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PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

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Progress on Archival Automation by *Meyer H. Fishbein*

Reference Process by *S. Biswas*

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National Archives of India
New Delhi

THE INDIAN ARCHIVES

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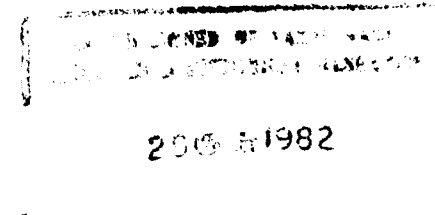
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THE INDIAN ARCHIVES

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INDIAN ARCHIVAL TRAINING AND THE ARCHIVAL TRAINING NEEDS OF ASIA : SOME OBSERVATIONS*

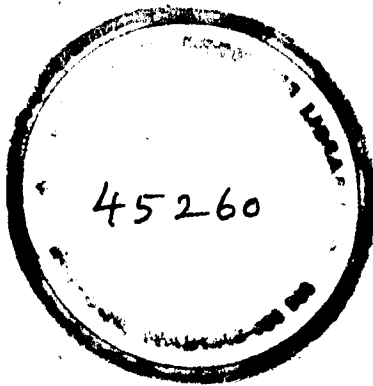
FRANK B. EVANS

INTRODUCTION

THE MOST SERIOUS and pressing problem in the development of adequate archival and records management systems and services in the world today is the shortage of trained manpower. In Europe and in North America the need for trained professionals has generally been met by training programmes, formal and informal, established by archival agencies themselves, or else by special schools that emphasize the traditional auxiliary sciences of history, and the administrative history, legal system, record-keeping practices, and languages of the country involved. Despite lack of uniformity in level of training, content, and duration, these diverse programmes continue to exist because they help meet a basic need.¹

The situation in developing countries is quite different. With one notable exception—India—none of the countries of Africa, the Arab region, Asia and Latin America have developed national training programmes adequate to meet their

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own professional needs. There are a number of specialized national schools, particularly in Latin America, but almost all are at the secondary school or under-graduate levels and are chiefly concerned with the training of personnel to handle "administrative archives" i.e. current records.² The training problem is particularly acute in countries that have achieved independence since World War II, and it was primarily to assist these countries that regional training centres have been established.

The first regional training centre for archivists was established in 1971 at the School of Librarians, Archivists and Documentalists (EBAD) at the University of Dakar to meet the needs of French-speaking African countries. From the outset the centre has made significant progress. Following the termination of direct international financial assistance it is continuing to expand its programme with the support of the host government and the countries in the region.³ A second regional training centre, this one for English-speaking African countries, was established in 1975 within the Department of Library and Archival Studies of the University of Ghana.⁴ This centre has made some progress, but its future as an autonomous body, when direct international financial assistance ends, is at present uncertain. An Arab Regional Training Centre, established in Baghdad by the Government of Iraq, is still in the process of developing its programme. To help meet the need for trained archivists in Latin America, the Organization of American States in 1959 supported the establishment of an Archives School at the University of Cordoba in Argentina.⁵ Asia thus remains the only major region currently not served by a regional archival training centre.

Before the establishment of regional training centres, and to a lesser degree since that time, professional training for a relatively small number of archivists from developing countries was available through international fellowships for study and/or attachments in European and North-American countries. Such fellowships and attachments have generally worked well where language has not been a barrier, and where the

administrative and record-keeping practices of the country in which the studies are undertaken correspond to those of a former colony. Even in these cases, however, much time is spent in European training programmes on medieval institutions and archives that usually have no direct relevance to former colonies, while generally inadequate attention is given to records management and the other management sciences. In addition, economic problems resulting in archival budget and staff reductions in a number of Western countries have increased the difficulties in securing appropriate placements for formal and informal training, even for a limited number of archivists from developing countries. There are indications that this problem will become even more acute during the next decade. As a consequence, Asian countries currently are facing a two-fold disadvantage with regard to meeting their needs for trained archivists—the lack of a regional training facility and increasingly limited possibilities for appropriate placement of trainees abroad.

The need for trained archivists in various countries of Asia has been documented in a series of studies over the past decade. Apart from the special problems posed by China, the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Japan, Viet-Nam, Democratic Kampuchea and Laos—with particular regard to languages, administrative traditions, and record-keeping practices—the manpower needs of South-East Asia (Malaysia, Thailand, Burma, Indonesia, Singapore and the Philippines), and of South-West and South Asia (particularly Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan) have been the subject of two surveys. The first, completed in 1973, established a need at that time for a total of 175 professional archivists (of which only 34 were available), in Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Philippines, Viet-Nam, Laos, Hong Kong and the Khmer Republic.⁶

A survey in 1979, which took into account not only the development of national archival programmes in this

region during the intervening years, but also the expansion of single repository systems into multiple repository systems to serve the needs of governments at provincial and local levels, established a need for an additional 619 trained archivists in 7 countries of South Asia and for 863 additional trained archivists in 10 countries of South-East Asia.⁷ To these totals should be added the training needs of Oceania, where efforts are currently underway to develop archival programmes, as well as the training needs for technical personnel in restoration and reprography.⁸

While recognizing that the above figures are necessarily projections based upon authorized and proposed positions, the exact figures for each country are less important than the total regional need for nearly 1,500 additional professional archivists to provide adequate levels of service in this region. Obviously, it is not possible to meet this total need in the immediate future, but every effort should be made as soon as possible to deal with this problem. One important step that could be taken is to build upon the experience of the long-established training programme associated with the National Archives of India.

THE INSTITUTE OF ARCHIVAL TRAINING OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Institute of Archival Training had its origins in a two-year combined archival and library course, based upon a similar course at the University of London, and first offered by the National Archives of India in 1943. The programme was revised in 1952 to provide for a One-Year Diploma Course in Archives-Keeping, with the teaching shared by a number of senior staff members of the National Archives.

A separate Institute of Archival Training was established in 1976 (which has now been converted into the School of Archival Studies) and it currently offers a variety of training courses. These include:

1. One Year Diploma Course in Archival Studies for those working in archival institutions as well as for freshers.

2. Besides Diploma Course training the following are short-term training courses each of eight weeks' duration. These are meant chiefly for persons working in government, semi-government or private organisations preferably those associated with archival work.

- (a) Archives Administration
- (b) Records Management
- (c) Care and Conservation of records, books and manuscripts.
- (d) Reprography.
- (e) Servicing and Repair of Records, (for the staff working at sub-professional level).

It should thus be noted that the National Archives of India has had long experience in providing professional and technical training in Archives Administration and Records Management. Equally important is the fact that it has charged no tuition fee for any of the courses it has offered, and has made its training available to nationals of other countries. Beginning in 1961, a total of 32 foreign trainees have completed its Diploma Course, and many of them are now in senior positions in the archival agencies of their respective countries. These include not only Asian countries—Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Burma, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, Philippines, Singapore and Sri Lanka—but also a number of African countries—Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Nigeria and Tanzania. The number of foreign trainees has increased steadily in recent years, and in the 1979-80 Diploma Course nine of the 21 enrollees were foreign nationals.⁹

The professional level of any training programme, and particularly its long-term effectiveness, are difficult to assess. One traditional measure of effectiveness is the success of graduates of a particular programme within the profession. Obviously, this criterion requires modification where there is a serious shortage of trained personnel in a particular

field. It should nevertheless be noted, as previously indicated, that a number of Diploma Course graduates of the School of Archival Studies hold senior positions in the national archival agencies of their respective countries. Factors involved in determining the quality of a training programme normally include the character and scope of the syllabus, the qualifications of the faculty, the library resources available to supplement instructional materials, and, in the field of archival training, the staff and resources available for practical exercises and internships.

The detailed syllabi for the courses offered by the school indicate that, in terms of coverage, they are more comprehensive than the courses offered in many European countries.¹⁰ The Diploma Course, in addition to traditional topics, includes study of cartographic, audio-visual, and machine-readable records and archives, and of the application of ADP to archival operations, topics either neglected or omitted from the programmes of a number of training institutions elsewhere. The Diploma Course also includes study of the relationships between archival agencies, libraries, and documentation centres, and of archives administration and the information sciences. As a part of their practical training the trainees are required to prepare a dissertation on Archival or historical subject under the guidance of the school staff. The only notable omission would appear to be the study of printed archives as an archival function, although this area may perhaps be included under one of the other topical headings in the syllabus. Besides these topics included in the core curriculum there are a number of optional papers out of which the candidates are required to select any three of their choice (subject to the approval of the Director of Archives).

The syllabi for the Certificate Courses are almost the same as for the papers included in the Diploma Course and are equally comprehensive and relevant to contemporary needs. The Records Management course emphasizes records creation, maintenance and use, as well as records

appraisal and disposition. The course in conservation deals with the broader aspects of preservation (buildings, equipment, security, etc.) as well as with restoration. It emphasizes the special problems of preservation in tropical and semi-tropical regions, and encompasses both low-cost techniques and high-cost equipment and processes. Finally, the course in Reprography is not confined to micrographics, but includes study of the full range of photocopying, duplicating, and printing processes.

The syllabus for the sub-professional course on Servicing and Repair of records includes the techniques of repair work as well as training in arrangement, listing and servicing of records keeping in view the needs of those handling records at a lower level.

With regard to faculty qualifications, the school has had and continues to have the benefit of the knowledge and experience of senior staff members of the National Archives of India. The important professional, technical and scientific contributions of this institution to the theory and practice of modern archives administration in general, and in the fields of restoration and micrographics in particular, is a matter of record, and past and present faculty for the Institute include a number of those directly responsible for these contributions.

The library of the National Archives of India is made fully available to trainees enrolled in the various courses, and photocopy facilities are conveniently available. Despite the fugitive nature of much archival and records management literature, the library includes all of the major journals published in the English language. In the absence of an adequate textbook literature in archives administration and records management, extensive reliance is necessarily placed on mimeographed lecture notes for many of the formal class sessions.

With regard to the staff and facilities available for practical exercises and internship in all courses, the staff

and facilities of the National Archives of India are utilized. The inevitable crowded conditions in a building lacking climate control pose some difficulties, but the same conditions characterize most national archival buildings throughout the world. Despite the less than ideal physical conditions, the practical projects are well designed and are carefully supervised by thoroughly trained and experienced senior staff members. The use of senior staff in all phases of the training programme represents a significant investment of staff time by the National Archives of India. Part of the reason for the reluctance of a number of well-known archival services to accept interns is based upon their unwillingness or inability to devote Senior Staff to such activities.

In summary, there is every indication that the programme offered by the Institute of Archival Training of the National Archives of India significantly exceeds recognized minimum standards for the introductory training of professional archivists and of technicians in archival restoration and reprography.

DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDIAN SCHOOL OF ARCHIVAL STUDIES TO HELP MEET REGIONAL NEEDS

The programme of the School of Archival Studies as previously indicated, was initially developed to meet the need for professionally trained archivists and technicians in archival restoration and reprography in public archival repositories in India. The programme was thus located within the administrative framework of the National Archives of India, and has benefitted greatly from the immediate availability of the staff and facilities of that institution. The diplomas and certificates awarded by the School are fully recognized by the Indian public service, national and state, and has contributed to the improvement in the status of archivists in India. The reputation of the School and the quality of its programme, as well as the

absence of tuition, have attracted trainees from neighbouring countries and increasingly from Africa. One of the major obstacles to the further development and wider acceptance of the School, however, has been the absence of an academic affiliation and accreditation for its programme.

Traditionally, most public service commissions, or similar bodies that determine the qualifications and salaries of positions in the public service, have put major emphasis upon education and training that is academically accredited. Frequently, advancement is most rapid and certain through the earning of academic credit or the award of an academic degree. This poses special problems for developing countries in such fields as archives administration and records management, since these are not readily available and well-established academic programmes in these disciplines, and very few degree programmes, especially in English-speaking countries. Since it is unlikely that public service commissions will soon change their views regarding academic qualifications for appointment and/or promotion, national archival services in the developing countries will necessarily continue their efforts to place as many as possible of their junior staff members in academically accredited programmes.

Apart from this practical consideration, the archival and records management professions themselves have long required and continue to require a greater emphasis upon original research and writing, upon experimentation and closer cooperation with the related information disciplines, and upon an increased concern for theory as well as with practices, if the two professions are to continue to develop and to meet contemporary and future needs. Full-time staff members of national and local archival institutions, especially those with the administrative responsibilities that come with experience, are not in the best position to undertake the closely-related tasks of basic research and teaching, of experimenting and of cooperating more closely with those involved in training in the other information disciplines.

This is ultimately work for full-time faculty members in an academic institution.

There are therefore both practical and theoretical reasons for considering eventually transforming the New Dehli Institute for Archival Training into a School of Archival Studies, which could be located within the Department of Library Service at the University of Delhi. Specific measures that would contribute to such a development would include :

- (a) Revision of the one-year Diploma Course, as required by the University, to obtain academic accreditation for this course. Consideration should also be given to revision of the detailed syllabus to include the study of printed archives, and to provide an introduction to the theory and practice of classification and indexing.
- (b) Development of a programme of academically accredited internships at the National Archives of India, selected State Archives, or other archival repositories which meet requirements designated jointly by the National Archives of India and the Department of Library Science.
- (c) Revision of the Certificate Course in Record Management as required by the University to obtain academic accreditation. Consideration should be given in revision of this certificate course to placing appropriate emphasis upon records creation and maintenance and use, as well as upon records retirement and disposal, and particularly upon the impact of modern technology on records creation, maintenance, and use.
- (d) Development of a programme of accredited internships in Records Management in public and private agencies that meet requirements designated jointly by the National Archives of India and the Department of Library Science.

