people were induced voluntarily to make that other their religion; would not the change be for our interest?³³

The Company charter of 1813 was ample proof of Charles Grant's political acumen. Wilberforce quoted his "Observations..." at length in his three hour speech before the House of Commons on behalf of Indian missions.³⁴ Not only did the Company's renewed charter call for the licensing of missionaries, but it provided support for a Church Establishment in India. The Evangelicals were jubilant in their victory. However, although Evangelicals won their battle for Indian missions in 1812-13, they did not win the propaganda war with their detractors among

31. I.O.L., *Eur. MSS.* E. 93, fol. 230. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1812-13, Vol. X, Paper 282, p. 112. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1831-32, Vol. VIII, Paper 734, General Appendix No. 1, p. 89.

32. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1812-13, Vol. X, Paper 282, p. 101. Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1831-32, Vol. VIII, Paper 734, General Appendix No. 1, p. 80.

33. *Ibid.*

34. Cf. I.O.L., *Eur. MSS.* E. 93 and Great Britain, *Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 831-72.

secular Company statements. In 1832 Evangelicals found it necessary to reprint Grant's "Observations..." posthumously, during the junior Charles Grant's term of office as President of the Board of Control. Gradually, Evangelical interests harmonized with the utilitarian ideal of social reform which inspired many Company servants. Yet, while Utilitarians and Evangelicals found they could work together on many practical issues such as the abolition of sati, infanticide—even the Pilgrim Tax, the political instinct of Company statesmen remained that of non-interference with the religious beliefs and customs of their Indian subjects. While Christian missions performed many valuable services among the Indian people, the ideal of proselytization which inspired Grant's "Observations..." was to become as old and brittle as the pages of his manuscript. Yet, the fact that the House of Commons twice ordered Grant's "Observations..." to be printed, reflects the vitality and zeal of the Evangelical cause in the early nineteenth century.

NEWS NOTES

INDIA

National Archives of India

DURING the period, the various schemes of the Department continued to make satisfactory progress. Approval of the Planning Commission was received for inclusion of a new scheme 'Guide to the Sources of Asian History' in the Sixth Five Year Plan, with a proposed outlay of Rs. 10 lakhs.

Accessions during the period comprised 35 bundles (app. 950 files) of records of the Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms (1950-54), and 85 authenticated copies of bills assented to by the President of India.

In the Private Papers section, the following papers were received :

- (a) more papers relating to the Punjab Conspiracy case alongwith 3 photographs from Shri D. R. Handa;
- (b) one letter bearing signatures of terrorists in Lahore Jail from Shri M. H. Hukku;
- (c) 4 photographs and 2 books on Revolutionaries/Freedom fighters from Comrade Ram Chander;
- (d) 10 photographs of Maharaja of Alwar, Jang Bahadur of Nepal, and his two Maharanis and Maharaja of Jaipur from Mrs. Richard Cutts;
- (e) 54 xerox copies of papers connected with Delhi Satyagraha, 59 xerox copies of papers relating to Hindustan Socialist Republican Association and 14 pages of a book 'Sansmiritiya' from Shri Phool Chand Jain;
- (f) Photocopies of three issues of monthly magazine 'Balidan' for the months of June-July 1971-73, containing articles and poems on Bhagat Singh and his associates from Shri J. D. Thapar.

Under the exchange agreement with the India Office Library and Records, London the Department received 9 rolls of records pertaining to Dacca Factory Records (1775-79), 9 rolls relating to Political and Secret Department Records and 3 rolls pertaining to the activities of Subhas Chandra Bose. Under the

Indo-Czechoslovakia Cultural Exchange Programme, the Department received 3 microfilm rolls and 3 micro-copies of records of Indian Interest from the National Archives of Czechoslovakia, while 1 roll of T. S. Hatfull's *Journal of Voyage taken in the Cornwall East Indiaman, 1839*, was received under the Indo-Australian Cultural Exchange Programme. The Department also purchased 334 microfilm rolls of Home Miscellaneous series of Records in India Office Library and Records, London, from University Microfilm International, Michigan, U.S.A.

The Departmental Library as usual accessioned Parliamentary Papers, Journals, Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha Debates, during the period.

The Record Management Division completed the appraisal of 46,231 non-current files of various Ministries/Departments. These comprised records of Ministries of Finance and External Affairs, P.&T. Board, Railway Board, Directorate General of Civil Aviation, Rewa Kantha and Central India Agency, East Punjab States Union, Bhopal, Political Agency and Bundelkhand Agency. A total of 22,780 files were recommended for retention.

The 7th Report of Director of Archives on implementation of Archival Policy Resolution was printed and forwarded to concerned offices while the 8th Report has been sent to Department of Culture for approval.

Retention Schedules of records of the Department of Civil Aviation and Ganga Water Basin Resources Organisation were finalized and forwarded to them, while study reports and draft Retention Schedules of the records of the office of the Controller of Defence Accounts (S.C.), Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, and Directorate of field Publicity were finalized. Meanwhile, spot-study of records of Central Water Commission, Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Commission and Directorate of Printing, was continued.

Advice on various aspects of Record Management was tendered to Ministry of Home Affairs, and Regional Labour Commissioner, Jabalpur. Assistant Director of Archives (P & L) presided over three sessions of a workshop on Development of Teaching Aids for History of Freedom Movement in India 1919-47, organized by NCERT during 4-7 March 1981.

Items of reference media completed during the period were

- (a) *Public Records* : Descriptive Listing of 11,767 files belonging to Bhopal Political Agency, (1860-1934);

Bhopal Agency (Vernacular), Bhopawar Political Agency (1839-1926); Baghelkhand Political Agency (1829-1932) and Baghelkhand Political Agency (Vernacular).

- (b) *Private Papers* : Subject-listing of 1110 letters of Rajendra Prasad Papers, 267 letters of Gen. Cariappa Papers, 124 letters of Dadabhai Naoroji Collection and 143 letters of P. K. Malaviya Papers.
- (c) *Persian Records* : Descriptive listing of 565 letters of Persian Correspondence (1827), examination of 501 letters of Calendar of Persian Correspondence Vol. XII, checking and collation of 1337 seals of Mughal period and descriptive docketing of 5147 documents of Inayat Jang Collection.
- (d) *Guide to Records in National Archives of India* : Compilation of Part V was completed and work on compilation of parts VI and VII was continued. Among the series of records covered in these are: Finance Department, Public Works Department, Legislative Department, Reforms Office, India Mint Papers, Office of Secretary to Governor General, Railway Proceedings, General Letters to and from Court of Directors etc. Write-ups on a number of series of records including Central Excise (1934-46), P.W.D. (1885-1923); General Branch (1924-44), Office of Private Secretary to Viceroy and its successor bodies (1884-1958) and Office of Advocate General to Bengal Government (1825-1919), were completed.

As usual research facilities were accorded to scholars. A total number of 63 search cases were attended to on a variety of subjects. Noteworthy among them were ones relating to Railway Protection Force, Alexander James Joseph Macartney, Kolhan Govt. Estate and Indian Scientists who were honoured during the pre-independence period.

Volume XI of the National Register of Private Records (1971-77) was compiled and copies distributed to concerned offices, while work on compilation of volume XII was taken up. Glossary and Index to 'catalogue of Acquired Documents' was prepared and editing of 'MRIO Misc. Maps of the Survey of India' taken up. Volume XXIX, No. 1 (January-June 1980) of *The Indian Archives* was received from the press and copies distributed while Vol. XXIX No. 2 (July-December 1980) was

sent for printing. Index to Fort William India House Correspondence Vol. VIII was completed and sent to the Press. The Annual Report of National Archives of India for 1980 was also sent for Printing.

Selection of material from Public Records, Private Papers and microfilms for 'Towards Freedom' Project was continued. The series of records consulted in this connection were: I. N. A. records Series (Ministry of Defence, 1942-46), Rajendra Prasad Collection (1939-41), Linlithgow Collection (1941). A total of 6271 pages of selected material was typed.

The school of Archival Studies continued to run its various courses during the period. Theoretical and practical training was imparted to trainees of the One-Year Diploma Course in Archives Keeping. Several extension lectures were also arranged for benefit of trainees. Other courses run during the period were: (a) Short-term certificate course in Care and Conservation of manuscripts; Short-term Certificate course in Archives Administration; Short term Certificate Course in Record Management and Short term course in Reprography. The Board of Studies held its second meeting in March 1981 and made a number of recommendations for streamlining the syllabus of the School.

Technical services and assistance of the Department in respect of repair and reprography was rendered to a number of public organisations and private individuals. A total number of 1,22,839 exposures of microfilms, 3633 metres of positive prints and 14222 xerox copies were prepared. On the repair side, 25,269 sheets were laminated, 35,048 sheets repaired and 382 volumes and 123 books bound. Among the agencies/individuals who availed of these services were: India Office Library and Records, London, Central Hindi Directorate, Delhi, Delhi State Archives; Army Head-quarters, Centre for Documentation and Research, Abu Dhabi. Dr. Ali-Aba Hussain of Bahrain, Shri Phool Chand Jain, Mrs. Elizabeth Cook, Prof. Bimal Prasad, Shri H. Y. Sharda Prasad, New Delhi.