Once revision and expansion of the basic archives administration and records management courses and the programme of accredited internships in each basic area have been achieved, these elements would constitute the core of a curriculum for the School of Archival Studies. To this core could then be added, as resources and circumstances permit, advanced courses in such basic archival and records management functions as :

- Records Creation and Source Data Automation.
- Records Maintenance and Use, and Modern Information Storage and Retrieval Techniques.
- Records Scheduling, Appraisal, and Disposal.
- Archival Security and Preservation.
- Archival Arrangement and Description.
- Communication of Archives (Reference Services and Publications).
- Educational and Cultural Services.

To these could be added courses in the relevant Management Sciences (Planning, Programming, Budgeting, Recruitment, Training and Personnel Management), and core courses from the Department of Library Science (Introduction to Library/Information Science, Classification, Cataloguing, Automation, Reader Services, etc.).

The above sequence of actions is suggested as a flexible one with no specific time frame. The basic intention is that the programme be firmly established at each stage before proceeding to the next stage, and that it take full advantage of what already exists and expands only as the necessary resources become available. Otherwise, any programme is likely to exist only on paper, and will lack staff and other essential resources for its implementation.

In addition to a flexible plan, the development of an academically accredited School of Archival Studies would

require adequate instructional material, library resources, technical facilities, and trained and experienced teachers. Each of these elements is essential if the School is intended to become an academic institution with a commitment to research as well as to teaching. While the resources available to the present School of Archival Studies are adequate to its more limited programme and objectives, these resources would need to be expanded and supplemented to meet the needs of a School of Archival Studies intended also to serve as a regional training centre.

Available instructional material and library resources thus be supplemented by :

- (a) Copies of archival manuals and basic works in other than the English language, including translations, where available.
- (b) Back issues of and subscriptions to non-English archival periodicals. (A limited translation programme should be considered for seminal articles).
- (c) Audio-visual equipment (Motion picture and slide projectors, tape recorders) and instructional materials available in audio-visual form.
- (d) Simulation exercises and other non-lecture type-training materials. (Since very few of these are available for archives administration and records management, the School could consider developing its own materials once it has the requisite faculty and staff resources).
- (e) Instructional and administrative support equipment, including photocopies, stencil-machines, and electric typewriters.

In addition to the above material resources, a School of Archival Studies would need :

- (a) arrangements for teaching staff for study, attachments, and observation tours abroad;

- (b) visits by specialists from abroad to teach advance courses in both professional and technical fields;
- (c) arrangements for students, particularly those from other countries, to support the internship programme in public and private institutions located in India. (Special provisions could be made for students who desire and can arrange for internships outside the country with qualified repositories).

The training of technical staff in restoration and reprography involves a number of additional considerations when viewed within the context of a proposed School of Archival Studies. A significant investment in equipment supplies, and technically-trained staff is required to provide such training. To justify the expenditures involved, it would be necessary to make as full use as possible of this equipment and staff. In addition, the basic equipment and staff already exists at the National Archives of India, where it is employed full-time in support of the archival programme. Finally, there should be no need for persons seeking training as technicians to meet the normal university entrance requirements (this is a problem that has developed at other regional training centres located with universities). For all of the above reasons it would seem that the basic archival courses for technicians in restoration and reprography could remain at the National Archives of India. These courses, however, could be evaluated by the University with a view to university accreditation of the present certificates if all essential requirements are being or can be met.

In conclusion, the existing infrastructure for professional and technical training of archivists in India, now associated with the National Archives of India, provides the possible opportunity to expand the existing programme and to extend to it academic accreditation. These actions would enable it better to meet basic archival training needs both in India and in this very large region that now lacks regional training facilities.

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7. Cook, *Status Report*, 35-36.
8. *Ibid.*, 37.
9. This summary of the history and programme of the School is based upon unpublished information provided to the author during a visit to New Delhi, 21-26 February 1980.
10. Cf. the syllabi appended (pp. 40-75) to the Delmas working document cited in footnote 1 (above).

PROFESSIONAL TRAINING OF ARCHIVISTS : PROBLEMS OF MODERNIZATION AND HARMONIZATION*

MICHAEL COOK

The article summarizes the discussion at the meeting of experts held at Unesco in November 1979.

IN FURTHERANCE OF its general aims in the field of information, Unesco/PGI arranged for a meeting of experts on the harmonization of archival training programmes in Paris in November, 1979. Some twelve experts, selected on a personal basis, together with another ten observers and participants from inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, took part in the discussions. Two papers were specially commissioned for the meeting, and account was also taken of an earlier paper produced for the inter-governmental conference on the planning of national documentation, library and archives infrastructures, held in 1974.¹ Discussion revealed that in some regions of the world crisis situations existed in archival training and the production of skilled manpower in the field and that in other regions of pressures for change existed. It was thought important that the main findings of the discussion should be disseminated, as an idea to stimulating programmes aimed at solving some of the more urgent problems.

GENERAL PROBLEMS IN ARCHIVAL TRAINING

Before getting down to the detailed questions involved in a study of archival recruitment and training on a world-wide scale, there was some discussion of the general problems. There is the difficulty of making genuine and

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meaningful comparisons between the courses of training provided by the different national or linguistic-cultural groups. For example, the training given at the Ecole des Chartes in France lasts four years, whereas British and American courses last, in general, only one year or less. However, the latter courses provide only professional and technical instruction and not general education; they are regarded as being at the postgraduate or master's degree level and assume that their students are already well formed as educated people able to undertake research and to approach professional problems in a mature way. The French course, in common with many others conducted in the countries of Latin tradition, aims to provide university-level education as well as technical training. For purposes of comparison, it is clearly necessary to establish a baseline, which must be the point at which entrants leave secondary school with their main school-leaving certificate : *baccalaureat*, general certificate of education (advanced level), high-school graduation, or the equivalent in the idiom of the country concerned. On this basis it becomes clear that a full archival education should last at least four years, of which about three quarters would be devoted to general education. Some courses are indeed longer than that. In several parts of the world there are shorter courses, especially where the aim is to produce, not full professionals, but intermediate staff who work under the supervision of professionals.* Such courses present a number of problems that were referred to in the discussions.

A second general problem is that of the distinction between archivists who work mainly in the historical-cultural fields and those who are mainly concerned with providing a service to contemporary administration. The developing countries are obviously more interested in the latter, at least in the early stages of their development and in a period of

*Unesco and ICA are currently co-operating in the preparation of a study on the ideal archival staffing pattern for agencies at various stages of development and under different types of administration.

economic difficulty. The choice between them is also a painful and difficult one in many of the developed countries. After all, it reflects a dual need felt by everyone today. Linked with it is the movement, also experienced in many parts of the world, both developed and developing, towards the rapid extension of formally organized archive services outwards from central Government into provincial and municipal government, into the private sector and into the administration of non-governmental organizations. Here, too, the dichotomy between the historical-cultural demands and the pressing call for archival participation in current administration and development is felt. The meeting did not feel inclined to give all its attention to either one or the other of these traditions. Clearly, contemporary development has its urgent demands in the circumstances of today, and perhaps has a priority in terms of the use of scarce resources, but the older, more research-oriented school also has its fundamental value to a country and its people, and should not be neglected.

Summing up the general discussion, it was a consensus that in the training of an archivist equal attention should be given to his general education and to his strictly professional formation. Similarly equal value should be given to the promotion of the concept of an archivist as participant in the cultural heritage of his country and as a promoter of research and development in this area, and to the concept of an archivist as an important participant in contemporary administration, as part of the informational infrastructure of development in central government, in provincial, local or city government, in any complex organization and in the private sector. The emphasis, as between any of these alternative traditions, will be different in different situations, but all combine to give a full picture of the service an archivist should give to his society.

MANPOWER DEMANDS AND PROBLEMS OF TRAINING PROVISION

The first of the two commissioned papers, by the present author, dealt with four subjects :

1. The general current situation in archival training.
2. Problems in determining the scale of manpower needs, with a tentative quantitative assessment.
3. The availability of appropriate teaching materials.
4. The problem of identifying and training teachers of archive science.

The first problem in presenting a discussion on these topics is that of basic information and sources. The picture presented by different countries is so complex and the differences between the various traditions so great that a really satisfactory study of training provision would need a personal visit to most countries of the world. Failing that an assessment has to be made on the basis of the limited published materials already available, and on the use of extra-polation into theoretical models. Fortunately, a conceptual framework for these models is already in existence, through the work of previous researchers such as Kecskemeti, Jorgensen, Franz and Delmas.² There was also a special questionnaire sent to ninety-three selected archives services and to seventy-one archives schools and courses. Even so, the author of the paper was not able to get information from large areas of the world, and the validity of his findings was bound to be affected by this defect : in particular information from two of the largest countries, the USSR and China, might make a great deal of difference both in the general validity of the models used, and in the actual findings in terms of figures. However, it is interesting that a close examination of already available information could be used to give such a wide picture of the manpower situation over the world.

Training facilities usually appear after a demand for them has been demonstrated. This is as much true in the developing world as in the developed regions. In the former,

the very existence of a training school depends on the pre-established need of national and other basic archival services for a supply of skilled personnel. In the latter, both the demand for trained labour and the general features of the market usually were sketched in generations ago, but here changes in the nature of the demand usually cause changes in the nature of the training given. For example, the demands of industry or business for suitably trained archivists in their sector have resulted in changes in the actual content (rather than in the theoretical description) of courses given in the older training schools. An interesting example of the effect of these changes in demand was given from the developing world. In Peru the extension of archives services from central government to provincial government and some other organizations has proceeded to the point where there is now a greater training need in that country than in other countries in the same Latin American tradition. In the developed world, from east to west, the same phenomenon can be observed : the adaptation of training courses to new needs. The older training schools were most often founded in order to give instruction in the sciences auxiliary to historical studies. The dominance of these auxiliary historical sciences has been eroded everywhere, and parallel studies of more contemporary sources, the management sciences and the technicalities of information science have appeared alongside them. It is often found that even where a course component continues to have a traditional label, such as 'diplomats', the actual course content has changed to include materials that did not originally feature in the course. The training has in fact changed to take account of the demands of its clients, demands based upon the changing needs of the outside world.

A second general finding of the report was that the distinction between full professional training and intermediate or lower-level training, already noted, has a clear counterpart in the nature of the course planning, length of course and entry qualifications. Doubtless there is also a difference

between the type of instruction given in the two cases, though this is difficult to perceive from the sources used. Ideally, full professional education at postgraduate level should employ a pedagogical approach suitable to its level. The aim is to produce leaders, people who can adopt a successful problem-solving approach to their task, who can break away from a mechanical and rule-bound attitude, who can honestly evaluate their success or otherwise in achieving aims and objectives, and who can inspire subordinates and keep the level of achievement high. In training entrants to the intermediate grades, people who carry out specialized but professional tasks within the framework of a larger organization, the elements of the same approach should clearly be there. In particular, it was often necessary to break out of some of the moulds created by secondary education and to aim at producing people who could evaluate problems and reach towards correct solutions. Nevertheless, it must remain the aim of training at this level to turn out personnel who would be competent at carrying out technical procedures without being closely supervised. If intermediate-level archivists should be able, in general, to expect career prospects that include the possibility of promotion into higher grades (and there was much discussion of this) then it must be recognized that initial training has to be supplemented by years of experience in good professional practice, and by some form of continuing education, both in the general and in the professional subjects.

The report found that the training of conservation staff, although well developed in two or three countries, was particularly deficient over the world as a whole. The consequences of neglect and insufficiency of resources over such large areas of the world mean that conservation problems, already huge, would plainly be overwhelming in future years. It was hard to overemphasize the need for more conservationists, at all levels from the research scientist to the craftsman-practitioner.

The actual quantification of archival manpower needs arrived at by the report are summarized in Table I.

The figures suggested by the report are clearly very conservative. As already suggested, the omission of the necessarily very large figures from the USSR and China alone introduces a distortion. However, the author was intending to take account of the considerable constraints that in real life exist, preventing the realization of true latent demand in this field. Taking these constraints together, with some allowance for the effects of the adverse economic situation of the world, a realistic assessment of the immediate training need for archivists was for 2,200 archivists (at both higher and intermediate levels) and for about 1,000 technically trained conservationists. It is certain that the real needs are greater³.

TABLE I
Quantification of archival manpower needs

Region	Total professional archivists in post	Total New posts projected	Technical staff	Intermediate level	High level	Training requirement archivists projected rate of expansion %
Europe	11,778	8,086	4,342	6,422	2,366	68.6
North America	2,209	810	695	867	422	36
Latin America and Caribbean	1,114	624	367	768	322	56
Arab states	877	1,245	409	830	218	114
Africa	231	265	111	210	71	141
South Asia	478	606	277	426	193	126
South-East Asia	624	784	293	531	337	125
Australia and Oceania	723	403	141	731	176	55
Total	18,034	12,823	6,635	10,785	4,105	90.2

To supply these manpower needs, there are in existence probably some 150 training schools (124 are identified by name in the report). Together these schools had places for above 3,000 trainees. But it was difficult to evaluate the extent to which they could really fill the need. Many (perhaps most) of these training schools, particularly those in Latin America, did not in fact train personnel for the archival profession. Instead they gave general education, based upon studies in the auxiliary historical sciences, to students who would go into the general population after graduation. An extreme example of this (whole figures were excluded from the totals given above) was Italy, where there were seventeen provincial schools of archivists, palaeography and diplomatics (as well as some university courses in similar subjects) turning out over 3,000 students annually; but of these only a very few (three in the year under examination) entered the national archives services, and these services in any case did not regard the possession of the schools' diploma as necessary qualification for entrance.⁴ In some parts of the world the low esteem in which courses of this type were held by the general public was also a factor in depressing the public estimation of the need for efficient archive services; and in some of these countries too, the presence of a large number of students in university courses in archives could coexist with depressed and undermanned archives services.⁵

A further feature that must be borne in mind is that the geographical distribution of training places is extremely unequal. While in most of the developed countries the provision is broadly satisfactory, and in some sectors of the developing world there are a number of schools, over the developing world as a whole there is an enormous shortage of training facilities. The whole of Africa, for example, depends upon two schools (at Dakar and Accra, both established by Unesco) and occasional access to student places at schools in metropolitan countries and India. A great advance in the provision of training places at both national and regional training schools is clearly necessary if there is to be any chance

of the general establishment of effective archive services in these enormous areas of the world.

The report identifies three types of teaching material—books and articles, audio-visual material and practical instruction. All of these were regarded as necessary. There was a feeling that eventually a general textbook or manual of archives science would be possible, and that this would be a suitable long-term objective. National or linguistic-cultural divisions at the present time are too great for it to be practical as an immediate objective. Despite the lack, in most regions, of satisfactory textbooks, much could be achieved by improving the means of distribution of information and materials, by dissemination of bibliographies, and by stimulating the publication or dissemination of informally produced materials. Some training schools, constrained by the economic circumstances of their host country or by its cultural traditions, are not able easily to keep in the current of contemporary ideas and practices in this specialist field. A Unesco study of the extent to which articles on archives administration and records management are being abstracted by primary and secondary services and journals is currently under way. This still leaves the problem of translating materials into certain important languages of instruction that do not have a corpus of instructional materials already: Hindi and Arabic were instanced, but there are other cases. Generally a better distribution of materials of whatever kind, including better use of international means for the dissemination of technical documents, would have the desirable effect of bringing teachers of archival subjects closer together as a body of people consciously developing a common subject.

So far there is very little audio-visual material available anywhere, and none of it has been produced for wide dissemination or for the developing world. There was a particular need, though, in view of the function of professional education in stimulating new approaches, breaking down the stultifying effects of inappropriate education or methods, and

introducing the effects of new technology. Producing audiovisual material and stimulating its use would be an appropriate activity for the professional international organizations such as ICA, IFLA and FID, and for Unesco.

The identification and recruitment of suitable teachers of archival subjects were problems in all countries. Such teachers should ideally have both a good academic training and a wide experience of the practice of archival services. When people with this qualification appear, there still must be a suitable post for them to occupy, and then the practice of teaching requires them to learn new skills, technology and attitudes. There is only one school, so far as is known, that specifically aims at the training of teachers of archives subjects, and this clearly cannot fulfil all the needs of the developing world.⁶ Fortunately, many countries (and particularly the United States) have shown that it is often possible to utilize the experience of practising archivists by getting some of them to undertake part-time teaching, either in the training institute itself or by taking trainees (including those at higher levels but with narrow experience) on attachment courses. Both methods should continue as a means of tapping local teaching ability or disseminating good practices. There still remains, however, the problem of the training schools newly established in Third World countries. These schools can hardly call upon experienced and academically qualified staff, and have to train inexperienced young people as teachers. This is an unsatisfactory situation, and calls for a systematic programme of continuing studies.

The experts, in their discussion, laid great emphasis on the value of continuing education. Apart from the general value of this, there was particular need for it in a field such as archives studies, where, as in all the information sciences, there is constant new development, and where archives services are closely linked to research. Ideally, senior archivists should be able to be detached for periods in order to do some research and writing, not only in subjects derived from the

content of their archives, but also in questions of methodology or of professional practice. In this area, it was felt that the voluntary professional associations, in regions and in countries, would have an important role in stimulating new work, providing a framework for continuing education and setting standards. In so far as high standards for archives services might depend ultimately on the recognition of their value by the public, voluntary associations were particularly useful in helping to build up a climate of public opinion.

HARMONIZING AND CO-ORDINATING ARCHIVAL TRAINING

The second paper, by Bruno Delmas, dealt with the problems of harmonizing the conflicting traditions displayed in archival training courses.

An examination of the work of an archivist in any particular country showed at once that there was an area within which the archivist operated as a specialist. This would include not only the development of historical-cultural or research services based upon the archives as a source, but also the control and administration of archives as a product of and resource for government. In most countries the archivist's functions within this specialist area were defined by law. In it archivists would continue to exercise functions proper to their own professional group. However, it is also clear that this sector is allied to the other sectors of the information industry, and again an examination of recent trends shows that common problems or developments are of increasing importance. For example, archives services, like libraries, are experiencing a development from empirical methods to more specialized and scientific methods of management. In the case of libraries, this has led to the employment alongside librarians, and as colleagues to them, of members of other specialities: accountants, computer managers, administrators. The increasing use of modern technology emphasizes this aspect. This influence, too, of wider public demand for access

to materials, and the bearing of this upon important issues of public access to information, and of the right of the individual to privacy, has had an important influence on all the information professions. The growth of a technical terminology tends also to be a link between them. There is also the effect of deliberate changes in curriculum, for example under the influence of Unesco guidelines for curriculum development.⁷ In the old established schools of the developed world, these influences are felt by gradual changes in emphasis and the content of courses. In the developing world training institutions are more open to direct change; there are examples of such schools being set up, *ab initio*, as participants in a joint enterprise with library science or documentation, and the experience of these joint schools was invaluable.

Discussion at the experts' meeting produced a tentative list of subjects that might in this way be included in a common core curriculum for the future. They include the treatment of specialized forms of archives, such as printed archives, newspapers, maps, photographs and motion pictures, sound recordings and machine-readable data archives. These are often held in common, or partly in common, with other groups of information workers. Then there are the special skills needed for certain aspects of archive (and of other) work: educational services, display and exhibition, reprographics and publication. At the national level, there are then important areas where the information groups should work together, as in the sketching out and promotion of legislation, manpower planning and training, design of buildings and of national policy regarding the services, equipment and supplies, security systems design and automation, management services and—a new area that was particularly important—the evaluation of user services. Summing up the discussion, the meeting identified three particular areas for common training and common action. These were:

- (a) the development of suitable structures for overall management and control and the question of na-

tional policy on the placing of information services within ministries or under suitable governing bodies;

- (b) the development, through training and otherwise, of suitable management skills to conduct the planning and development of the service, perhaps an immediate objective for training schools in all parts of the world; and
- (c) the sharing by all the information groups of the concept of service to clients.

All would develop more surely if they could recognize themselves as branches—albeit each with a distinct field of expertise—of a single service profession, whose standards and ethics would be judged by the effectiveness of the service they could offer to users. In the light of this user evaluation all schemes for updating or retraining of staff in new methods or attitudes should be judged.

In these directions lie the best opportunities for the harmonization of different traditions of archival training. National, linguistic or cultural differences will no doubt remain important, but the gradual development of attitudes, professional ethics and practices, along the lines suggested, would increase the sense of a common profession at the same time as it would increase the effectiveness of the profession as a servant of national culture and of national administration.

HARMONIZATION WITH LIBRARY AND INFORMATION-SCIENCE TRAINING

The structure for this part of the discussion was provided by a re-examination of P. Havard Williams' and E. Franz's paper, and by a general discussion of experience since it was first written. It was interesting to notice that there had in fact been successful experiments in joint training: Senegal, Ghana, Costa Rica, Morocco and Lebanon were instanced, but this was not an exhaustive list. A number of

psychological barriers to harmonization had been overcome during this period. It is true that the outline syllabus for a common training scheme, suggested in the paper, had not yet received a firm realization in a single form (though there had been several interesting local adaptations), and the prospects for future development were on the whole good. However, the development of a system of training in which library, documentation and archives staffs could be trained on parallel lines with important common areas between them was the goal; and one should avoid situations where amalgamations of schools, teachers or courses were dictated only by considerations of economy. Forced common structures with unsuitable partners were not a good recipe for future success. The meeting could help along the process of gradual beneficent common development, however, by proposing the addition of a category of 'user studies' as another basic element in the common framework given in the paper.

An examination of the working of archives services and their related institutions for training would also show the importance of achieving and maintaining high standards in both before any development could take place. Latin America, for instance, was a most important case-study. Despite the high standard of work and devotion displayed by many individuals, the region as a whole exhibited many of the symptoms of failure in its archives systems.⁸ Was this failure due to extraneous factors or to defects inherent in the system? It did appear that the principal factors are extraneous, but are located both in the archives services themselves and in the training schools. The services fail, in general, to be effective, and the training courses fail, in general, to achieve high enough academic standards. From these factors flowed a general lack of appreciation of archival systems and services in society. A raising of standards in both was therefore indicated, and would be a prerequisite of any further development towards harmonization. It was clear that professions could not draw together effectively until they had themselves achieved a good degree of stability and self-confidence, based upon a general recognition by the public of their services.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In the general context of helping along harmonization between archival training courses and between the training facilities of all three information groups, the meeting adopted the following recommendations:

In the harmonization of archival training there should be an increased emphasis upon techniques and methods for solving professional problems. If necessary the techniques needed to solve modern information problems should receive more attention than those for dealing with the auxiliary historical sciences. Work by ICA on devising model curricula for the training of archivists in the administration of recent records and archives should continue at Unesco and the Organization should attempt to collect and disseminate data on all matters bearing upon training and recruitment, and so help to foster a sense of common purpose.

In the harmonization with related fields the teaching of modern techniques should naturally include those that are common to the related disciplines, adapted where necessary. In any case subjects genuinely held in common, such as the management sciences, reprography, etc., should constitute a growing common area. Unesco should seek to stimulate the growth of common areas by studying training practices in all fields and remarking on common themes and elements. In this the co-operation of the international professional organisations should be sought. Individual countries should no doubt consider the practical advantages of increasing the harmonized elements in their courses. In view of the need for technical staff everywhere, regional and other training schools should seek to provide staff for joint technical services in reprographic and restoration, wherever possible. Meanwhile

professional bodies should introduce a discussion on the possibilities of practical harmonization within their regions whenever possible.

UNESCO should continue its support for regional schools by sending technical specialists on short missions; and these should, wherever necessary or possible be aimed at upgrading the level of instruction to the postgraduate level. Advice given should include advice on educational strategies and technology. There is scope for new regional schools where national schools can offer a regional service, provided resources can be provided to upgrade their facilities. The regional school at Baghdad has special needs that were noted.

Assistance agencies should seek to fund the training (both basic and continuing) of a corps of teachers to staff regional and national training schools.

UNESCO and ICA should seek to provide and finance teaching materials by sponsoring publications, translations and the diffusion of new material, especially audio-visual material that will support innovative methods.

Refresher and continuing education in new technology and methods is desirable for staff in post, and this should include managerial training for directors and post-experience training or those recruited without initial training.

Professional standards of recruitment, education, training and practice should match that set by comparable professional groups in any country. Unesco and ICA should seek to improve professional status wherever this is necessary.

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GAZETTEERS AS RECORDS OF THE INDIAN BOURGEOISIFICATION PROCESS

VINAYAK PUROHIT

THE PARAMETERS

THE INDIAN GAZETTEERS have recorded the bourgeoisification process as perceived by the imperialist masters of the country who obtained their data in the main through the agency of the Indian comprador elite. "Thus the gazetteers do not reflect the Indian reality partly due to conscious efforts of the British Administrations and partly due to unconscious result of the subjective outlook of the Indian middle classes who were gradually pressing forward with their demands for increasing share in the gains accruing to the British rulers. However, the gazetteers do contain some glimpses of Indian reality here and there and they provide us with both the truth as well as the camouflage".

Whilst in the metropolitan countries, capitalism did represent a progressive stage in the development of productive forces, in a colony like India, imperialism, by blocking industrial development, and through unequal trade and drain of wealth from the country, deliberately caused under-development and backwardness.

Thus capitalism was not a progressive force as long as it operated under imperialist aegis in India. That is why the First War of Indian Independence (1857-60) was led not by the Indian bourgeoisie but by the Indian feudalists who were able to gather mass peasant and artisan support in villages and towns of India under their restorationist banner.¹

The Indian people had earlier been seeking liberation from feudal oppression, as witnessed by frequent peasant uprisings and movements that rocked Indian society during the medieval centuries.²

The arrival of British imperialism on the scene caused fearful social complications. In the first phase of the conquest stretching roughly from 1757 or 1765 to 1818, the imperialists assumed a low social posture and were themselves one of the feudal elements, aligned with other native feudal forces, seeking hegemony. During this phase, there was nothing to choose between the *lal vardi* (red uniform) of the British armies and the colours prescribed by any other native militarist.

During the second phase of the conquest, stretching from 1818 to 1860 an apparent change occurred. With the help of the Indian loot itself, on the one hand, the British bourgeoisie defeated its main European rivals, the French,³ and on the other, achieved supremacy on the Indian sub-continent.⁴ But the terrible negative features of deindustrialisation and ruralisation of India made themselves felt in their most virulent form precisely during this second phase. The classic case is provided by the textile industry. The undernoted little table culled from the latest gazetteer of India spells out the essential features of this enormous social tragedy in unmistakable quantitative terms :

Year	Imports of Cotton manufactures from Britain into India (metres)	Exports of Indian Cotton piece-goods to Britain (metres)
1814	7,48,169	11,58,186
1821	1,75,00,451	4,88,742
1828	3,91,56,507	3,86,338
1835	4,73,45,142	2,79,869

SOURCE : *The Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, 1973, p. 615.