Exhibitions and lectures were held as part of the Department's efforts to arouse archival consciousness among the masses. The exhibitions organised during the period were: Sati, Widow Burning to Widow Remarriage, on 9th and 12-16 January 1981; Maulana Azad and Cabinet Mission on 20th, 21st and 23-28th February 1981; Their Lives for the Nation: The martyrdom of Sukhdev, Bhagat Singh and Rajguru, from 23rd-31st March 1981. Brochures on the exhibits displayed were brought



out both in English and Hindi. The lectures, delivered by eminent scholars were: Portuguese records in private custody by Fr. E. R. Hambye of Institute of Religious Studies, Delhi, on 21st January 1981; South Asian Studies in Scandinavia by Dr. K. R. Hallequist of the Scandinavia Institute of Asian Studies on 27th January 1981; Foreign Trade Policy of the Government of India (1929-39) by Prof. D. Rothermund of the University of Heidelberg, FRG, on 5th February 1981; Recent Trends in the Historical Analysis of Colonialism by Dr. Richard Fox of Duke University, U.S.A. on 20th February 1981; Conservation and preservation of Library materials by Mr. F. J. Marsh of India Office Library and Records, London, on 27th February 1981; The Ulama in British India by Prof. Mushirul Hasan of Jamia Islamia, Delhi, on 12th March 1981; India Office Library and Records by Mr. John Sims of the India Office Library, on 13th March 1981; India League and India's fight for freedom by Prof. Herbert Marshall of the Southern Illinois University, U.S.A., on 24th March 1981. Several distinguished persons visited the Department during the period. These included Shri H. Y. Sharda prasad, Shri K. P. Singh Deo, M.P., Shri Tyab Hussain, M. P. and Shri Kulbir Singh, brother of Shaheed Bhagat Singh.

The 47th Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held on 19-20th May 1981 at Delhi under the auspices of the Delhi Administration, with the active support of National Archives of India. The session was inaugurated by the Union Home Minister, Giani Zail Singh, and the Presidential address delivered by the Union Education Minister, Shri S. B. Chavan. An exhibition—'Capital Cities of India' was also organised on the occasion which was inaugurated by the Lt. Governor of Delhi, Shri S. L. Khurana.

The second, third and fourth meetings of the National Guide Committee were held on 30th April and 20th May at Goa and Delhi. Important items relating to the scope of the project and implementation procedures were discussed.

In the international field, National Archives of India continued to play a significant role as leader of the Third World. Shri S. A. I. Tirmizi, Director of Archives, attended the meeting of the Provisional Bureau of the 'Guide to Sources of Asian History' project at Kuala Lumpur from 25th-28th February 1981.

NEWS FROM STATES

Assam

During the period July-December 1980, the Assam Secretariat Record Room suspended its accessioning programme pending its transfer to Dispur.

A total number of 594 letters of pre-1874 period were descriptively listed. 3450 records were appraised of which 402 were recommended for permanent preservation. In the Repair Section the following targets were achieved: Chiffon repair 1320 sheets; full pasting 430 sheets, minor repair 210 sheets and binding of 56 books and volumes.

Rajasthan

During the year 1979-80, the State Archives accessioned 2 lakh files of various Departments. Their arrangement is in progress. The library acquired 200 new books during the period. The reference media section prepared descriptive lists of 1388 important documents while the Publication Section compiled the following press copies: Jaipur Arzdasht (Persian) Part I; Jaipur Arzdasht (Rajasthani) Parts I and II; Bikaner Bahiyat, Bikaner Mahakma Special records, and Ajmer Commissioner's records. The Department also pursued its project 'Rajasthan through the ages' part II. The Repair Section carried out repair of 13,450 sheets, hand lamination of 2779 sheets and stitching of 719 files. The Department observed an 'Archives Week' from 2-9th November 1979 during which discussions, seminars, radio talks were organised. A journal 'Archives' was also released on the occasion.

INTERNATIONAL

International Council on Archives (ICA)

Executive Committee Meeting

The Executive Committee of the ICA held its annual meeting from 9-12 September 1980 at Edinburgh and 20 September 1980 at London. Apart from reviewing the papers for the General Assembly meeting, the Committee took several important decisions. The name of the Committee on Archival Development was changed to Commission on Archival Development; Similarly, the Publications Committee was renamed Publications Commission. The Executive Committee also approved the award of ICA medals to six eminent archivists.

Shri S. A. I. Tirmizi, Director of Archives, Government of India, was coopted to the Executive Committee for the period 1980-82.

Committee on Archival Development

The Committee on Archival Development met on September 13-14, 1980 at London. Among the principal items considered were :

- (a) Survey of Third World Archival needs,
- (b) International Archival Development Fund,
- (c) CAD Information,
- (d) Formation of New ICA Regional Branches,
- (e) Reorganization of CAD.

Meeting of ICA General Assembly

The IXth meeting of the General Assembly of the ICA was held on 16 and 19 September 1980 at London. The meeting was attended by national delegations of 71 countries and was chaired by Mr. Oscar Gauye, Director of the Swiss Federal Archives, President of ICA.

The General Assembly reviewed the activities of the ICA during the period 1976-80 and expressed satisfaction on the co-operation in the development of archival methodology and professional standards. Several useful measures were recommended regarding : (a) access to archives, (b) archives and the general public and (c) archival research programme. Dr. S. N. Prasad, former Director, National Archives of India, and former Vice-President of ICA was unanimously elected an honorary member of ICA.

ICA Round Table Conference : Administrative Session

The session was held on 15 September 1980 at London, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Jean Favier, and attended by 52 delegates. The meeting chiefly discussed UNESCO's assistance to the various projects launched by the ICA on user needs, legal validity of microfilms, sampling techniques etc. The programme for the period 1981-83 was also finalized.

Meeting of Automation Committee

The Automation Committee of the ICA held its sessions between 15-19 September at London. It reviewed the developments of the Committee's current projects and problems of documentation of machine readable records.

Meeting of Sigillography Committee

In conjunction with the IXth ICA Congress, the Committee on Sigillography held a working session on 15 September 1980. The Committee resolved to continue the preparation of sigillographical terminology and discussed technical problems connected with the international glossary on Sigillography.

Committee on Business Archives

The fourth meeting of the Business Archives Committee was held during the International Congress on Archives from 17-19 September 1980. Spread over two sessions, the meeting discussed the various reports received on the state of business archives in different countries.

Meeting of the Joint Committee ICA/IRMF

The meeting of the Joint Committee of the ICA/IRMF was held during the London Congress on 15-16 and 18 September 1980. The activities of Unesco in setting up Records and Archives Management Programme (RAMP) were discussed in detail and a report on 'Records Management in Developing Countries: Decade for decision' prepared by the IRMF Committee was presented by the Chairman of the IRMF task force, Mr. Thomas Lovett. Several guidelines were suggested for improvement in the record management systems of developing countries with the assistance of Unesco.

Joint FID/ICA/IFLA Meeting

A joint meeting of the FID Education and Training Committee, the IFLA Division on Education and Research and the ICA Education and Training Committee was held during 12-13 December 1980 at Frankfurt. It was also attended by a special representative of UNESCO.

The meeting explored the avenues of mutual interest and agreed that joint endeavours should be pursued whenever possible, particularly in training and education concept development, seminars etc. The early publication of a new edition of the World Guide to Educational Programme for Library, information science and archives was announced as was a Unesco project to prepare a register of special education and continuing education opportunities.

Seminar on Management of Archives

A two weeks programme on the management of Archives was organised jointly by the British Council and Unesco from

21 September—3 October 1980. A wide range of topics such as Design, Record Management Techniques, Reader service, Training and Legislation, were discussed. Visits were also arranged to the British Steel Record Centre, Public Record Office, and West Sussex Record Office.

Seminar on ADP for Archives

During the course of the London Congress, the ICA Automation Committee organised a seminar on ADP for archivists of developing countries. The papers presented covered an introduction to computer technology, management of machine readable records, archival controls by use of archival systems and administrative uses of automation.

Guide to Sources of History of Nations

The Provisional Bureau of the Guide to the Sources of Asian History held its meeting in Kuala Lumpur on 26-27 February 1981 under the Chairmanship of Datto Alwi Janten of Malaysia and Shri S. A. I. Tirmizi of India. Among other things, the meeting discussed the sample sheets submitted by India, Indonesia and Malaysia and drafted the methodological rules for preparation of the Guide. Statutes of Rules of procedure were drafted and approved. The Committee also appointed Advisors from each developed country as also from the Third World. Preparatory steps were discussed for the inaugural meeting of the Regional Coordinating Committee to be held in October 1981 at Colombo.

MEETING OF SWARBICA EXECUTIVE BOARD

The Fifth Meeting of the Executive Board of SWARBICA was held at the Tamil Nadu Archives, Madras, on 14-15 July 1980 under the Chairmanship of Mr. A. Dewaraja of Sri Lanka. At the meeting Shri S. A. I. Tirmizi, National Archives of India, stressed the significant role that SWARBICA was required to play in this Region and suggested steps to tackle the various problems concerning it and to strengthen the Branch. Among the important decisions taken by the Board were: (a) transfer of SWARBICA Journal to Dacca, (b) requesting Bhutan and Burma to enrol themselves as National Members, and (c) to hold a seminar.

UNESCO

The 21st General Conference of Unesco was held in Belgrade from 23 September to 28 October 1980 to discuss and adopt a

programme and budget for the triennium 1981-83. Matters relating to the five themes of the General Information programme were the subject of the sessions which covered Information Systems and services. Apart from 26 member-nations, the conference was attended by the treasurer of ICA, Mr. Alfred Wagner. Among the important points agreed to were:

- (a) survey of archival situation and needs in Africa,
- (b) need for a balance between libraries and archives, and
- (c) relevance of the Records and Archives Management programme (RAMP) for developing countries.

AUSTRALIA

Oral History Conference: The oral History Association of Australia held its first national conference and general meeting in Perth on 18-19 August 1979. Formed in Perth in July 1978, the Association has branches in New South Wales, Western Australia and South Australia.

CANADA

International Archives Week: The celebration of international Archives Week varied among institutions and included 'Open Houses', special seminars and workshops, from 1 November 1979 to 18 January 1980. The city of Vancouver Archives hosted the first training seminar and workshops of the Association of British Columbia Archivists. An archives symposium was organised by the Manitoba Archives, while the provincial Archives of Newfoundland showed historic films as part of the celebrations.

Canadian and American Archivists Meet: On 9 and 10 May 1980, the Association of British Columbia Archivists and the Northwest Archivists held a joint conference at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. The programme included joint sessions on data/machine-readable records management, archival education, preservation and care of photographs and preparation of finding aids.

Pilot Archivist Internship Programme: The Public Archives of Canada recently undertook in cooperation with the history department of Laurentian University of Sudbury, Ontario, an experimental archives internship programme. Designed to provide a history graduate student, an opportunity to acquire an intensive introduction to archives with a three month on-the-job archival

experience as part of the students professional development, this is a new approach to historical training and interdisciplinary cooperation.

CHILE

National Archival System : A commission has recently been set up to study the legislative framework for a natural archival system. With the current political direction tending towards decentralization and regionalisation it has become imperative that regional archives be established and the Archivo Nacional be reorganized.

Inaugural Meeting of Archivists Association : The Association of Archivists of Chile formed in January 1979 held its first meeting at the Archivo Nacional on 29 August 1979 for archivists of the Santiago region. The purpose of the meeting was to exchange information on a variety of subjects to acquaint Archivo Nacional personnel with specific problems so as to develop a programme of technical assistance for user organisations.

CHINA

International Archives Week : The Ministry of Post and Telecommunication issued on 29 November 1979, a special three-stamp set to commemorate International Archives Week. The three stamps reflect the long archival tradition in China and the Chinese saying "a distant source and a long stream".

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Miss Maria Soledad Horen has taken over as the new Director of the Archivo General de la Nacion. She succeeds Julio Jaime Julia.

FRANCE

New Archives Legislation : In 1978 and 1979, French archival legislation dating from 1790 and 1796 has been completely updated. The basis of the new legislation is the Loi Sur Les Archives, No. 79-18, dated 3 January 1979. The newly defined right of information law No. 78-753 dated July 17, 1978 opens to public inspection a large quantity of administrative files, regardless of their date origin, or plan of keeping. The main features of the new legislation are :

- (a) Legal definition of archives.
- (b) Legal obligation for the preservation of archives.

- (c) Restricted access on all documents that are not legally open for public inspection,
- (d) Definition of public archives versus private archives,
- (e) Centralization of the administration of public archives,
- (f) Legal procedure of the selection and disposal of public archives,
- (g) Liberalization of access to public archives,
- (h) Protection of private archives.

Guide to the Holdings of the Archives Nationales : For the first time since 1891, the Archives Nationales started work in 1978 on a general guide to its holdings. The 'Les Archives Nationales : Etat generales de Fonds' will consist of five Volumes which are expected to be ready by 1981.

Bonaparte Family Archives : In 1979 the Archives Nationales acquired a very important group of the archives of the Bonaparte family (Archives Napoleon) including correspondence and miscellaneous documents from Napoleon I, his wife Josephine, and other members of his family.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

International Archives Week : Archivists of the German Democratic Republic (G.D.R.) celebrated the week of Socialist Archives Administration 22-28 October 1979, an event closely associated with the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the state. A series of exhibitions, conferences and seminars were held during the week. On 25 October 150 archivists and historians met at Potsdam to discuss the development and functions of archives administration.

ITALY

Conference on National Deeds : The Canadian Academic centre in Italy and the Institute di Studi Romani co-sponsored a conference in Rome on 16-18 June 1980, on the private deeds of the late Middle Ages as sources for social history. The meeting was attended by several international scholars.

MALAYSIA

Records Management Manual : With a view to introducing a nationwide programme for the management of non-current records, the National Archives has published a 'Records Management Manual' (1979) in Malay and English to assist

departmental record offices and others employed in the storage, administration and preservation of records. The National Archives has also launched a 'Bulletin' in 1979, which contains articles of archival and historical interest to encourage professional archivists in their work.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Handbook on National Archives: The National Archives and Public Records Services of Papua New Guinea has published its first edition of an information pamphlet to assist the general public in knowing more about the National Archives of the country.

SPAIN

The Ministry of Culture has created a Centre de Information Documental de Archivos within the national archival organisation. Since its inception in July 1979, the centre has been pursuing several projects including an automated census of archives, an automated guide to researchers working at Spanish archives and creation of a specialized library in archival literature.

U. K.

Association of Country Archives: In March 1980 an Association of Country Archivists was formed in London. The primary aims of the Association are to facilitate the interchange of views between county archivists and to formulate joint responses to significant issues affecting archives series through the country.

BOOK REVIEWS

Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Volume Ten, Ed. S. Gopal (oriental Longman, New Delhi, 1977)

“JAWAHARLAL NEHRU is one of the key figures of the twentieth century”, states Indira Gandhi in her ‘Foreword’ to volume Ten of the *Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru*. “He symbolises some of the major forces which have transformed our age”. This sensitive perception of Jawaharlal Nehru is amply borne out by the writings and speeches of the late Prime Minister which have appeared in the volume of his *Selected works* being edited by Prof. S. Gopal. These writings and speeches are invaluable for the scholar and the historian from two different perspectives. They provide authentic documentary evidence on the crucial issues affecting politics in India in the first half of the twentieth century, at the same time, they provide a broad historical canvas for the appraisal of the epic struggle for the freedom of India fought under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

The Tenth volume of the *Selected Works*, the volume under review, covers a short but immensely significant period from the 15th of July 1939 to the 10th of March 1940. At the commencement of this period, Nehru was all set for a voyage of discovery to China. Already during the 20s and 30s, Nehru had travelled extensively in Europe and elsewhere, and after each of these travels, he had returned home with a new consciousness of the international context in which the struggle for Indian freedom was being waged. China, it is clear from what Nehru writes on the eve of his visit to this great country, was obviously destined to provide a new dimension to the struggle for India's freedom. Both the countries were fighting a grim struggle for national liberation, China against Japan, and India against Great Britain. Nehru looked forward to an understanding of the people of China, as well as of her leaders, in the hope that through such an understanding would emerge a relationship of friendship that would help both the countries in their liberation struggles. The diary which he maintained in the course of his journey through China gives a vivid account of all that he saw and observed in the country, as well as of the distinguished political figures whom he met. “Those 13 days (of my travels in China) were full and I could easily write a book about the

sights I saw, the people I met and the impressions I gained..... (But) though I met men and women of note and distinction, I was trying always to understand the people of China an imbibing impressions from them... I had read so much about them and their magnificent record of culture and I was eager to sense the reality. The reality came up to my expectations. For I found not only a race wise and profound, deep in the lore of its own past, but also a vital people, full of life and energy, adapting themselves to modern conditions. On the face of even the man in the street there was the imprint of thousands of years of culture". The practical benefits flowing from this trip, which had to be cut short because of the outbreak of World War II, are admirably reflected in a note written by Jawaharlal Nehru on the development of contacts between China and India. After a masterly spelling out the historical experiences of the two countries, Jawaharlal Nehru suggests a six-point programme of cooperation between China and India, a programme which bears eloquent witness to his remarkable ability to translate strategic historical understanding into an agenda of concrete political action.

As we have already indicated, Nehru's travels through China were cut short by the outbreak of World War II. On returning to India, he faced the pressing problem of determining the attitude of the Indian National Congress towards Great Britain and the Axis Powers. With his customary lack of sensitivity, Lord Linlithgow, the then Viceroy of India, had declared India to be a belligerent power without taking the trouble of consulting Indian opinion as represented by the Indian National Congress. Jawaharlal Nehru and the Congress leaders were, therefore, faced with the delicate task of formulating a stance that would, at one and the same time, show their utter contempt for fascism (as an international phenomenon) as well as their unshakable resolve to fight imperialism (as a national phenomenon). The resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee, on the 14th of September, a resolution which was the handiwork of Jawaharlal Nehru, admirably reflects these two constituents of the contemporary nationalist standpoint. The resolution expressed in unequivocal language the distaste with which the people of India looked upon fascism, and their sympathy for the victims of Nazi aggression in Europe. At the same time, the resolution referred to the ambiguous attitude of the British Government towards the aspirations of her colonial subjects. The people of India were anxious to join hands with other democratic countries in fighting the menace of fascism. Yet they could not do so unless they were themselves free of British bondage. It was, therefore incumbent on Great Britain to confer freedom on India, and having

done so, to invite the people of the country to a partnership in the struggle against Nazi Germany. In the words of the resolution: "A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic cooperation. She will work for the establishment of a real world order based on freedom and democracy, utilising the world's knowledge and resources for the progress and advancement of humanity".