What applied to the textile industry, affected all other industries equally. The great feudal industries of India were completely destroyed, especially chemical (explosives, paper, dyes, drugs, salt, lacquer, aromatics, oils) transport (shipping and pack caravans), metallurgical (guns, swords, weapons, tools, implements, utensils, equipment, etc.), construction and

public works. Large scale *karḥhanas* and domestic handicrafts, together employing millions of artisans and craftsmen, were both ruined in order to transfer wealth and prosperity to British industry and commerce.

Thus British imperialism came not as a liberator of productive forces in India, but as destroyer of the level of productive organisation already achieved under feudal aegis. The masses were not liberated from feudal oppression. But a triple oppression was imposed upon them, viz., imperialist oppression, oppression by feudal remnants allied to imperialism, and thirdly, oppression by native bourgeois collaborators of imperialism.

Now an extremely complex four-cornered social struggle enveloped the Indian arena :

- (i) The international bourgeoisie working in the main through British imperialism, but often challenging British hegemony over India, was interested in maximising its returns through unequal trade, unrequited exports from India, and in super-profits derived from finance capital investments in monopolistically-controlled colonial markets.
- (ii) In the third corner were located the native bourgeois ditch efforts to salvage what they could and to retain as many of their old privileges as possible through *jagirdari*³ exactions, bonded labour, princeling domains, and so on. After the defeat of 1857-60, they increasingly compromised with imperialism in return for political support in the bitter struggle that imperialism was waging against Indian capitalists and the Indian working masses.
- (iii) In the third corner were located the native bourgeois elements who had tasted the sweet fruits of capitalist freedom for the first time under imperialist aegis. Under the imperial umbrella, they had found shelter against the depredations of the local feudalists. But the imperialists wanted to drain

India of capital resources, and allow no significant industrial development. This irked the local interests. They wanted to provoke the masses to fight imperialism, and offered to betray the people to the imperialists and their friends, provided it was made worth their while. They were as compradorist as the feudalists. But they suffered from possessing greater ambitions. They wanted to play one segment of the world bourgeoisie against another too, and one section of the middle class against another, in order to control the mass movement.

- (iv) The Indian masses were trying to end the triple oppression from which they suffered at the hands of the imperialists and their comprador agents, both feudal and bourgeois. But as far as the gazetteers are concerned, this fourth facet of the struggle finds only a few feeble reflections and echoes in its pages. In the main, the gazetteers concentrate upon the aspirations and the achievements of the other three sectors of society.

Thus the gazetteers describe the process of bourgeoisification that India underwent in the 19th and 20th centuries together with all the peculiarities that the process acquired in colonial Indian conditions.

The Gazetteers may be divided into two broad classes :

- (a) Those that may be said to have commenced with Walter Hamilton's *The East India Gazetteer*, First Edition of 1815, which dealt with not merely India but the whole of the Middle East, South Asia, and the Far East; and which concluded with the *Imperial Gazetteer Series* in 26 volumes (New Revised Edition of 1907-31).

This group projects the *Weltanschauung* of the alien imperialists.

- (b) In the second class we have principally the four volumes of the latest series, *The Gazetteer of India, Indian Union*, 1965-78, together with the 250-odd district gazetteers published by the various State Governments.

This group projects the *Weltanschauung* of the native bourgeoisie.

The essential process of bourgeoisification as outlined in the gazetteers consists of the following aspects :

- (i) *The process of deindustrialisation* : How Indian industries and handicrafts were destroyed in the interests of foreign imports is described in many different ways, through direct references, as well as through notings about changes in occupations, castewise description of occupations, dispersal of people from urban centres, deterioration in living conditions, and so on.
- (ii) *The process of ruralisation* : This again is suggested in multiple ways through direct population counts, as well as through migration reports, movements of people under stress of famines, and so on.
- (iii) *The process of drain of wealth* : This is suggested through figures of enhanced revenue settlements, the surpluses from which were "invested" in purchase of Indian goods that were exported without any equivalent imports. These formed the category of the well-known 'unrequited Exports', also termed 'Home Charges'.
- (iv) *The process of pauperisation and ruination of the masses* : This is evidenced by descriptions of famines, the ridiculous nature of relief measures, the terrible inflationary spiral, and the reports of disturbed law and order conditions.
- (v) *The process of expropriation of the peasantry* : This is carried out through seizures of land by

moneylenders, the placement of large tracts under forest reservation acts, and similar measures.

- (vi) *The deterioration in the living standards of the people* : This is depicted in terms of loss of health, loss of employment opportunities, closure of native schools, and so on.
- (vii) *Other miscellaneous processes* : These are symptomatic of changes in the basic mode of production; and of the fundamental alterations in socio-economic life caused by monetisation of the economy by free transactions in land, labour and capital; and by the creation of the appropriate juridical-legal system (Indian Penal Code 1860, Indian Criminal Procedure Code, 1861, and the Indian Civil Procedure Code, 1859, all three came into force within a year or two of each other).

The entire process of bourgeoisification with its concomitants of deindustrialisation, ruralisation, drain of wealth, pauperisation and expropriation of peasantry, and decline in living standards for the masses has an altogether negative aspect for colonial India. But let us not forget that capitalism had spelt disaster for considerable numbers even in Europe.

As Marx noted :

"If money according to Augier 'Comes into the world with a congenital blood stain on one cheek', capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt".⁶

THE MATERIAL

Gazetteers and archives bear an offspring—parent relationship to each other. The gazetteers are the compressed expression of the innumerable papers, notings, files, records and collections of materials ranging from the trivial to the profound, which compose the administrative archives of a government. The gazetteers are what the archives aspire to

become, eventually, in the long run, in the ultimate analysis. The gazetteers are the fulfilled form, which archives assume after archival material has been processed, selectively summarised, and published.

In India we have had a splendid series of gazetteers, also variously called Annals, Surveys, Manuals, Abstracts, Travel Reports and Statistical Accounts, pertaining to districts, old native states, old presidencies and provinces, new states of the Indian Union, and the whole sub-continent of Indian Union. In time, they range from Walter Hamilton's first edition of *The East India Gazetteer* of 1815 to the present. The chronological starting point is of some significance. The *Gazetteers* begin roughly from the time that British imperialism became the paramount power of the Indian sub-continent.

Thus the function of the gazetteers was pre-determined by the process of their gestation. They were to serve as tools for the quick take-over of the administrative machinery of the country by an alien bureaucracy which needed information in encapsulated form.

The gazetteers were written in English for the use of English men, but naturally had to be based upon information gathered from Indians. The mass of material was brought together from diverse sources. And it was a tremendous mass of material.

Following Walter Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer* (1815),⁷ came Edward Thornton's *Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of East India Company* (1854)⁸ in four volumes, to be succeeded in turn by W. W. Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteers of India* (1881) in nine volumes, the revised *Imperial Gazetteer Series* in 1886 in 14 volumes, and the new and revised *Imperial Gazetteer Series* (1907-31) in 26 volumes. In short, the series grew from one volume in 1815 to 26 volumes by 1931.

In addition, there were numerous provincial series of gazetteers published by the then governments of Bombay,

Bengal, Madras, Central Provinces and Berar, Bihar and Orissa, United Provinces, the Punjab and the N.W.F.P.

To give the reader some idea about the stupendous bulk of the gazetteers, we may refer to a little note by W. W. Hunter in the 20th and the last volume of *A Statistical Annal of Bengal*, that it had taken him seven years, from 1870 to 1877, to write the earlier *Statistical Account of Bengal* on which the later *Annals* series was based. For the Imperial series of 1881, Hunter stated that he had sought information in respect of 240 districts, 15 provinces and 300 feudatory states from local administrators to a six-fold series of leading questions. The areas covered by the queries were:

- (i) topographical, (ii) ethnical (castes and tribes), (iii) agricultural, (iv) industrial, (v) administrative and (vi) medical.

The total documentation thus secured was over 100 volumes comprising some 36,000 pages, which were later compressed into nine volumes totalling 4,976 pages.

Naturally this mass of material has attracted the notice of scholars. A history of Indian gazetteers has already appeared.⁹ But this is a history in name only. It may be more accurately termed a bureaucratic collection of odd bits of largely irrelevant information arranged in a superficial chronological order. It is not concerned with the Indian socio-economic situation of the 19th and 20th centuries, nor with the political and cultural issues which confronted the administrators of British India decade after decade.

Nor does Chaudhury's work anywhere indicate that the author has been able to overcome comprador limitations of vision. For instance, the gazetteers repeatedly and nauseatingly refer to the *introductions* of indigo and cotton cultivation in various districts of India. Obviously, this is an imperialist lie. Indigo and cotton were cultivated in India over

several millenia, and there is no question of any ragamuffin from London streets strutting about as District Collector actually being able to *introduce* such cultivation.

It could be, on the other hand, that at the extremely unremunerative prices offered for quality indigo, Indian farmers may have abandoned their cultivation. Therefore, these peasants may have been forced by English indigo plantation owners to restart cultivation in certain tracts.

In the same way, at the low prices offered, cultivation of medium and long staple cotton may have been temporarily stopped, the demand for finer qualities of Indian textiles having collapsed, and imported higher count materials having undercut the Indian weavers' market. Thus, it might be that short staple cotton for export to Lancashire and for spinning in Bombay and Ahmedabad, might have *recommenced* under alien patronage. But to speak of 'introduction' of cotton and indigo cultivation in Indian districts in any other sense, is to describe "discoveries" of the New World by Columbus and his Spanish conquistadors, when over 10 crores of Red Indians had actually been living there for centuries.

Let us take another instance : that of the so-called self-sufficiency of the Indian village which is repeatedly asserted, or hinted at, in the gazetteers. Now this was an imperialist distortion of Indian reality which was not only factually incorrect, but was diabolical. It was a self-fulfilling prediction made by imperialist administrators who were ruining the Indian economy and thereby making every village increasingly self-reliant. The higher rose the figure of imperial exactions, the less valuable land became. The more devastating the famines and the epidemics became the more inclined were the villagers to abandon cultivation, migrate to towns and practice beggary. In fact, every beggar and every pauper is a highly self-reliant individual. He makes or can make very few demands on others.¹⁰ Choudhury is blissfully unaware of such basic issues and fails to draw our attention to the horror of the crimes committed by imperialism.

The evidence of de-industrialisation and ruralisation of India is quite clear. In his second, two-volume (1828) edition of the *East India Gazetteer*, Walter Hamilton tabulates the population of certain Indian towns as in 1825. Hunter's 1881 edition provides comparative data for the same towns :

TABLE 1
Thirteen British Indian Towns with over 1 lakh population in 1825

Name of Town	Population in 1825 (in 000s)	Population given in 1881 Edition (in 000s)	Reference year given in 1881 Edition	Decline in per cent.
1. Benaras	600	175	1872	-71
2. Calcutta	500	430	1876	-14
3. Madras	462	398	1871	-14
4. Patna	312	159	1872	-49
5. Lucknow	300	285	1869	-5
6. Dacca	180	69	1872	-62
7. Bombay	170	644	1872	(+279)
8. Surat	160	107	1872	-33
9. Delhi	150	154	1868	(+3)
10. Moradabad	150	62	1872	-59
11. Poona	110	90	1872	-18
12. Nagpur	115	84	1872	-27
13. Ahmedabad	100	116	1872	(+16)

It is noteworthy that the most populous city in India in early nineteenth century was Benares whose population declined in less than 50 years by almost three-quarters. Similarly, other big urban centres with large populations of craftsmen and artisans, like Patna, Dacca, Surat and Moradabad, declined in the same half century by 49, 62, 33 and 59 per cent respectively.

Poona lost one-eighth of its population in just one year after the defeat of the Peshwas in the Third Maratha war.

Its population in 1819 was estimated at 110,000 by Elphinstone¹¹ "having diminished about one-eighth subsequent to the abrogation of the Maratha dynasty". Between 1825 and 1872, it declined by another 18 per cent, or a loss of about one-third in 50 years, not dissimilar to the loss suffered by Nagpur, another Maratha feudal centre, of 27 per cent.¹²

THE CONCRETISATIONS

The process of destruction of Indian feudal society is fully described in all its aspects. The changes in land tenure naturally occupied the place of pride in discussions relating to the economic consequences of the change. W. W. Hunter notes in his *A Statistical Annal of Bengal—Maldah—Vol. 7* (1876) :

"As late as 1859, the whole land law of Bengal underwent revision, throwing the province into a paroxysm of litigation."¹³

We have only to remember that under the guidance of Council Member Macaulay, all the laws of India were being transformed and codified at precisely the same time—the Code of Civil Procedure (1859), the Indian Penal Code (1860), and the Code of Criminal Procedure (1861). Thus a combination of military might, manifested in activities relating to the suppression of the First War of Indian Independence, and the legal steamroller, destroyed feudal institutions. Behind the legal enactments stood the four fundamental elements of state power, viz., the administrator, the judge, the policeman and the soldier, and all these four characters continuously peep out of the pages of the gazetteers, caught on its pages in the very act of carrying through the bourgeoisification process.

All the old feudal privileges were crushed, and in their place the new bourgeois privileges arose. The gazetteers record almost enviously the rise of the new aristocracy of money.