The British response to the resolution was to draw upon the forces of reactionary communalism in India, as a counterpoise to the progressive nationalism of Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian National Congress. Nehru outlines his position on the informal alliance between communalism and the British Government with admirable clarity in the documents produced in this volume. The Congress, he points out, did not necessarily represent every section of society in India, because, to use his words, "it does not represent those who are opposed to it". What the Congress could legitimately claim to represent was a national viewpoint, a viewpoint in which the interests and the aspirations of every section of society in India found its proper place. Again, Nehru points out, it is an obvious fallacy to think of the great Muslim community as a minority whom the Hindus could dominate. The Muslims were in a majority in entire provinces of India, and in such provinces, it was the Hindus who could regard themselves as a minority. "It is quite inconceivable to me in these circumstances", stated Nehru, "(that) either the Hindus can tyrannise over the Muslims or the Muslims can tyrannise over the Hindus..." But despite his realistic stance on the communal issue, a meeting with Jinnah to discuss the so-called Hindu-Muslim problem, and present a united front to the British Government, proved abortive of results. A draft agreement on the communal issue reproduced in this volume, which never saw the light of day, bears eloquent witness to the failure of the two leaders to come to a working agreement on the desirable political relationships between the two major religious communities of India.

These are some of the themes which are covered by the Volume Ten of the *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*. As we have pointed out before, the *Selected Works* provide the scholar with valuable source materials at the same time as they offer him an insightful perspective for the history of the period. As such, they are obligatory reading for everyone who seeks to understand the nature and quality of contemporary historical reality, within India and in the world community.

RAVINDER KUMAR

Surendranath Banerjee and History of Modern India, by Bani Banerjee, Metropolitan Book Co., Delhi.

WHILE the quantum of research in recent years on modern Indian history in general and the nationalist era in particular has grown to considerable dimension, many aspects of the said sphere are yet to receive more adequate treatment and several issues of vital character yet remain grossly neglected. Historical comprehensiveness, of course, is a matter of time, especially in the Indian context. There is no reason to think that because something has not been done so far, it will not be done in future. There are, however, subjects of priority which need not brook delay for the simple reason that the present should not miss the significance of certain values of an immediate past which shaped its own character. One such subject to receive preferential treatment is the life and work of the builders of the nation and chief architects of India's national resurgence.

In this perspective, Bani Banerjee's monograph pertaining to the life and role of Surendranath Banerjee in the broader context of modern Indian history merits praise and consideration. The time of Banerjee covers the last half of 19th century and the first quarter of 20th century, a period which by all means was a formative epoch in Indian life. One among the pioneers of national awakening and one of the early revolutionaries to challenge the stability of the *Raj* and call upon the people to rise, while all the time maintaining the approach of a statesman, Banerjee was a rare individual in his own right whose contributions to the making of a nation, both in ideas and action, represented a classical style. The author has gone into her research with empathy and has tried to portray the personality with the political ecology in the background. This makes the treatise interesting. But, it may be said here, that a subject of this importance could have been given a more elaborate deal, since at many places the reader does not get enough of what he wants to gather. Since the author is herself aware of the fact that 'no scholar Indian or foreign, has made an attempt to evaluate his role', and took upon herself the responsibility of attempting at 'a detailed and critical account of the ideas and manifold contributions of this selfless patriot to the cause of Indian Nationalism', she could have put in greater endeavour for a more comprehensive treatment. We appreciate the problem of the scholar that she was working for a dissertation, meant for experts, to be presented as precisely as possible. In book form, however, a subject of biographical nature as this, meant for a larger number of readers, call for certain details without which the reader's

desire for more information remains less satisfied. For example, one would have liked to know more about the role of Surendranath Banerjee as a founder of the Indian Association and the Indian National Conference, both at the conceptual and practical level, the intricate problems through which those organisations passed, and the final outcome of such difficult ventures in the national syndrome. Even the activities of Banerjee in the crucial situation of the partition of Bengal have been given a brief one-page treatment.

A pronounced leader against partition, Banerjee had shown his statesmanship by advising the Viceroy to think of a partition in the direction of Bihar and Orissa and not the partition of Bengal proper. But, the administrators like Fuller wanted to see the Curzonian policy through and planned to put an end to the effective role of Banerjee in the 'new province' as a formidable leader. Surendranath's determination—"Our salvation lies in our own hands. The supreme moment of action has arrived"—made the anti-partition agitation what it became and ultimately forced the British to see reason. His influence over the Muslims of Bengal was indeed remarkable. After the famous Barisal incident wherein the Government broke up a spectacular rally against Partition while 'publicly insulting and arresting Babu Surendranath Banerjee', the Muslims of Calcutta took up the cause of agitation and tried to uphold the honour of 'a trusted and highly respected leader of the people'.

When communal tension began to manifest itself in the wake of partition and anti-partition movement, Banerjee took upon himself the difficult task of maintaining peace and amity between the two hostile communities. Even a hostile Viceroy, Minto, had to admire his constructive role and reported to the Secretary of State, Morley, "It was simply marvellous with the troubles and anxieties of a few months ago still fresh in one's memory to see the 'King of Bengal' (Surendranath) sitting on my sofa with his Mohammedan opponents, asking for my assistance to moderate the evil passions. . . ."

A posture of statesmanship was equally evident in Surendranath's concern over the Reforms. He could convey his country's gratitude to the authorities 'for the reforms which have been announced', but could challenge the Government's policy of divide and rule as initiated through the separate electorates. "That old sinner Surendra Nath Banerjee" complained the Viceroy, "has now taken up the cudgels on the grounds of over-representation for Mohammedans. . . ."

All these aspects could have been highlighted by the author to give the theme a complete shape. The deficiency, however, stands compensated in another sense. The scholar has given vivid description of Surendranath as a journalist, educationist, and orator. His political and economic ideas, too, have been thoroughly analysed.

On the whole, Bani Banerjee's book on Surendranath Banerjea is a valuable contribution to our existing knowledge on British-Indian period. In presentation and style the work is attractive. For advanced students on modern Indian history as well as for general readers, the book will prove an asset.

M. N. DAS

'White Mutiny' *The Ilbert Bill Crisis in India and Genesis of the Indian National Congress* by E. Hirschmann. Heritage Publishers, New Delhi 1980, Rs. 80.

THE Ilbert Bill meets all the requirements of research students. It is a closed episode, with a clear beginning, a middle and an end, and it was, as Professor Hirschmann says, three crises in one, of ideology, of social relationships, and of the administrative structure's ability to resolve conflicting claims. It exposed the real nature of the *raj*—and the underlying rancour before, but Professor Hirschmann provides a detailed and comprehensive account. It does not alter or drastically revise our previous understanding of this episode, but it is useful to have this narrative.

S. GOPAL

Rajputana Agency 1831-1858, by Dr. V. K. Vashishtha, Aalekh Publishers, Jaipur, price Rs. 80.

THIS is the thesis of the author approved for the Ph. D. degree in the Rajasthan University, Jaipur. In the words of the author, this work is a study of the British relations with Rajputana States during the years 1832-1858. The author has therein examined and discussed in details the role played by the residence and other junior political officers appointed at various places in Rajputana, and their *modus operandi*, whereby they tried to evolve a uniform British policy towards the Rajputana States as a whole.

At the outset in his long introduction, covering 34pp., the author has briefly given the circumstances under which the British Government concluded the treaties with various Rajputana States during the year 1817-1818. In his preliminary remarks describing the political situation in Rajputana region on the eve of the second Anglo-Maratha War (1803), the author has tried to summarise the relations of Rajputana States with the Maratha power which was predominant in that region at close of the XVIIIth century. The account given by the author about the Maratha relations with the states of Rajputana is not only scrappy and misleading but full of historical errors also. The Maratha Generals had started claiming and even successfully exacting succession fees from the rulers of Southern Rajputana States as early as middle of the XVIIIth century. Ajmer was under the control of the Sindhis even before 1758 A.D. and remained so till it was finally ceded to the British in 1818, save short periods when it was temporarily occupied by Maharaja Bijay Singh of Marwar in 1762-63 and 1787-92 A.D. Mahadji Sindhia should not have been designated the ruler of Gwalior because Gwalior became the headquarter of the Sindhis domain only after 1808 A.D. in the reign of his successor Daulat Rao Sindhia. Though the author has given in details the changing policy of the British Government towards the Rajputana States after the departure of Marquis of Wellesley, he has not at all referred to the ever-increasing anarchy in the Rajputana region and the terrible '*gardi-ka-waqf*' in the Southern Rajputana, which ultimately compelled Lord Hastings to finally accept Charles Metcalfe's proposals and revoke the policy of non-interference and decide upon the extermination of the Pindaris. Consequently treaties were entered into with all the Rajputana States in the years 1817-1818.

In tracing the policy of superintending the Rajputana States during the first seven years (1818-25) following the conclusion of treaties in the Rajputana States, the author has brought out how the political affairs conducted by the various political agents under the Rajputana Agency began interfering in the internal administration of the respective states, for carrying out the directions of Lord Hastings, regarding compelling the various States to improve their internal administration and thereby possibly reduce the continuing misrule, misery and anarchy in those States which was the legacy of the Maratha domination in that region. In carrying out this policy, the British authorities had to fight a minor Bharatpur war (1825-26). During this period the Merwara tracts under the Mewar and

Marwar States were taken (1823-24) over by the British and entire Marwara region was entrusted to the independent superintendent of the British.

After the death of David Ochterlony the Rajputana Agency was also put under the control of Charles Metcalfe, the then resident at Delhi. In the last section of his introduction the author has discussed the British policy towards Rajputana States during the period (1825-31) when Rajputana Agency was administered from Delhi. There was reversal of the earlier British policy and efforts were made to strictly follow the terms of treaties relating to non-interference by the British in the internal affairs of the States. Consequently British intervention was withdrawn from Jaipur and Mewar. And political agencies of Jaipur and Udaipur were abolished in 1830. During the years 1829-31, it was being increasingly realised that entrusting to conduct the British relations with the Rajputana States to the residents located at Delhi, could not possibly be very satisfactory because of the geographical distances. The various proposals were put forth but no definite decision could be arrived at in respect of this matter till after the end of 1831.

In the first chapter the author has given an account of the different stages of the evolution and development of the Rajputana Agency which was established in 1832 A.D. as a result of the initiative taken by Lord Bentinck in this respect and the final outcome of his tour of Rajputana in that year. The author has also given the details of the additional personnel appointed from time to time to work either in the Agency or at other State Capitals within its jurisdiction. It is noteworthy that during this period even the British Political Department called the 'Court of *Vakils* at Ajmer' as 'international', though it was actually dealing with 'interstate disputes' (pp. 43) and in the context of the British Government, Rajputana States have been termed as 'foreign States' (p. 49).

In the second chapter the author has given the details of the set-up (wrongly termed 'Constitution') of the Rajputana Agency during the period 1832-1858. He has given an account of the functioning of various subordinate political officers and the details of the duties of different ministerial staff of the Agency. The importance of the Agency *vakils* of the different states at the Agency headquarters has been duly brought out but Sutherland's assertion that 'the Agency *Vakil*' worked as the 'Minister for Foreign affairs of his state' (p. 61) is not correct as the *vakil* was more akin to an ambassador than to a foreign minister. Again, his efforts to compare the relationship of these states with the Mughal Empire with their relationship with the

British is simply futile, as the author does not seem to have an adequate knowledge of the conditions prevailing in this region under the Mughal Empire.

From chapter three to sixth, the author has tried to give details of the working of each of the political Agencies of Haruati, Mewar, Jodhpur and Jaipur during the period 1832 to 1858. With a view to study working of each individual Agency the author has picked up an individual state within that Agency to trace the British relation with that particular state during the entire period. The selection of the states so studied by the author is based on the some special problems, which had to be faced by the concerned political agent in respect of the state concerned.

Thus in chapter three the author has traced how ultimately a lasting solution was arrived at and implemented to resolve the difficulties and entanglements arising out of the supplementary treaty of December 26, 1817 A.D., by which the entire administration of the principality of Kota was vested in Rajrana Zalim Singh, the then Chief Minister of Kota, and his successors.

In chapter four the author has traced the British relations with the State of Mewar during the period under study. With the establishment of the Neemuch Agency, latter designated as a Mewar political Agency, the political agent therein had to deal with the problems relating to the British relations with the Mewar State. Particularly dealing with the accumulated arrear of the Mewar tribute and the conflict between Maharana of Mewar and his rebellious noble, Rawat of Salumber. The author has fully traced the various stages through which these negotiations and the consequent action taken in respect of the same from time to time.

In the fifth chapter the author has mainly dealt with the British relations with the Jodhpur State, which has proved to be a problem state since the very conclusion of treaty. Maharaja Man Singh of Jodhpur was an enigmatic personality and was never friendly towards the English since his resumption of control over Marwar Government in 1820. All efforts of the political officers to impress on the Maharaja to restore law and order in the State and improve the financial condition of the state had failed. Maharaja's vindictive policy towards his rebellious nobles has further complicated the situation. Ultimately, Jodhpur political agency was re-established in 1839. Maharaja Man Singh died in 1843 and was succeeded by Maharaja Takth Singh of Ahmednagar (Idar). But neither the administration could be improved nor the cordial relations between

the Maharaja with his nobles could be re-established in spite of all efforts by the successive political agents at Jodhpur. The author has duly described all the details of these happenings on the basis of contemporary records and documents.

In the sixth chapter the author has dealt with the British relations with the State of Jaipur during the fateful years of two successive minorities of Maharaja Jai Singh III and his infant son Ram Singh II. The author has taken pains to deal at length with the various problems that the Regency-administrations had to face from time to time. He has also pointed out the continuing public antipathy towards the British intervention in the affairs of the State. But careful handling of the political situation in the Jaipur State by Ross and his successors enable the British authorities to strengthen their hold on the Jaipur State administration, and thereby rendering noteworthy service to the people and state of Jaipur. Ludlow's efforts for education of Maharaja Ram Singh and introducing mass education, social reforms and improvement in state administration as well as finances have been duly detailed by the author. Thus the British initiative in these important matters lead the beginning of a new era in the history of the Jaipur State.

In the seventh chapter the author has discussed the leading events in connection with the British relations with the states of Bharatpur and Sirohi. In the context of the Bharatpur State, he has mentioned how the political agency there was withdrawn in 1833, on handing over the administrative powers to Raja Balwant Singh, and was re-established after his death in 1853, to carry on the administration during the minority of Balwant Singh's son and his successor Jaswant Singh. The author has duly brought out how Morrieson, the Political agent at Bharatpur, defied the instructions of his superiors. Thus he not only caused much loss to the people and the state of Bharatpur but also aroused great antagonism among them against the Morrieson administration in Bharatpur.

In his account of British relations with Sirohi the author has fully brought out how the cordial relations developed and how Rao of Sirohi readily handed over the management of state to the British political Superintendent Anderson. But Anderson's successor could not continue his good work, and had to be withdrawn. At the close of this chapter the author has tried to make an appraisal of the British Policy of establishing political agencies in the various states for some definite purposes. He has, however, only mentioned the obvious causes which necessitated immediate urgent intervention by the British authorities in the inter-state affairs of the relevant states.

In the eighth chapter the author has traced the British efforts to wipe out the menace of thuggi in the Rajputana region. The consequent opposition and the continued reluctance of Maharaja Man Singh to co-operate with the British authorities against the thuggi and more so to end the serious problem of interstate raids and lootings, finally resulted in the establishment of Jodhpur region, stationed at Erinpura, the expenses of which had to be met by the Marwar State. The author has also thus detailed the various ways by which the British finally succeeded in establishing supreme authority in these leading states of Rajputana. The Sequestrations of the respective portions of the salt works on the Sambar lake belonging to Jodhpur and Jaipur States with a view to enforce implementation of the orders issued by the Rajputana A.G.G., marks an important stage in the growing British domination in this region. The establishment of the vakil courts at different political agency head-quarters and appellate vakil-court at Ajmer further undermined this sovereign status of the Rajputana States. These vakil courts proved very useful in solving the interstate problems.

In chapter nine the author has described how with the growing dominance and control of the British over the Rajputana States, the political officers took up humanitarian causes and after being inspired by Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General of India at the Ajmer Durbar (Jan., 1832), took up the role of social reformists in the Rajputana region.

The social reforms enacted and enforced in the British Indian provinces were now being introduced in the various Rajputana States and steps were taken by respective political officers to ensure improvements or to issue relevant orders from respective rulers of the different states. Thus trafficking in slaves, the system of slavery, female infanticide, Samadhi, torturing of witches and sati, were the social evils then rampant in Rajputana States and the British political officers did their best to get them abolished.

With a view to encourage their own trade in Rajasthan, Henry Lawrence, then A.G.G., encouraged the traders living in Jagir areas in different states to migrate in the Ajmer-Merwara region. This was the move which had far-reaching effects in the decades following the suppression of the great revolt of 1857. In his appraisal the author has correctly stated that the British efforts for social reforms in the Rajputana States made noteworthy beginning in this direction, which led to ultimate success only in the last decade of the XIXth century.

In chapter tenth the author has summarised events and happenings in the Rajputana agency during the uprising of 1857-58. He has also traced the British policy followed and implemented by George Lawrence and his various subordinate political agents. After mentioning briefly the uprising of the British Indian forces in their various district cantonments and contingents head-quarter of Rajasthan, he has explained at some length why the local uprisings did not gather strength in the relevant regions but could be readily ended after the rebellious troops marched out towards Delhi.

In the last chapter the author has summarised the main trends and leading features of the British policy towards the Rajputana States and has shown how the delicate balance of control by the higher authorities over the A.G.G. and the sound suggestions put by the A.G.G. before the British Government of India and the "Board of Directors", helped in the strengthening of the relations and growth of mutual respect and confidence.

This work on "*Rajputana-Agency 1832-58*" is based on primary source-material preserved in the National Archives, New Delhi, only. The author has not cared to look into the relevant records on this period which are now under the control of the 'Rajasthan State Archives', Bikaner. A careful study of the '*Jodhpur Rajya-ki-Khyat*' Ms. Vol. IV, could possibly have given some indications of the state version, or the other side of the picture in respect of various happenings in relation to Jodhpur State during the reign of Maharaja Man Singh, as detailed in this work.