"The Commercial Resident, Mr. Cheap (sic!), had £ 45,800 to £ 65,000 to spend every year.....Mr. Cheap lived in a pile of buildings with artificial lakes and gardens, and bequeathed a fortune, and the largest indigo plantation in Beerbhoom. Cheap exercised magisterial powers".¹⁴

At the same time, the spread of the monetary economy was revealed through records of mortgages of land; of increase in numbers of landless labourers who had perforce to sell their labour power in order to live; of the frightening rise in the general price level everywhere; of immigrations of people under stress of poverty, etc.

The gazetteer coolly proceeds to note :

"Of the late years, in the inland parts the most notable change in the condition of cultivating classes has been the gradual disappearance of the small holder. The large holders, say of fifteen acres, have greatly increased in wealth, and many have turned money-lenders. But the small holder of an acre or two, and even the average holder of five acres have been falling deeper into debt. The price of his produce has risen, but he has very little of it ever to sell. Marriage expenses entangle him with the moneylender, and by mortgages and sales both private and judicial, land tends together in large holdings, though the old owner may be left as tenant and the land be still entered in his name in the Government books".¹⁵

The moneylenders were aided by British law and the new courts :

"In grinding the faces of the poor, the moneylender is unrivalled Land mortgages are common and are growing commoner. Sales under civil court decrees are frequent as the moneylender generally takes his debtor into court, after frightening him into renewing and renewing until the last bond is for the

whole sum he is worth in the world. As it is the last bond that is sued on, and as the *kunbi* often fails to appear in court, the fact of his having paid the original debt several times over does not come to light, and the creditor buys the land for a nominal sum. Complaints of forged deeds are not unknown. The mortgage of labour still prevails among the poor *kunbis*, *Agris* and wilder hill and forest tribes. The rate at which the bondsmen's services are valued depends on the straits to which he is reduced. For Rs. 50, a *Varlis* has to bind himself for 10 to 12 years".¹⁶

The bourgeois system proceeded relentlessly to grind into dust the miserable cultivator.

"The chief borrowers of the district are landowning *kunbis*... In the opinion of the Deccan Riots Commission, the bulk of the landholder's debt was due less to large sums spent on ceremonies than to constant petty borrowings for food and other necessities, to buy seed, to buy bullocks, and to pay the government assessment..... In no part of India did indebtedness cause more misery than in the Deccan. Formerly, the law or custom prevented a lender from more than tripling the original loan by compound interest. Neither personal arrest nor seizure of immovable property was allowed. The English law removing all such restraints caused much horror. To carry out the law, judges had to strip whole families of their ancestral homes... In 1855, an act was passed repeating the restriction on interest. In 1858, when Lord Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay, he recorded his conviction that the labouring classes suffered enormous injustice from the want of protection against the extortionate practice of moneylenders. He believed that the civil courts had become hateful to the mass of the people because they were made the instruments of the almost incredible rapacity of usurious capitalists. One mortgagee's tenant in his statement to the Deccan Riots Commis-

sioners used the following words 'I till the land, but I have no right to take for my use any of the produce' Sir Wingate described thus (the situation):" It becomes the lender's interest to reduce the borrower to hopeless indebtedness that he may appropriate the whole fruits of his industry beyond what is indispensable to his existence. This the lender is able without difficulty to do. Do what he will the landholder can never get rid of principal. He toils that another may rest; he sows that another may reap. Hope leaves him and despair seizes him".¹⁷

We have in the foregoing extracts, a more or less complete picture of the essential bourgeoisification process under colonial conditions. First land is turned into a commodity and is made alienable and mortgagable. Then the bourgeois state and legal machinery is pressed into service to uproot the cultivator and convert him into either a bonded labourer or a simple wage labourer on the "free" labour market. The fruit of his labour, the produce from the land is seized, and he is left with nothing except a small loin-cloth or a blouse and a petticoat.

Undoubtedly the feudal system was itself oppressive and exploitative, but it pressed less heavily upon the common man than the terrible juggernaut devised by imperialism and its local *nouveauriche* agents. And there were industries which provided employment to a very considerable segment of the population, which imperialism destroyed.

Integration of the Indian economy into the world market and the total destruction of native crafts were also noted by the gazetteers.

The evidence of destruction of Indian industries is extensive, detailed and overwhelming. Within the span of this paper, we have space for the barest of references.¹⁸

Nevertheless, we may notice a few outstanding features of the de-industrialisation drive. Till early 19th century.

"The chief product of Bombay was its ships."¹⁹ In the first ten years of the century many merchant ships of from 600 to 1300 tons had been built for the country trade and for the service of the East India Company. Bombay was the first place out of Europe, where a ship of the line was built. The largest ship ever built in Bombay was the *Ganges*, a frigate pierced to carry 92 guns and of 2289 tons. Of other men-of-war there were launched one of 74 guns, two of 38 guns, two of 36, two of 18, and two of ten guns. For commercial purposes, there were built up to about 1816, nine ships of 1000 tons, five of 800, six of 700, five about 600 tons, and 35 smaller vessels. "In beauty of construction, excellent workmanship, and durability, they were superior to any class of merchant ships in the world".²⁰

Apart from direct prohibition, another method employed was to impose heavy taxes. Salt is the symbol of such imperialist imposts.

"Next to agriculture, the making of salt is the most important industry of the Thana district. There are 200 salt works with an out-turn in 1880-81 of salt worth about Rs. 3,30,000, or, including duty, Rs. 95,60,000 and yielding a revenue of Rs. 78,00,000".²¹

That an output worth Rs. 3 lakhs should yield government revenue at 26 times its value, is a state of affairs which needs no comment.

Finally, we may turn to Bengal for a few concluding notices.

Cotton Textile : "The cloth manufactures appear to have been at first spread throughout the whole district, but became centralised in Santipur the fine cotton webs are, however, rapidly losing their distinctive character, as is the case with Dacca muslims and Murshidabad silks. East India company's purchases in first 20 years of 19th century, were £ 120,000 to £ 150,000 per annum".²²

Paper : "Panduah was the seat of a large paper manufacturing industry upto the beginning of the present century. No trace of this manufacture exists in Panduah to the present day."²³

Silk : "but it must be recollected that since that time (1857) the silk trade of Bengal has considerably fallen off owing to increasing competition from China and South of Europe. The weavers of Murshidabad district are always in debt. Assistant Sub-Magistrate of Lal Bagh Sub-Division says "Their physique generally proves that they are leading an unhealthy and half starved existence. They live from hand to mouth, on low wages, not punctually paid, and their work is also precarious. Their life is sedentary, passed in filthy houses".²⁴

In fact, every volume of each and every gazetteer series provides, under notices pertaining to each district and each town, evidence of destruction of Indian manufactories. The total destruction of all defence industries of that period—salt-petre, iron foundries, saddlery, tentage, etc.—was merely one aspect of the process. The more important consequences were the extraordinary rise in land prices as millions of artisans were thrown back upon land, and the rise in the terms under which tenures were held. The gazetteers record the successive increases effected by survey settlements as well as the fierce rack-renting indulged in by ostensible tenure holders.

Another consequence of the same process of deindustrialisation and ruralisation was the fall in the real wages. Every district gazetteer volume provides data on the subject, and demonstrates the steep fall in the purchasing power of the rupee. For instance, in Thana, one could get 38 pounds of rice for a rupee in 1836, but only 12 pounds in 1877; whilst unskilled labourers were paid 2 to 3 annas in 1777 and 1847; and annas 4 a day in 1881. In other words, whilst prices had gone up by 220 per cent, wages had

remained more or less the same for 70 years from 1777 to 1847, and had improved from say $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas to 4 annas in the next 34 years, or a rise of at least 60 per cent. In short, real wages had fallen to less than one-third of their original 1836 value.²⁵

In the latter part of the nineteenth century and in twentieth century, the directions in which the British finance capital flowed—into railways, plantations, managing agency houses and elsewhere—was briefly noticed by the gazetteers.

Marx was very optimistic about the “multiplier effect” of foreign capital investment in railways. “The railway system will therefore become in India, truly the forerunner of modern industry”.²⁶ However, imperialism proved to be more cunning, resourceful and vicious than Marx had anticipated. It “dampened and muffled” the effects of railway investment by concentrating all purchases, from the locomotive to the last nail and pin, in England.

At the same time, some of the investments directly competed with and ruined native enterprises. This was the case with indigo manufacture :

“Indigo manufacture is the only industry carried on in Nadiya District by imported European capital. It dates from the latter half of the last century. Most of the large indigo concerns now existing spring originally from very small native factories, which were brought by Europeans at the beginning of this century dotted with indigo concerns and by English capitalists or by proprietors backed by Calcutta agency houses Large factories rapidly came up on great impetus Money was plentiful Contention arose between neighbouring planters. The European planter soon gained for himself an important position in the District, although at first he had but little property”.²⁷

But amongst the most interesting entries in the gazetteers were those that fell into the following classes :

ECOLOGICAL ONSLAUGHT BY IMPERIALISM

(i) The ecological onslaught of imperialism that transformed the landscape, with denudation of hills through export of timber, construction of road and railways without regard to drainage, and alterations in river channels to suit petty commercial interests.

We have space to note only a few typical cases of ecological vandalism perpetrated by imperialism.

- (a) For instance, the courses of rivers and streams were recklessly altered for the sake of private profit. “In the early part of the century the Sarju instead of joining the Kauriala in Bahraich, flowed on into Gonda district. The stream was turned into its present channel by a European timber merchant, with a view to securing a more expeditious route for floating down his logs”.²⁸
- (b) In the same way, the magnificent forests of the Konkan coastal belt of Maharashtra were denuded of teak and other vegetational cover, partly to provide sleepers for the railways, and partly for providing Bombay city market with charcoal, construction materials and other forest produce. Before the depredations caused by railway construction, teak had been extensively employed for shipbuilding. The removal of the forest cover resulted in grave soil erosion of the slopes of the Western Ghats; and this created further ecological imbalances.²⁹
- (c) Miserly cheeseparing habits of British imperialism resulted not only in total neglect of irrigation works and the silting of tanks and lakes, but imperialism went so far as to withdraw essential maintenance services in respect of lands reclaimed

from the sea. This, too, is recorded by the gazetteers dealing with the Konkan strip.³⁰ The office of *Khar Patil* was thus abolished.

- (d) The indiscriminate blocking of natural water channels through the building of railways and roads after 1854 resulted in the creation of vast acreages of bogs and swamps which are even visible to-day as one travels on the Indian railways. Naturally, these marshy tracts intensified, if not generated, the scourge of malaria.

ATTACK ON PEOPLE'S HEALTH

(ii) The sudden and sharp deterioration in the health and longevity of Indians. Contact with the white man did not cause such devastating epidemics in India, as happened in the case of the Red Indian populations of the Americans.³¹ Nevertheless, two frightful consequences did ensue. On the one hand, pauperisation of Indians shortened their lives drastically and imperialism-made famines debilitated the afflicted population to such an extent that epidemics raged amongst the survivors. On the other hand, with a sharp rise in the number and forms of contact between Englishmen and Indians, many infections appeared in particularly virulent forms, especially tuberculosis and venereal diseases.

The earlier and to us completely unfamiliar, situation was described by Walter Hamilton as follows :

"Compared with the West-Indies and other tropical regions, Hindostan may be considered a very healthy country, being little afflicted with many distempers that are destructive in other countries. Indeed, one of the most striking features of the medical history of India is that it does not tolerate any infectious fever, typhus, yellow fever and the plague being equally unknown east of Indies. Cancer is nearly unknown within the tropics; and pthisis pulmonalis is not common. Scrophula is rare, although instances occur from particular causes, and the formation of stone

in the bladder is but very seldom experienced. Although climate does not prevent attacks of the gout, yet they are certainly less common and severe than in cold countries and quite unknown to abstemious natures. Acute rheumatism is rare between the tropics, and the chronic kind is more easily cured than in Europe. Within the last fifteen years, a new and very fatal disease has visited at different times Hindustan, and swept off great numbers of natives, but its virulence has latterly very much abated, as it originally commenced, without any assignable cause, either from improvement of climate, diet, habits or mode of treatment".³²

Eighty years later, the entire approach has undergone a sea change and we are confronted by the more familiar scene of chronically unhealthy India.³³

Heavy mortality was sought to be explained on large philosophic, social and moral grounds. "The tendency of European civilisation is to give man more and more complete control of his surroundings whereas in India....."³⁴ The same absurd sweep continues : "The whole tone of religious thought, with its philosophy of fatalism is against the individualistic self-assertion necessary to success in the struggle for existence; it is opposed to cooperation for civil ideals; and it promotes indifference to life. Disastrous effects on a larger scale frequently follow on the congregation of vast numbers at place of pilgrimage....."³⁵ But Indian religious thought had not changed its base since early 19th century, when Hamilton had found Indian to be extraordinarily healthy! Yet the homilies pour thick and fast : The universal custom of early marriage means that "there is none of the salutary elimination of underpar lives, effected in the West by the celibacy of large classes..... Premature strain on reproductive function tends to their earlier cessation to earlier degeneration to premature senility".³⁶

"The duties of daily life are ordered and performed as religious rites which the British Government is pledged to respect..... and herein lies one difficulty in securing the observance of the sanitary ordinances which have occupied so large a place in the Statute Book of recent years".³⁷

The admissions also peep through the text : "with respect to nutrition, it cannot be doubted that the quality and nature of the food of the majority leaves much to be desired. These effects are strongly emphasised in the times of scarcity and famines.....".³⁸

We need not elaborate further. Hamilton recorded that India was a very healthy country and infectious fevers were not tolerated and lung diseases were uncommon. Such were the striking features of the medical history of India in the early nineteenth century. Eighty years later, fevers, lung diseases and bowel complaints were shown to be the chief causes of heavy mortality and low expectation of life. Suddenly, the philosophy of life followed by Indians and their age-old customs became responsible for the evils perpetrated by the British policy of deindustrialisation and ruralisation. The gazetteer itself admits that "nine-tenth's of the population live from land."³⁹ We may juxtapose this to the statement made by the Famine Commissioners of 1880 : "No remedy for present evils can be complete which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such employments".⁴⁰ But till the end of imperialist rule no meaningful change occurred—in 1947 the Indian people were as overwhelmingly dependent on agriculture as they had been since the beginning of imperialist rule.