Though the author has given details about the establishment of various political agents and overall control over the Rajputana region through the Rajputana-agency finally with head-quarter at Ajmer, he has not given any account of the military arrangements and cantonments, which were established immediately after the conclusion of the treaties of the Rajputana States at Neemuch and Nasirabad. The British forces stationed in these cantonments were later supplemented by the establishment of different corps and contingents in other parts of Rajputana. These military cantonments and British forces stationed there played a very important role in the consolidation of ever-growing British domination over the Rajputana States. This is an aspect which should have been fully brought out in this work.

The author has also not taken note of an important happening in Rajputana in respect of which the Rajputana Agency expressed its disapproval in 1832. Maharaja of Bikaner had

secured '*Mahi Maratib*' and other honours from the Mugal Emperor Akbar II, which were presented to the Maharaja by the Emperor's representative, Raja Jwala Prasad, at Bikaner on Nov. 27, 1831. Again, while the author has obliquely referred to increase and decrease of gun-salute allotted to different rulers in Rajputana, he has not mentioned when the first determination of the respective gun-salute to the different princes was made, nor has he mentioned the cases in which the reduction or increase was made, which should have been clarified.

Finally the author has completely ignored the efforts made by the British Government through the Rajputana Agency and its subordinate political officers to indirectly acquaint the Rajputana princes and their courts with European scientific thought and knowledge, by presentation of telescopes, microscopes, beautiful world globes with world map printed on them, world atlases, and other illustrated books on scientific and other subjects in English in 1833, on behalf of Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General of India. Again the author has not mentioned in his book the proposal made by the British Government to the Rajputana Princes about its future correspondence with them to be carried on in the English language instead of Persian, as had been the case till then. It had far reaching effects on the future outlook of the Rajputana Princes in respect of the European culture and educational policy in those states. Consequent upon such a proposal, the rulers of Kota and Jaisalmer appointed English-knowing secretaries on their staff and later the English offices were established in the secretariate of each of the Rajputana states. Moreover, a class was opened in 1835 by the Kota ruler for teaching English in Kota, even though at that time there was not even one state primary school for educating any one there. Establishment of English school in Ajmer in 1836 was later followed by establishment of similar schools in some state capitals during the following decade.

All these important facts and trends which were the direct outcome of the establishment of Rajputana Agency and consequent growth of British influence on the Rajputana Princes should also have been dealt with by the author.

The book on the whole is a useful collection of authentic details about the political happenings and developments with dates about the various appointments and transfers and such similar details which makes it a rather dull reading. But it should be a useful guide to further researchers in respect of the relevant records in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

The book is well-printed and fully documented but there are many mis-prints which do cause much confusion to its readers.

Its price Rs. 90 is rather prohibitive, but it should necessarily be purchased by college, university and public libraries in Rajasthan.

RAGHUBIR SINGH

The Rig-Vedic Culture and the Indian Civilisation, by A. N. Chandra, Ratna Prakashan, Calcutta, 1980, Rs. 75.00.

EVER since the discovery of the antiquities of the Indus civilisation, a controversy about its relations with the Vedic culture has been raging without any sign of ebbing in the near future. This was created by the apparent dissimilarities in the characteristic expressions of the two cultures and the supposed date of the beginnings of the Rigvedic age placed towards the end of the Indus Civilisation. Thus, the Indus Civilisation came to be described as non-Aryan and pre-Aryan. Some people inclined to perpetuate the differences between the Aryan and the Dravidian gave all support to these views.

There have been scholars who considered the Indus Civilisation to represent the Vedic Culture itself. But such studies have not been able to muster much credibility because they could not communicate in idioms and arguments in which modern scholarship loudly proclaims its faith. The present work attempts a critical analysis of the established views about the relations between the Rigvedic and Indus Civilisations.

The first two chapters 'An introduction to prehistory' and 'Pre-History in India' are of an elementary nature and an affront to the intelligence of the reader. They record information, which seems to be meant for students, without having much direct bearing on the research theme chosen by the author. Chapters III and IV present factual details about the Indus Civilisation and Vedic India. The main thesis is developed in the remaining six chapters, the proto-historic Culture: the Rig Vedas, the Bharata War chronology, the Pre-Bharata War Dynasties, Aryan Racial and invasion theory, Indian Conquest of the West and the Vedic Culture of the Indus Civilisation, and the chain of arguments is wound up in chapter XI.

The main points elaborately made in the monograph are:

(1) The theory of an Aryan race was disowned by its proponent, Max Muler, himself. The people of India,

Sumeria, Egypt etc. belonged to the eastern branch of the Mediterranean race and there are no traces of 'Nordic' or 'blonde' characteristics in early Indian literature.

- (2) There is no possibility of a full scale invasion on India by any outside people in 1500 B.C. or any later date. Evidence indicates a continuous history of the Vedic people from very early times.
 - (a) Literature shows that the Vedic people had memories of their habitation in India since very early times, which witnessed geological changes, without any indication of a migration from outside.
 - (b) Several traditions record that the Bharata War was fought in about 3137 B.C. Early Greek writers mention that India had a continuous history of 6451 years up to the time of Alexander. The Puranas also give an extensive list of kings from Manu to Chandragupta.
- (3) The Vedic people and the Indus people belonged to the same period and regions and alike had a chalcolithic culture with similar burial system and religious practices. Thus, the Indus people represented a Vedic tribe or *jana* and were essentially Indian with Vedic culture.

The author is to be congratulated for his originality and courage to publish a monograph on a theme, with a large number of scholarly studies, and to express opinion against the generally accepted views. He has pointed out the weaknesses in the views generally taken for granted. Mr. Chandra differs from earlier scholars, advocating a thesis similar to his own, in not shying away from the archaeological evidence and in trying to fuse them with literary evidence. His main merit lies in showing that Greek historians and puranic chronology alike preclude the possibility of an 'Aryan' invasion in the second millennium B.C. and in making a probable case for the Vedic Indians and the Indus people being the same. One may not agree with all his interpretations, but it cannot be denied that he has succeeded in driving home the need for a fresh and unprejudiced evaluation of the evidence. At an international seminar held at Dushanbe in 1977 many scholars conceded that archaeological confirmation of the coming of Aryans from outside is not readily available.

Mr. Chandra's constructive thesis suffers from its reliance on late Puranic traditions which have many shortcomings. The archaeological testimony does not take Indian culture back to such a remote period. Likewise, with all the weaknesses of the theory giving a racial slant to the inferences of the comparative study of Indo-European languages, the facts do not confirm the suggested Indian conquest of the West. Moreover, we cannot lightly dismiss the fact that the picture of culture yielded by the Indus sites does not tally with that formed on the basis of references in the Vedic literature, there being basic and fundamental differences in them.

Actually the last word on the subject can be said only when the Harappan seals are satisfactorily deciphered. It is surprising that Sri Chandra does not take any notice of Dr. S. R. Rao's attempts at deciphering the Harappan legends and reconstructing the cultural and linguistic implications. The differences with the Vedic culture seem to be considerably reduced and the language is interpreted as representing an archaic Indo-Aryan language. Sri Chandra does not utilise the new evidence about the Indus Culture from other sites which projects some new features, reduces the hiatus between the Indus culture and the subsequent cultures, establishes that the Indus culture was not destroyed by another people and demonstrates its antecedents and also geographical expansion and maritime contacts with the West.

We commend the author for presenting a readable and provoking monograph.

LALLANJI GOPAL

Anglo-Maratha Relations and Malcolm 1798-1830 by U. N. Chakravorty, New Delhi, 1974, price Rs. 50.

JOHN Malcolm has played a very important role in the history of Western India in the last phase of the 18th century and in the early part of the 19th century which forms the formative period of the British Raj. He has therefore naturally attracted the attention of the historian. Kaye has written two volumes—*Life and Correspondence of Sir John Malcolm*. The same author has given a prominent place to him in his book '*Lives of Indian Officials*' and called him civilian soldier. The author of the present work too takes the same viewpoint but calls him soldier diplomat. Prof. K. Ballhatchet also gives a

brief account of how Malcolm continued the work of Mountstuart Elphinstone in Maharashtra in the Epilogue of his book, *Social Policy and Social Change in Western India, 1817-1830*.

Dr. U. N. Chakravorty in his book entitled *Anglo-Maratha Relations and Malcolm 1798-1830*, has made an attempt to study thoroughly the significant role of John Malcolm in the Maratha affairs from 1798-1819. This period was the most challenging period in the history of the Marathas for it constitutes one of clash between the ascendancy of the British on one side and decline of Maratha power on the other. The author tries to show, how in these political developments Sir John Malcolm played a vital role in the formulation and execution of the policies of the East India Company.

The book is well designed and is divided into nine chapters. The distinguishing feature of the book is that within a small compass of 170 pages, the author has brought about an effective account of the Anglo-Maratha relations. The entire book reads well and provides a valuable outline of the neglected aspect of Anglo-Maratha relations.

In the introduction he gives us an idea of how Malcolm came to India and how he rose to power. The introduction would have become more interesting, if the author had given us some idea of his family background.