POLITICS OF LAW AND ORDER

(iii) Many political crimes and most crimes against newly-established bourgeois property forms were dealt with in the gazetteers as law and order problems. However, very

often, the mask got torn off and one could discern the seething discontent of the Indian masses who are found protestive against the political system under which they were forced to live.

An outstanding example of the distortion of a political upheaval into a law and order problem is provided by the so-called Deccan Riots of 1875. However, the gazetteers in the usual self-contradictory fashion provide facts that belie the official characterisation.

"As a rule, the disturbances were marked by the absence of serious crime. In every case, the object of the rioters was to obtain and destroy the bonds and decrees in the possession of their creditors. When bonds were peaceably given, the mob did not further mischief..... The most remarkable feature of these disturbances was the small amount of serious crime..... This moderation is in some measure to be attributed to the nature of the movement. It was not so much a revolt against the oppressor, as an attempt to accomplish a definite and practical object, the disarming of the enemy by taking his weapons, his bonds and accounts. For this purpose, a mere demonstration of force was usually enough. Another circumstance which contributed to the moderation of the peasantry was that in many cases the movement was led or shared by the heads of the village. The chief cause of the moderation was the natural law-abiding spirit of the *Kunbi* peasantry. In so orderly and peaceful a people, such a wide-spread resort to force proved the reality of their grievances".⁴¹

And we have two classical cases illustrating the nature of the grievances. Mr. Shambhu Prasad Lakshmilal, a member of the Deccan Riots Commission which was subsequently set up to hold an inquiry, cited a case in which an advance of Rs. 10/- was made in 1863 against which sums amounting to Rs. 110/- were paid from time to time. At the end of 10 years, Rs. 220/- were still due!⁴² The second

instance was provided by Mr. Tytler, Collector of Ahmadnagar, who referred to a man who had borrowed a quantity of *jowar* worth Rs. 6/- and in 16 months, the borrower was sued for Rs. 72/- which the lender was awarded with costs. "The judge considered the thing iniquitous but there was a bond and a bond covered all iniquity. Thousands of parallel cases could be collected; every division and every village teemed with them".⁴³

The so-called Deccan Riots of 1875 were the first major political manifestation in Western India of a political protest organized on the basis of the new bourgeois order. It was not an attempt to restore the feudal past as with the First War of National Independence (1857-60). It was an attempt to launch a struggle on the new bourgeois premises. It sought to reverse the expropriations carried out with the help of the new bourgeois legal system that had been instituted by imperialist arms. The gazetteers termed the movement "riotous", but provided factual evidence to the contrary.

BRITISH PUSILLANIMITY CONFRONTS FAMINES

We have space to record the classic case of the famine of 1769-70 that devastated Bengal. Hunter in his *Annals of Rural Bengal*⁴⁴ recognises the crucial importance of this event which determined the course of Indian history for many succeeding decades.

"Carrying off the husbandman's scanty stock at arbitrary prices, stopping and emptying boats that were importing rice from other provinces, compelling the poor ryots to sell even seed, and the whole administration participated in dealing in grain for private advantage. The disaster was of appalling proportions. It forms key to history of Bengal for 40 years. It places new light on those broad trends of desolation which the English conquerors found (actually made) everywhere, it unfolds the sufferings entailed on an ancient rural society, by being suddenly placed in a position in which its immemorial forms and usages could no longer apply; it then explains

how out of the disorganised and fragmentary elements, a new order of things evolved".

In the face of this historic tragedy, what are we to say of the following grand measures adopted to provide relief?

Districts in which 20,000 were dying per month received for relief Rs. 150 per year. For 30 millions' sustenance for 6 months £ 4000 were given. Beyond that the local grandees were to provide, who gave £ 4700 plus expenses.

THE PERSPECTIVE

The entire bourgeoisification process as it unfolded on the Indian terrain comprised of four major phases :

- (i) *First phase* : 1757-1818.—This was the phase during which imperialism on the whole adopted a low profile, when acquisitions of territory were gradually made; when Britishers pretended to be feudal subordinates and allies of the Indian emperor and his chief native *subedars*; when the old local land administration was largely preserved; when Persian language and indigenous coinage retained their currency.
- (ii) *Second phase* : 1818-1860.—During this phase the bourgeoisification process attained its climaceteric point. The Indian feudal economy was overturned, the revivalist feudal forces were decisively defeated in the First War of National Independence (1857-60), the entire politic-judicial system restructured according to the legal codes, and the Indian economy subordinated to the world capitalist economy.
- (iii) *Third phase* : 1860-1955.—During the first 45 years of this phase, which may be considered as the classic phase of gazetteer production, the British imperialist bourgeoisie consolidated its hold upon

the country through a vast network of communication channels (railway, telegraph and roads) and through strategic alliances with local compradors especially and semi-feudal princelings.

In the next 50 years from 1905-1955, imperialism was in retreat, under pressure from the nationalist forces led by the native bourgeoisie. During the preceding century, W. W. Hunter could openly confess to "British misrule in Bengal".⁴⁵ But after 1905, the nationalist movement had raised its head,⁴⁶ and it was no longer politic to make such adverse admissions.

(iv) *Fourth phase: 1955 to the present.*—This period saw the production of the latest series of the Gazetteers of India, 4 volumes, in addition to some 250 district Gazetteers which follow by and large the old pattern. However, the liquidation of native states and commencement of economic planning are some of the new features which have been greatly lauded therein as steps in the process of bourgeoisification.

FOOT NOTES

1. In Japan, the feudal leadership destroyed the Shogunate and restored the power of the absolute monarchy in the form of the Meiji Restoration of 1868. In turn the emperor opened the economy to intensive bourgeois penetration and advancement. In India too, similar developments might have taken place had victory resulted from the First War of National Independence.
2. A.R. Desai (ed.) *Peasant Struggles in India*, 1978.
3. The French defeat was sealed by the defeat of Napoleon in 1815. The French had earlier conquered the Dutch, the Germans, the Italians and the Spaniards, so that from 1815 to 1870, Britain had no significant European rival.
4. The defeat of the Marathas in 1818 may be taken as the turning point, whereafter merely mopping up operations continued in the North West and the North East of India.
5. Not to be confused with "Zamindari", which was a bourgeois form of exploitation, wherein capital was invested in land, within conditions of technological blockage.

6. K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, undated, pp. 711-12.
7. Hamilton quickly brought out a two-volume edition in 1828, which we have utilised in preparing this paper.
8. An earlier two volume edition had appeared in 1844.
9. S. B. Chaudhury, *The History of the Gazetteers of India*, 1965.
10. For further discussion of the myth of self-sufficient Indian village see Vinayak Purohit, "the Asiatic Mode of Production and Feudalism in Indian History and Historiography" in *Proceedings of the 40th Session of the Indian History Congress*, 1980, pp. 741-50.
11. Hamilton, op.cit., Vol. 2, p. 412.
12. Nagpur was annexed in 1853, and therefore the major part of the decline must have occurred in the two decades that followed.
13. op.cit., p. 371.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. 13, part I, p. 302.
16. *Ibid.* pp. 308-10.
17. *Ibid.* Vol. 18, Part II, *Poona*, pp. 108, 110, 112-14, 126, 116.
18. We refer the interested student to the trilogy of 1901: D. Naoroji *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*; R. C. Dutt, *Economic History of India*, 2 Vols; and W. Digby, *'Prosperous' British India*; and to B. D. Basu, *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries*, 1931, where much material has been gleaned from the gazetteers.
19. *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. 13, Part I, p. 363.
20. *Ibid.*, part II, pp. 517-18; Low's *Indian Navy*, I, p. 28; Hamilton's *Hindustan*, II, p. 156.
21. *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency* Vol. 13, Part I.
22. *A Statistical Annal of Bengal*, Vol. 3, *Midnapore and Hoogly*, p. 94.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 375.
24. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, *Murshidabad*, pp. 148, 154.
25. *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. 13, part I, pp. 312-14.
26. Marx & Engels, *The First Indian War of Independence: 1857-1859*, 1975, p. 32.
27. W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Annal of Bengal*, 1875, Vol. 2, *Nadiya & Jessore Districts*, pp. 95-97.
28. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, 181, p. 298.
29. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. 13, Thana part I, 1882, pp. 31-32; part II, pp. 517-18; Vol. 11, Kolaba and Janjira, 1883, p. 17, Vol. 10, *Ratnagiri and Savantvadi* 1889 pp. 31-33.

The last mentioned volume contains the best account of the reckless denudation of teak forests carried out by British imperialism.

30. *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. 13, Thana, Part I, p. 276.
31. It has been variously estimated that the Red Indian population of Pre-Columbian America, North & South, exceeded over 11.5 crores and the majority of them were eliminated by epidemic brought by the Whites, whilst a minority was slaughtered by genocidal campaigns. For each Indian scalp, the authorities paid a fixed sum and it was official policy that "the best Indian was a dead Indian".
32. *Hamilton's East India Gazetteer*, 1828—ed., pp. 657-8.
33. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, Vol. I, 1907, ch. 10, "Public Health and Vital Statistics".
34. *Ibid.*, p. 500.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 501.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 500.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 502. Possibly, there is a reference here to the murder of Plague Commissioner Rand and his associate Ayerst by the Chaphekar brothers. But the allusion is inappropriate since the British officers were known to have raped Indian women in the course of their inspection tours to enforce sanitary rules. Such nefarious activities had nothing to do with respect for religious rites supposedly manifested by the British government!
38. *Ibid.*, p. 501.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 502.
40. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, Vol. III, P. 499.
41. *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. 18, Poona, Part II, pp. 122-3.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
43. *Ibid.*, Vol. 17, *Ahmadnagar*, 1884, p. 314.
44. Vol. I, 1868, pp. 1970.
45. *The Indian Empire*, 1896, p. 383.
46. The Anti-Partition, Boycott and Swadeshi Movement led by Bal-Pal-Lal had swept over the country between 1905 and 1911.

PROGRESS ON ARCHIVAL AUTOMATION¹

MEYER H. FISHBEIN

THE PROFESSION OF archives has been influenced in its more than four millennia of history by a number of significant technological changes in the forms of communication. Recording media have progressed from clay tablets and shards to papyrus, parchment and paper; yet, none had as dramatic effect on archives in a relatively short period as the contemporary electronic media. Though much has been published about the "computer revolution" evaluations of its role in archival principles and practices are rare. Most literature on the topic concerns single applications or its impact on a particular archival activity. One way to bridge the gap is to compile a comprehensive history of archival automation. This paper is designed to outline the history briefly by narrating major innovations and events.

Archivists were slow to recognize the potential significance of computers to their operations. The first generations were, in fact, of marginal concern, because the computers were in the main more rapid calculators than the Hollerith punched card accounting machines. Their principal utility was for rapid calculations of complex mathematical formulas. With the development of the second generation, about by the mid 1950's, their utility for listing, merging, organizing and printing data was being recognized by historians, social scientists and a few librarians. Thus, early innovators experimented with the tool for statistical studies and bibliographic controls. The first archivally related application grew out of library experimentation. The U.S. Library of Congress, in developing what became the MARC system for cataloging books, also used the experimental system to list items among its collections of presidential papers.²

As electronic computers were invented in the U.S. it was to be expected that the earliest archival applications would be in that country. When the implications of automation was considered for the first time by the International Council on Archives (ICA) at the 1964 International Congress of Archivists³ only the representatives of the U.S. National Archives and Records Service (hereafter referred to as NARS) suggested that the technology could be useful to archivists for substantive activities. Other participants believed that the utility would be limited to fiscal and certain statistical operations. NARS had initiated a study to determine whether a computer could be used to index individual civil and military service personnel files.

The Archival Round Table decided, nonetheless, to add automation to the agenda for the following year. The report to the Round Table was in the main inconclusive.⁴ Several archivists suggested utility for indexing, but they did not plan to install systems. They also rejected tape or punched cards as accessionable records. The United States was again an exception. NARS had acquired a computer system as a locator index for its close to one-hundred million personnel case files.

During the early 1960's even NARS had doubts about the possibility of accessioning machine-readable records for permanent preservation. A NARS study based on a survey of leading federal statistical agencies concluded that computers were merely intermediate devices for processing data for input documents to output reports; therefore, only the conventional records should be considered for accessioning.⁵ However, in 1964 the U.S. Social Science Research Council became concerned about the loss of significant data in machine-readable form that had not been fully transcribed in the printouts. A sub-group of economists visited the same producers of tape as had been questioned during the NARS study, with the addition of other agencies. The committee also questioned officials of NARS about their intentions with regard to the medium. The committee was

assured that NARS was willing to accept such records when they were appraised as having enduring value. Nonetheless, the committee recommended the establishment of a dual archives for the preservation and servicing of magnetic media and related textual records. For political reasons this proposal as rejected by Congress. At about the same time in connection with its responsibility to accept records of terminated agencies, the Swedish national archives was facing the likelihood that it would accept the new media.