Chapter I and Chapter II should have been combined into one. The information given is almost the same as P. C. Gupta gives in his book *Baji Rao II and the East India Company*. Of course the author tries to give a new outlook by showing how Malcolm's sagacious views or suggestions helped Lord Wellesley to subdue all the Maratha rulers into his diplomatic net i.e., leading all of them in signing the subsidiary alliance. However, his first two chapters speak more about the war, than the relationship between the Maratha States or the conditions prevailing in their respective States—the concentration is only on Holkar-Shinde relationship with the Peshwa. But he hardly says anything about the role of the Gaikwads in this critical phase of Maratha history. The chapter dealing with Gohad and Gwalior gives a very good account of how Daulatrao Shinde lost Gwalior and Gohad temporarily. Here the author tries to show how Malcolm was a diplomat in his own way and was not a docile tool of the Governor-General, (pp. 46-47). He has vividly analysed Malcolm's controversy with Wellesley on the vital question of the restoration of Gwalior and Gohad to Shinde.

In the chapter, *Treaties of Muslafapur and Rajghat*, he has tried to throw new light on how Yeshwantrao-Holkar tried to form an anti-British alliance, which has not been given much importance by historians. The author of this work has tried to present an impartial picture of Yeshwantrao Holkar who has been condemned by English and Indian as a fence sitter. Here an attempt has been made to reassess Holkar's plan to unite the Maratha leaders in the hour of crisis by emphasizing time and again the need to defend *swaraj* and *Swadharma* (P. 70).

In the next chapter he has dealt with the Pindhari war and succeeds in giving a very clear account of the war. Here in this chapter, the author proves his point of showing Malcolm as a soldier, diplomat (pp. 97-100)—for instance on p. 100 he states, "It was necessary that Shindhia should be detached from the cause of the Pindaris. The suggestions of Malcolm proved to be of immense value to the Governor-General".

In the chapter *Bajirao's Surrender*, the author need not have given such an elaborate account of his surrender, because this has been discussed at length by Kaye and Grant Duff both.

The next three chapters, all go to show Malcolm's diplomatic and soldiery skill.

The discussion on Malcolm on the Marathas in chapter X is disappointing for one expects the author to write what Malcolm thought of the Marathas, their reaction to the British conquest and administration which has been dealt at length by historians like Prof. Ballhatchet. But he merely states that Malcolm continued to follow the policy of Elphinstone and gives a brief idea of Maratha institutions like judiciary, panchayats, police revenue etc. As the work deals mainly with the battles between the Marathas and the British, it would have been better if the author would have attempted a few maps of these battles.

The book seems to give a good narration of Anglo-Maratha Relations and Malcolm (1780-1830)—the sources have been well utilised and interpreted. Yet a feeling of incompleteness pervades the work. The reader only gets an idea of Anglo-Maratha affairs and not how Malcolm was totally involved in them and how his inner thoughts worked. No doubt the reader can feel the presence of Malcolm throughout the book, but one can imagine him merely acting as an agent or present merely an eye witness. He does not give a clear idea of the personality of Malcolm beyond the Maratha affairs, for e.g. Malcolm returned home twice after having a bad experience in India first in 1812 after the failure of the Persian mission and

the second, after the settlement of the Central Indian affairs in 1822. This time he had excepted to be appointed Lt. Governor. On both the occasions Malcolm had been away from India for nearly 5 years. The author does not tell us anything of what Malcolm did while he was in England. The author claims that Malcolm was more of a diplomat than a soldier, then he should have tried to show how Malcolm at home did all that was within his reach to get the Governorship of Bombay in 1828.

The conclusion disappoints the reader, because it is a mere narration and the author has simply summarised each chapter of the book. In fact he should have given his own assessment of Malcolm, his family background, and his work as a historian. What made Malcolm to write the *History of Persia*. The political History of India, *Memoir of Central India*, *Malwa* and *Adjoining Countries*, should have been at least mentioned in the conclusion. The book appears to be a book more of military history than of diplomacy.

SUSHMA VERMA

The Administration of Lord Auckland in India, 1836-42, by P. S. Mukharya (Ratna Prakashan, Calcutta, 1980), Rs. 42.00.

THE present book deals with the internal administration of Lord Auckland from 1836 to 1842. The author has rightly omitted from his purview those aspects of his administration which form the subject matter of D. P. Sinha's book. These two books together, which incidentally are the revised versions of Ph. D. theses, provide a complete account of the internal administration of Auckland, whose role in the First Afghan war has been treated at great length by historians to the neglect of his domestic policy. Capt. Trotter's book on Auckland, published in 1893, devotes one-twentieth of the total space to this aspect of his Indian career. The conduct of the disastrous Afghan war, his two years' stay away from the seat of government, in the Upper Provinces, the disability imposed on him by the Court's order forbidding him from introducing new measures without its approval, and his own character, which lacked in drive and initiative, were serious limitations under which Auckland carried on the administration.

Dr. Mukharya is concerned to discuss what he calls the 'material' achievements of Auckland's governor-generalship, though such topics as legislative and judicial reforms and the

'Black Act', which have been dealt at some length, cannot be strictly regarded as material. This term is obviously intended to distinguish his area of research from the broad theme of Dr. Sinha's book. In this book the author has studied in detail legislative and judicial reforms, Act XI of 1836 (called the 'Black Act' by the European community of Calcutta), police and prison reforms and matters connected with finance and revenue, trade, banking, transport and the army. This is quite an impressive list of administrative reforms for treatment in a book of modest size. While the book provides useful information on several aspects of Auckland's administration, it produces at places the impression of being a detailed summary of the administrative measures of Auckland's governor-generalship. The author generally agrees with the views of Auckland and his supporters. He has quoted extensively from his correspondence in the treatment of the subject. One does not find a fresh approach to the study of the subject or new interpretations which make historical facts meaningful. It seems that the author has been handicapped by the scope of the subject itself (further restricted by D. P. Sinha's study), which would put any writer at a disadvantage in producing a stimulating study. In the later chapters, divided into too many sub-headings, the treatment of the subject is by and large descriptive and the style is heavy.

From the author's study Lord Auckland emerges as a cautious, conscientious and liberal administrator who was content to follow Bentinck's policy of reform. He lacked the capacity for striking out his own lines. Nevertheless, many of his reforms reflect the new spirit of this period. He took steps to give tangible shape to some of the important provisions of the Charter Act of 1833. Dr. Mukharya's discussion of the centralisation of administration, legislative reform, the policy of associating Indians with the administration, Auckland's stand on the 'Black Act', which did away with the anomaly in the administration of civil justice, and the introduction of the vernaculars in judicial proceedings show the progressive character of Auckland's administration.

In the preparation of his book Dr. Mukharya has consulted a large body of archival sources consisting chiefly of the proceedings of various departments, reports and letters exchanged between the Court of Directors and the Governor-General in Council. Using materials carefully collected from original sources, he has produced an informative and reliable study of the internal administration of Lord Auckland. His book provides

new information on a neglected aspect of his Indian career. The present study is a useful contribution to our knowledge of the subject.

HIRA LAL SINGH

History of Modern Karnataka, by I. M. Muthanna, Sterling publishers private Limited, New Delhi, 1980, Rs. 20.

IN the absence of an Introduction, we do not know what the author aimed at in writing the book. The publisher claims that this a 'concise history' of 'the salient developments which transformed the feudal state of Mysore into a modern and dynamic state participating actively in the main stream of Indian life'. The reader would be disappointed if he takes the claim seriously, since this is by no means a comprehensive study, however concise, either on the factual side, or on that of ideas, forces and movements. The book has no academic merit to attract the attention of scholars, and it is of little use as a textbook to students. If it should interest anyone, it is a general reader who has no high or specific expectations. In the spirit of a travelogue, the opening chapter 'Geographical Prospectives' presents the highlights of each of the District in the State. In the style of a Gazetteer or an official handout, the concluding chapter 'Karnataka—A Developing State' lists in capsule form the achievements in several fields. By way of history, various matters, relevant and irrelevant are touched upon, but those dealt with at some length are the Freedom Movement and Formation of a United Karnataka and also the contribution of European servants in bringing about a literary and cultural renaissance in the State. The treatment is desultory and uneven, and there is hardly any attempt to look at problems from all angles. For instance, no one can dispute the seminal role of European scholars like Lewis Rice, Ferdinand Kittle and John F. Fleet, but a book that has no place at all for Indian scholars for those of the rank of R. Narasimhachar, Shama Sastri and M. H. Krishna, who carried on the same tradition in the present century cannot be rated high.

Apart from the glaring shortcomings in the scope of study, the standard of general treatment is of an inexperienced journalist rushing to the Press than of a seasoned scholar. The contents in many cases have no relation to the headings and subheadings. Under the caption 'Modern Housing and Official Buildings', we are told, 'The Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Government had military powers over the former State of Mysore' (pp.32-3).

Under 'Movements for a Linguistic State', we have the interesting information, 'During the mass agitation days of 1921, Dharwar was one of the places where trouble arose on account of the anti-liquor propaganda'. (p. 69) These are not isolated slips, but characteristic of the author's general way of writing. Again, while the author has a case when he says that much of what passes for freedom movement in the 19th century were only 'law and order problems rather than a freedom movement' (p. 49), he seem to forget what he has said earlier when he grows quite eloquent over the rebellion of Venkatappa and the Bedas of Surapura, and also of 'Bhimaraya, the Gallant Revolutionary' (pp. 59-62).