By 1971, the attitudes of a steadily increasing number of archivists toward automation had changed radically. In that year the Archival Round Table expected positive replies to questions about their interest in automation. Robert-Henri Bautier, secretary-general of the Round Table and Professor of Archives at the L'Ecole des Chartes, undertook responsibility for conducting a survey of archival automation. His report to the Round Table⁶ noted the development of information science in numerous countries, in most part as a result of automated techniques in gathering, processing and disseminating information. Prof. Bautier assumed correctly that this development would eventually affect the acquisition policies of archives in those countries. The alternative he envisioned would be the establishment of central data banks that could become rival archives for recent permanently valuable records.

The Swedish national archives, which took a lead among the archival institutions by asserting its authority to accession permanently valuable machine-readable records, was among the first to initiate a study of the preservability of various media. NARS established an organizational entity to survey tape files within the federal government and to initiate an accessioning process for those that were deemed of enduring value. The national archives of Canada and several other countries were considering similar involvement.

During the late 1960's outside influences focused archival attention on automation. Historians and social scientists were using computers to process their data (including information from archival sources) and were inquiring about access to data in governmental agencies that were in machine-readable form. Furthermore, decisions on the retirement of tape and other media were being made without archival intervention.

Major impediments to archival intervention in the retirement process were :

- (1) a lack of knowledge among archivists about automation in general and about the machine-readable files in administrative agencies;
- (2) the unavailability of adequate facilities for the preservation and servicing of tape; and,
- (3) legal obstacles to accessioning such recent records.

The last two impediments were largely responsible for delays in considering machine-readable records for accessioning; therefore, archivists in several states decided to use automation primarily for retrieval systems. Study groups were organized to examine the feasibility of using computers to facilitate access to records with high reference activity.

The National and State archives of the Federal Republic of Germany were among the leaders in initiating indexing programs by computer. NARS was computerizing a locator system for its national records center and was seeking a system that could automate the production of finding aids for archival holdings. Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Israel, Italy, Norway, Poland and Romania were planning or actually installing computerized systems to facilitate operations. The data available to Prof. Bautier for all but a few institutions were too fragmentary for detailed descriptions of most of these systems.

The Italian National Archives was probably the first to adopt text retrieval for archival documents but its response to the questionnaire did not reach Prof. Bautier in time for inclusion in his report. The Italian ADP systems were described later at a meeting in Spoleto (see below). The Archives acquired a Honeywell retrieval system for producing keyword indexes and was adapting IBM's Document Processing System for text retrieval. Enrica Ormanni demonstrated the latter by retrieving on a videoscreeen (CRT) a document from the records of the Abbey of Monte Cassino.

The important matter of cost for automated indexing was dealt with only by the Canadian response in which it was shown that automation saved considerable money and staff time.

In addition to indexing, several archives sought computer assistance for administrative operations other than fiscal controls, e.g., compiling statistics on reference activity and controlling the retirement and acquisition of non-current records.

Prof. Bautier concluded that archives should develop facilities for preserving selected data files, investigate the potentials for automatic indexing, and that ICA should include a major session on automation for the 1972 International Congress in Moscow.

In preparation for this 1972 session, the ICA established the Ad Hoc Working Party on the Implications of Automatic Data Processing for Archival Management. The participants at the meeting in Spoleto, Italy, 23-25 May, 1972, comprised archivists from Belgium, Canada, England, Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, Italy and the United States. The Secretary General and Deputy Secretary General represented the ICA. O.A. Mikhailov served as observer for DBA, UNESCO.⁷

These experts reviewed the status of archival automation on the basis of the Bautier report and their varied

experiences. The findings and recommendations may be summarised as follows :

1. *Finding* : Each archival institution represented had developed automated techniques without knowledge about the system in the other institutions.

Recommendation : (a) A journal should be published to include articles on significant innovations and bibliographic references ; (b) A system of correspondents should be established to share information directly with individual archivists.

2. *Finding* : Archivists were having difficulty in learning about literature on automation that would be especially useful to them for self-instruction.

Recommendation : A bibliography should be compiled to meet this need.

3. *Finding* : Most archivists were uninformed about automation.

Recommendation : (a) A training curriculum should be compiled and tested at a seminar; (b) A series of publications should be compiled beginning with guidelines on managing machine-readable records.

At the Moscow Congress later that year the Ad Hoc Working Party was made a continuing ICA committee, now known as the Committee on Automation. The individual members changed during the subsequent years although the national archival organizations represented at the initial meeting remained constant. (For a period, the Canadian representative preferred to become a corresponding member. He is now a full member.) Several other national organizations were added at various times. The class of corresponding members covers all continents.

All the other recommendations have been achieved and other projects have been added. The journal ADPA,

now published by the Royal Archives of Belgium, is in its fourth volume. An orientation curriculum was devised and tested in England in 1974.⁸ Additional seminars in the Ivory Coast and again in England just prior to the 1976 International Archives Congress perfected training designed for archivists in the developing countries.

A bibliography was compiled by the then chairman of the Committee, M. H. Fishbein.⁹ As most of the entries were published in English and the bibliography is largely outdated, the present secretary, Jean Pieyns-Rigo, has undertaken the task of compiling a new bibliography that will be truly international.

The publication of the *Guidelines for Administering Machine-readable Archives* was delayed until the beginning of 1981 because adequate experience had been lacking. This publication by M. H. Fishbein and an additional volume entitled, *An Introduction to Archival Automation* by A. Arad and M. E. Olsen, were printed by the Bundesarchiv of the Federal Republic of Germany.

During the years since the Spoleto meeting a number of automated systems that had been planned were in fact adopted and new systems installed. Machine-readable records as potential archives has been recognized in the profession. Unfortunately, in many states, legal impediments prevent archivists from officially intervening in the retirement of non-current machine-readable records and transferring them to archival storage to assure preservation.

The development of archival automation since the Bautier report may be illustrated by reference to the following systems in countries that have been leaders in the field :

BELGIUM : The Royal Archives compiled a data bank of vital data about the population for the Renaissance period and automated an index to all finding aids. .

CANADA : The Public Archives has been accessioning machine-readable archives and preparing finding aids for its conventional holdings by adopting a MARC format.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY : A committee on automation with representatives of federal and state archives was established to exchange information and assign projects to individual members. Numerous name and other indexes have been compiled at the federal and local levels.

FRANCE : The Archives Nationales is utilizing detailed indexes for its varied official and private archives and for the national collection of art objects.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC : Thesauri were compiled for computer assisted indexing of national and local archives in a classified form.

ISRAEL : The state archives utilizes a minicomputer to produce detailed finding aids in English and Hebrew and has completed its first accession of machine-readable records.

ITALY : The experiment or full text retrieval of early records was completed successfully and is in operation. Other projects for more recent records are well advanced.

IVORY COAST : A legislative mandate to the National Archives to automate the index to the nation's Official Register provided the archives with computer capacity for archival control.

SPAIN : The national archives has computerized the listing of dissertations by author, residence and keywords that require use of archives.

SWEDEN : An in-depth study of the management of machine-readable records was completed.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS : A classification system adaptable to automation was computerized.

UNITED KINGDOM : The program PROMPT is controlling and reporting on reference services for use in time for the move to the new building at Kew. PROSPEC has been fully developed to produce finding aids to

record classes. Several county archives are computerizing their finding aid programs.

UNITED STATES : The publication of a comprehensive guide to the holdings of the National Archives was facilitated by the use of electro-photo composition. A system developed for intelligence retrieval has been adapted to produce finding aids and to serve as a data bank for a variety of information on holdings and statistics. A number of archival establishments have adapted systems like MARC, OCLC and SPINDEX that had originated in libraries.

Regional networks are being organized. Conferences on automation at the national level, while, infrequent, are not uncommon. Archival specialists in West Germany meet with fair regularity to discuss new systems. Similarly, the French Archives Nationales publishes a journal to keep the profession informed about developments. The Society of American Archivists has conducted workshops on automation and the proceedings of two major conferences have been published.¹⁰

In the field of international cooperation various projects are in progress or planned for the immediate future. A glossary of ADP terms that relate directly to archives is nearing completion. Within a year a study of changes for transcriptions of machine-readable files will be composed. A survey of automated systems and a study of the legal values of machine-readable records are being planned. An evaluation of the preservability of various media is under discussion. Additional guidelines and training curricula are on the agenda for future meetings. Based on past experience with similar projects we may be reasonably assured of positive development in these and other useful cooperative efforts.

FOOTNOTES

1. Revision of paper prepared for the International Congress on Automatic Data Processing in the Humanities, Liege, Belgium, November 1981.

2. E. A. Ingerman, "A New Method of Indexing Manuscripts," *American Archivist*, 25, 3 (1962): 331—40; U. S. Library of Congress, *Manuscripts: A MARC format* (Washington, 1973).
3. See report by E. Califano, "L'Introduction et l' Adaptation des Moyens Mecvanographiques aux Archives," *Archivum*, Vol. 14 (1964); 147—56.
4. *Actes des Huitieme et Neuvieme Conferences Internationales de la Table Ronde des Archives* (Paris 1965), 164-89.
5. R. A. Jacobs, *Transcript of Training Lecture No. 56 on Records Disposition and Magnetic Tape* (Washington: General Services Administration, 1961).
6. "Les Archives et L'Informatique," *XIIIe Conference Internationale de la Table Ronde des Archives*, (Bonn. 1971).
7. See minutes of the meeting in ADPA: *Archives and Automation, Informatique* 1, 1 (1972).
8. The seminar minutes were published by the U. K. Public Record Office in *Proceedings of an International Seminar on Automatic Data Processing in Archives*, London, 1975, L. Bell and M. Roper editors.
9. M. H. Fishbein, "ADP and Archives: Selected Publications on Automatic Data Processing," *American Archivist* 1, 1 (1975/31-4). A revised and updated bibliography was compiled by R. M. Kesner in the bulletin *Automatic, Machine-Readable Records, and Archival Automation*, Society of American Archivists, 1980.
10. C. L. Geda et al, ed., *Archivists and Machine-Readable Records*, Ann Arbor Mich., 1979; L. J. McCranks ed., *Automating the Archives: Issues and Problems in Computer Applications* (White Plains, N. Y. Knowledge Industry Publications, c. 1981).

REFERENCE PROCESS

SUBHAS BISWAS

INTRODUCTION

GOING BACK TO the days of Alexandria, Nalanda or Takshila, reference libraries have the longest history of any type of library. The reason obviously being that whether it was a clay tablet or bark or palmleaf manuscripts, the number of copies of 'books' or documents as we know them today, were very limited and in most cases it may have perhaps been the only copy available. Occasionally, a list of clay tablets available were inscribed on the walls of the library building itself and such lists might well be regarded as the forerunners of the library catalogues of today. The functions of the library have not altered significantly, but the format, quantity and content of materials filling up the stacks and the resultant services which today's library can offer have progressively been transformed to a point when a scholar in London has access to a network of sophisticated bibliographical information sources and hopefully the day is not very far off when he would even be able to consult a document kept in Library of Congress, Washington, on his satellite linked computerised visual display screen (VDU) without removing the document from that library.

The world's population has increased enormously in the last hundred years, during which time there has also been a considerable increase in literacy. The consequent literary output has resulted in an unprecedented volume of library materials—the information explosion, as it is commonly known. It is the task of the reference librarian to select appropriate material from this vast output, and to exploit it to the best of his ability.

REFERENCE BOOKS

Before going any further let me now explain what exactly is a reference library and what are the materials which it normally contains : "Books such as dictionaries, encyclopaedias, gazetteers, yearbooks, directories, indexes, bibliographies, atlases, which are compiled to supply definite pieces of information of varying degree, and intended to be referred to rather than read through. And books which are kept for reference only and are not allowed to be used outside the building"—Harrod. On the other hand Collison contends "the true concept of a reference library is rather a collection of written and printed sources to which people may resort for information". It is better in fact to look on the reference library as a living encyclopaedia. Larger reference libraries may well include within their stock : books, pamphlets, reports, newspapers, periodicals, charts, maps, patents, standard specifications, engineering drawing, internally compiled indexes, slides, filmstrips, canned films, gramophone records, music scores, microfilms, microfiche, ultrafiche, etc. *i.e.* all categories of material which may be a source of some kind of information.

QUICK REFERENCE MATERIAL

The Reference librarian will work most efficiently and effectively if he maintains a core collection of quick reference material at the Information Desk. For it is from such stock that a good amount of factual information will be provided speedily. The position of the Information Desk in relation to the library set-up is important. The desk should be as near as possible to, and easily visible and approachable from, the main entrance to the library. The quick reference collection generally includes dictionaries, encyclopaedias, bibliographies, directories, handbooks, glossaries, subject index to periodicals, gazetteers, etc. It is important to note that quick-reference material normally forms the nucleus of a reference library. A word of warning is necessary. When a librarian requires really up-to-date information in order to answer a query satisfactorily, he has to go beyond reference

books. Books by their very nature are out of date. In such cases the librarian must consult recently published articles in periodicals, which can be produced more quickly, or obtain the necessary information direct from a specialist, or from an organisation which has more ready access to relevant up-to-date sources of information, *viz.* an embassy, a research organisation or a government department.