While the book as a whole has little to commend it, the chapters 'Literary Renaissances' and 'A Galaxy of Great Revivalists' contain valuable information on the role of European scholars in heralding a renaissance in the State in the last century. This is all taken from his earlier detailed study, based on original research, and published in 1969. Since the book was written in Kannada, only a small section of historians of British Indian history could derive benefit from it. Though we may not agree with all that he has said therein, this should be published in English, and the author would do well to ensure that it is fully referenced and documented

S. V. DESIKA CHAR

The Voyage of the Komagata Maru—The Sikh Challenge to Canada's Colour Bar, by Hugh Johnston, Oxford University Press, Delhi (1979).

THE tragedies of Komagatamaru and Jallianwala Bagh evoke sentiments of admiration for the Indian patriots who sacrificed their lives in the freedom struggle to seal in their blood a future of hope and honour to their countrymen.

The tragic odyssey of Komagata Maru has been told many times, but the attempt of Prof. Johnston is a distinct contribution inasmuch as the learned scholar has gone into the minute details connected with this sorry episode. However, in the maze of details he has missed the main issues which he could have brought out with the wealth of material at his disposal.

His narrative may be divided into three parts. The first deals with the process of involvement in which the author gives us the why and wherefore of the voyage. The second may be

called high drama at the Canadian port of Vancouver where the flurry of activity on the part of the Canadian government to prevent the entry of the passengers of *Komagata Maru* into Canada was matched by the determination of the passengers and their supporters on the mainland to gain entry into the country somehow. The final part deals with the return voyage of the frustrated and enraged passengers climaxed by firing on them after they had landed at Budge Budge.

The author makes the point that it was a simple case of Indians (mostly Sikhs) wanting to migrate to Canada and of Baba Gurdit Singh wanting to make money as any chartering agent would do. If that was so, why were William Charles Hopkinson, the Indian government's intelligence agent working in liaison with the Canadian Immigration authorities at Vancouver, and the local Canadian Immigration Agent, Malcolm R. J. Reid, at Vancouver preparing hectically to give a hot reception to the passengers of *Komagata Maru* as if they were going to fight a battle?

The reason for this is concealed in the tangle of details dished up by the author but the fact emerges clearly that the passengers were infected by Ghadar (revolutionary) propaganda from the beginning of the voyage. The Ghadarites (revolutionaries) were unwelcome equally in India and Canada. In India they stoked the fires of discontent among the masses and in Canada they could serve as enthusiastic workers for the Ghadar Party based in U.S.A. which was pledged to support the struggle for India's freedom with all the means in their power.

The exercise at Vancouver proved a futile endeavour for the Indian passengers and their supporters. The reasons given for barring the entry of the passengers were flimsy pretexts. The Canadian government was working with a pre-determined mind to bar entry of the passengers. The proceedings were worked to a high pitch and clash between the passengers and their protagonists on the one hand and the Canadian government on the other was narrowly avoided by the timely intervention of Canadian Minister, Martin Burrell, who complied with the demands of the passengers for their return voyage.

The central Canadian government came into the picture less by the reports from their local functionaries than by warnings from the Government of India conveyed through the British government that violence against the passengers would result in adverse repercussions in their native land where popular passions

were already excited to a high pitch and the government was interested in keeping the popular temper cool for the sake of war effort.

The author has throughout relied upon the version given in the official documents and has not placed the occurrences, incidents and events in the correct perspective to bring out main issues some of which have been discussed in the preceding paragraphs. This neglect is more clearly discernible in the portion of the narrative dealing with the return voyage of *Komagata Maru*. The final clash had started building up from the day the return voyage commenced from Vancouver. The passengers had been frustrated in their attempts to land at Vancouver and their anger against Great Britain had reached boiling point. Through the efforts of Sohan Singh Bhakna, the founder President of Ghadar (Party, 200 automatic pistols and 2000 rounds of ammunition were smuggled into *Komagata Maru* at Yokohama (Japan) on her return voyage. They had been refused entry at Hong Kong, Singapore etc. The author has mentioned that while the ship was in Canada, the government of India and the British government was anxious to avoid clash with the passengers but during the return voyage reports reached the government that revolutionaries were returning to India to rouse the people against the British rule. The author has not stated how far these reports were credible. Another report stated that there was only one revolutionary on board the *Komagata Maru*.

The reasons given by the author for rough handling of the passengers of *Komagata Maru* were the outbreak of the First World War, the unemployment in Calcutta caused by the operation of German cruiser *Emden* in the Bay of Bengal and the suspected Ghadar infection of *Komagata Maru* passengers. However, mode of dealing with the passengers was exceptionable. The ship had been searched and no arms were found. If the arms had been dumped in water they could have become unfit for use. If the passengers were to be sent to the Punjab to be confined in their respective villages, Budge Budge was hardly the port for disembarkation.

However, things were not going so bad when the Sikhs were driven to a position to give vantage ground to the police and the military force which had surrounded the passengers. At this point, a police Sergeant obviously serving as an *agent provocateur* entered the crowd of passengers and created a situation in which firing took place and the whole affair ended in tragedy and bloodshed. Had the government not been restrained by the

situation created by the First World War, this incident could have been more blood-soaked than Jallianwala Bagh because the holding of arms and ammunition by the passengers was suspected.

As an epilogue, the author has mentioned the fate of Hopkinson and Reid, the prime movers in the high drama at Vancouver. The former was assassinated and the latter was shunted to an insignificant assignment. He has not, however, mentioned Gurdit Singh's suit against the Secretary of State for India for compensation in 1924. This was more germane to the subject of his book.

Although we would have liked the author to be interpretative and critical in his approach, the elaborate manner in which he has arranged his material is praise-worthy.

HARI SINGH

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

- CASSELLS, (Mrs.) NANCY GARDNER, Assistant Professor of History McMaster University, Canada; Author of 'Bentinck : Humanitarian or Imperialist—The Abolition of Suttee' and other articles.
- CORREIA-AFONSO, JOHN, Director, Heras Institute of History and Culture, Bombay, Editor of 'Indo-Portuguese History : Sources and Problems' and author of several works.
- DAS, M. N., Head of the Department of History, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar. Author of several books on Indian History.
- DESIKACHAR, S. V., Formerly Assistant Director of Archives, Senior Fellow, Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, and Director, Karnataka State Archives. Has contributed several articles to research journals.
- GOPAL, LALLANJI, Prof. of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.
- GOPAL, S., Chairman, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. General Editor 'Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru' and author of several important works.
- HARI SINGH, Research Scholar, Vice-President, Friends at Archives Group, National Archives of India, New Delhi.
- MCLAWS MONTE, Senior Research Fellow, Genealogical Society of Utah, U. S. A. Author of Several articles.
- MEHTA, M. J., Professor of History, School of Social Sciences, University of Gujarat. Author of a number of articles.
- RAGHUBIR SINGH, Founder Director of Shri Raghbir Library and Shri Natnagar Shodh Samathan, Sitamau, and author of several scholarly works.
- RAVINDER KUMAR, Director, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi. Author of 'Curzon and Anglo-Russian Negotiations over Persia (1859-1901); and other scholarly works.
- RIEGER MORRIS, Eminent Archivist Former Chairman, Committee on Archival Development and Counsellor to President of International Council on Archives.
- SINGH, HIRA LAL, Former Professor of History, Benaras Hindu University, Varanasi. Author of 'Problems and Policies of the British in India' and other works.
- TRIPATHI, DWIJENDRA, Prof. of History, Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad. Author of 'Sources and Problems of Business History in India from 1600 to 1900' and other articles.
- VARMA SUSHMA, Department of History, University of Poona, Pune.

8 MAR 1964 34764 96

GIPN—See also Dir. of Arch. (DN)/81—28-81—500.

THE INDIAN ARCHIVES SELECT CONTENTS OF BACK NUMBERS

- Manuscripts on Birch-Bark (Bhurjapatra) and their Preservation by *Jean Filliozat* (Vol. I, No. 2).
- Effects of Changes on sovereignty of Archives by *Ernst Posner* (Vol. I, No. 3).
- Records and Archives : What are they? by *Purnendu Basu* (Vol. II, Nos. 2-4).
- On Archival Organisation in India by *Ramsay Muir* (Vol. II, Nos. 2-4).
- Twenty-five years : Some Reminiscences of an English Archivist by *Hilary Jenkinson* (Vol. III, Nos. 1-4).
- Recent Developments in Records Preservation by *Arthur E. Kimberly* (Vol. III, Nos. 1-4).
- Max Lehmann and the Genesis of the "Principle of Provenance" by *Ernst Posner* (Vol. IV, No. 2).
- Archives and War by *Lester K. Born* (Vol. IV, No. 2).
- The Problem of Archival Estrays by *Sourindranath Roy* (Vol. VII, Nos. 1-2).
- A Note on Maratha Cartography by *C. D. Deshpande* (Vol. VII, No. 2).
- The Finding Aid Programme in the National Archives of U. S. A. by *T. R. Schellenberg* (Vol. VIII, No. 1).
- Xerography by *K. S. Nagarajan* (Vol. IX, No. 1).
- Presidential Libraries : A New Feature of the Archival System of United States by *Wayne C. Grover* (Vol. XI, Nos. 1-2).
- Public Records : The New Arrangement in England by *J. H. Collingridge* (Vol. XII, Nos. 1-2).
- Seals of Ancient India by *Bahadur Chaud Chhabra* (Vol. XIV).
- Problems of Sigillography in India by *A. I. Tirmizi* (Vol. XI, Nos. 1-2).
- Preservation and Repair of Palm Leaf Manuscripts by *Ranbir Kishore* (Vol. XIV).