REFERENCE COLLECTION

In the early stages the reference section was the main part of any library; often in fact it was the only part. Subsequently, the position changed with the changes in attitudes of the reading public and introduction of modern technology in book production methods. In most libraries reference materials are housed separately from materials which readers are allowed to take home on loan. Though in the USA, in a few large central libraries, the entire collection is arranged by subject approach *i.e.* all material in a particular subject field, whether intended for reference purposes or for loan, is brought together. The collection is selected, acquired, classified, catalogued and exploited by staff who have specialised knowledge and experience of the subject concerned. Whereas the public libraries normally regard books as the backbone of the major sources of information, special libraries serving specialised groups of clientele consider periodical and report literature as major sources of information. Broadly speaking the size and scope of the reference collection of a library system tends to be related to the size and composition of its users and also to the library's budgetary allocation of funds.

EVALUATION AND USE OF REFERENCE MATERIAL

One of the most important attributes of any librarian in reference service is the ability to maintain an objective and critical outlook towards the materials which make up the collection. However strenuously or painstakingly an item is compiled, its total current accuracy must always be open to question, and the older it becomes the more inaccurate it is likely to be. Another major attributing factor for

a reference librarian is his ability to evaluate reference material. Several excellent guides to reference material give critical evaluations and comparisons of various types of existing reference tools. To establish the authority of a new work the librarian should assess the qualification and background of those responsible for its production—author, editor, publisher. To establish the alleged degree of comprehensiveness of a new book or report the reference librarian should study the preface of the publication as that is where the author/editor is expected to give the scope, coverage and objectives of the book. Where necessary, he may also consult a specialist in the field to get views on the level and treatment of the subject as claimed by the editor in the book. In the case of a biographical dictionary which claimed to be international in coverage, entries may be checked at random or counted to find out if any degree of national bias is present. For example, an item published in the UK would be likely to have a high proportion of British people. Again, an analysis of contributors may be undertaken to see whether they are biased politically or otherwise. These checks or evaluations will help in establishing whether or not a work is properly balanced. When a new edition of a work appears, it should be checked carefully with the earlier version. The librarian should take this into consideration before deciding whether or not to buy, as reference items are comparatively more expensive.

As mentioned earlier, several excellent guides exist, which are very helpful when a librarian wishes to obtain brief, critical and comparative evaluations of existing reference material. Walford's *Guide to Reference Material* and Sheehy's *Guide to Reference Books* are undoubtedly outstanding in this field. Mukherjee's *Annotated Guide to reference materials in the human sciences* and Gidwani's *Guide to Reference Materials on India* are valuable tools for Indian publications of all types of reference tools such as bibliographies, encyclopaedias, dictionaries, abstracts and indexes to periodicals, directories, catalogues or union lists

of periodicals, newspapers (and their indexes) handbooks or comprehensive manuals, maps, and charts, general and specialised directories or year books and technical reports, patents, standard specifications, theses, conference proceedings etc.

FACETS OF REFERENCE WORK

In this section we will try to examine the component parts which go to make up a reference and information service.

Originally, librarianship involved the acquisition, organisation and housing of library material. The evolution of reference services as a major aspect of librarianship is quite recent. In fact, it did not appear until very late in the nineteenth century. Initially public libraries introduced readers' assistance and only recently college and university libraries have introduced this service. It was left to special libraries—those servicing industry, research institutions, government departments, etc. to adopt dissemination of information orally; literature searches, preparation of reading lists and digests of news items, abstracts and compilation of indexes for internal usage. Increasingly, however, reference services have been extended to more demanding and scholarly users.

Reference Work is often referred to as purely and simply answering enquiries through the use of reference material readily in stock. In its widest connotation, however, it may be said to cover everything which is essential, if users' queries are to be dealt with swiftly, efficiently and effectively. Such process may include :

selection and acquisition of a useful collection of books, pamphlets, periodicals, and other materials, arrangement, organisation and maintenance of stock so that it can be used easily and effectively by both staff and users. This in broad terms

means that the reference librarian must ensure that his stock is adequately classified and catalogued to meet the needs of his staff and his users. The various methods of cataloguing and classification are fully dealt with in various manuals of librarianship. All that needs to be emphasised here is that, whichever methods are adopted in the reference library, the objective is the same—to provide a key to the library's stock.

compilation of a union catalogue of holdings, where necessary, and preparing specialised indexes relating to subjects in which the library is particularly strong.

maintenance of general information files giving details of search strategies employed in answering particular queries which are likely to occur again. By documenting the sources from which the answers that their colleagues will not have to waste time by going over the same bibliographical ground in future.

in-service training of professional staff to ensure that optimum use is made of all facilities, and that a sense of team work is introduced. Production of printed guides to the library and the services it offers (i.e. publicity hand-outs), adequate sign-posting, so that new users may get to understand the possible complexity of the library lay-out.

instructional guidance to any groups and others in the use of reference material, etc.

making extensive use of outside sources (referral services)—such as other libraries, research organisations, personal contacts, outside loans—not solely relying on its own and its lending sources.

REFERENCE PROCESS

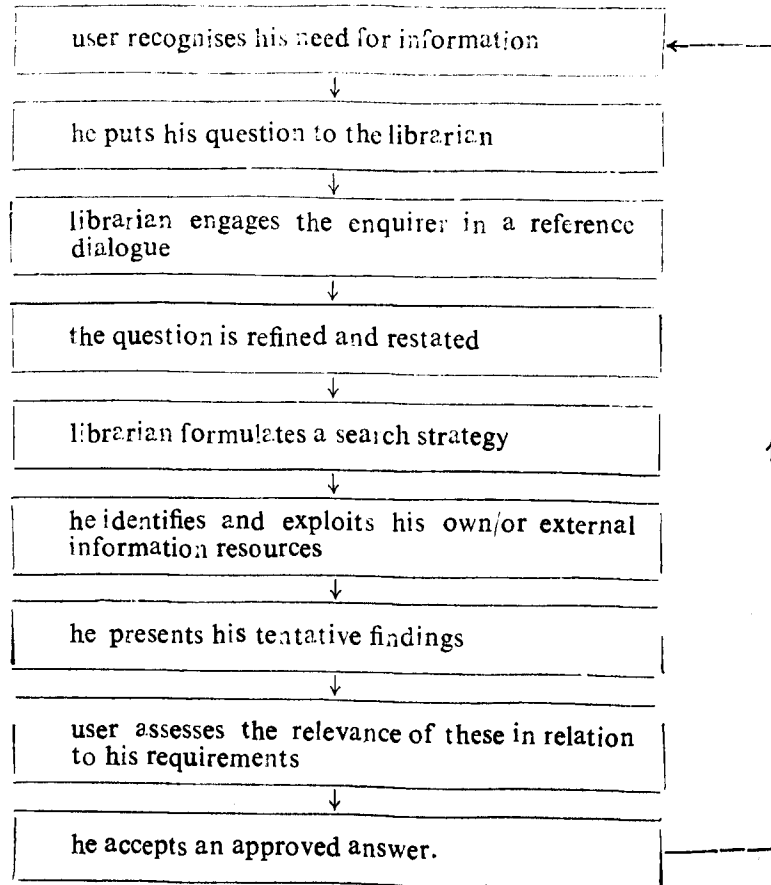
When these main facts of reference work have been sufficiently established the staff are in a strong position to provide a general information and research service to their users. This information and research service forms the product of the reference process—which may be defined as the media or the stages through which the reference librarian goes in order to answer quickly and effectively questions put to him by an enquirer. The process starts with the receipt of a question and finishes when a satisfactory answer has been given. However, it must be said that some questions cannot be answered properly and, that in some cases, the librarian will refer the enquirer to some external sources of information (referral service).

In broad terms, reference enquiries may be divided into three categories :

- (a) the simple, factual enquiry, which requires a minimal reference and can be dealt with very quickly;
- (b) the more difficult enquiry, which necessitates a certain amount of conversation between the reference librarian and the enquirer and some period for identification and exploitation of resources ;
- (c) the really complicated enquiry, which may take hours or days of research and involve both local and external resources.

In the case of (b) and (c) the reference process is likely to consist of a complex interaction between the enquirer—the reference librarian (who works as an intermediary) and source of information.

A simple representation of the normal sequence of the reference process may be shown as :



REFERENCE LIBRARIAN—QUALITIES

The degree of success which a reference librarian is normally able to achieve in answering enquiries is a measure of his aptitude for this sort of work. It is undoubted that many people do not have such an aptitude. It has been accepted that reference work cannot be taught. This is because it is an art and a skill within an art acquired on practice not precept. Finding information somebody has

asked for can only be learnt by experience. Some of the more important qualities and attributes of a good reference librarian are certainly : broad subject knowledge; adequate knowledge of reference tools, a keen and analytical mind; ability to put people at their ease; ability to communicate effectively with people of differing ages, temperaments and abilities; an equable temperament and ability to decide at what stage it would be right to cease searching his resources and to turn instead to outside resources.

The librarian who possesses these qualities is the sort of person who is likely to make a success as a reference librarian, the object of which is to establish a cordial relationship with the enquirer and capability to clarify and refine question so that he can formulate a search strategy.

SEARCH AND SEARCH STRATEGY

In conducting the reference interview, it will be more effective and will save a lot of time if he uses open rather than closed questions—such as what precisely do you wish to know about ————? which will allow the enquirer to elaborate because he is able to respond as he thinks fit, unlike closed questions which will not give the enquirer any freedom to enlarge as he has to answer with “Yes” or “No”. Once the reference librarian has reached the main part of the interview, he should try to frame his questions which begin with such words as ‘how’, ‘when’, ‘where’, ‘why’, and ‘what’.

Throughout the course of his search the reference librarian should be careful to ensure that he does not overlook any points of access to his data base, or any category of source of material which could potentially be relevant to the enquiry. When speed or retrieval is essential, a librarian, working as part of an enquiry team should have the ability to estimate that the enquiry is a difficult one and when he has little immediate knowledge of the subject field, should in the initial stage consult his colleagues, in

case any of them may be better informed. There is, therefore, no professional merit in unnecessarily spending time perhaps to satisfy his own ego.

Whether the search involves use of the catalogue, indexes, and bibliographies or interrogation of an external data base, the librarian must try to formulate the subject heading as he carries a dialogue with the enquirer. Informulating his search strategies the librarian must also take account of any constraints imposed by the user. These may include limitations in terms of period, language level, volume and time.

In concluding, it should be said that reference librarianship is passing through an exciting phase of changes. The need for quicker information retrieval is apparent and it is being met by new processes through technological innovations and methods such as computer output microfilm (COM); Telex systems (CEEFAQ of BBC); Viewdata systems, such as PRESTEL of British Post Office and by the development of computer storage various international bibliographical data bases such as Lockheed Dialog, COMPENDEX, MEDLINE, BLAISE etc.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

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ASSAD KHAN, IN PORTUGUESE SOURCES

J. VELINKAR

THIS IS AN attempt to study the personality and work of Assad Khan in the light of select Portuguese sources. The authors are Gaspar Correa, Joao de Barros and Diogo do Couto, Fernao Lopez de Castanheda, Manual Faria e Sousa, Francisco de Sousa and Sebastiao Goncalves. Naturally, most of their treatment of the Adil Shahi general is in the context of Portuguese conquests and interests. But it is sufficient to bring out new facets of the general's personality.

NAME

All standard works on the Adil Shah give the general's name as Assad Khan. Yet it appears that this was not his real name. Sebastiao Goncalves¹ and Barros² call him Zufolarino or Sufo Lari (m). Sufo is the Portuguese corruption of Yusuf, e.g. Yusuf Adil Khan is called Sufo Adil Khan. Lari (m) has been interpreted as "a Persian of the province of Lar" by one author.³ The Bombay Gazetteer citing Ferishta suggests that his name was Khushru Turk.⁴ Sebastiao Goncalves writes that Yusuf Larim, because of his important role in establishing the Adil Shahi Kingdom, was given "the title of Assad Khan, and many territories in the Konkan".⁵ So his real name was Yusuf and he was given the title "Assad Khan", which was the equivalent of marquis or duke.⁶ Barros mentions that the title was Sadat Khan (Sadacane),⁷ which may be a vowel-interchange of Assad Khan. Here we may even ask what was his original name? For there is room to conjecture that he was a convert to Islam.

EARLY LIFE AND RELATIONSHIP

Several authors, who treat of his early life, mention that he had been a slave, and most probably a slave of the Adil

Shah.⁸ But he was a born soldier and quickly rose to the rank of general. His sister's daughter⁹ married to Yusuf Adil Shah, was the mother of Meale, whom Ferishta calls Abdoolla¹⁰ and Whiteway names Mir Ali.¹¹ This niece, says Couto, was a very noble Hindu Canarese woman.¹² Hence Assad Khan must either himself have been a Hindu taken as a slave, and freed when his sister was married into a noble Hindu family, or he was freed and given an important post in the army when his niece was married to Yusuf Adil Shah. And Yusuf, says Couto, had over 200 wives.¹³ In either case he was related to a noble Hindu family, and perhaps he had been born a Hindu and taken into slavery. In either case, that *Larim* signifies from Lar in Persia would seem rather remote and would need to be researched. His grand-nephew Meale is mentioned by some authors as a brother of Ismail Adil Shah,¹⁴ and by one author as a brother of Ibrahim Adil Shah.¹⁵ But these alternatives will only effect his relationship to the individual ruler, not to the ruling family.

METEORIC RISE

Assad Khan rose quickly to a high social position, partly because of his matrimonial relationship and partly owing to his innate military talent. In a short time he was promoted up to general of the Adil Shahi army and was referred to as "Assad Khan". He was appointed governor of the whole Deccan.¹⁶ He was head of the captains like a bailiff or constable over policemen. He was the first Lord of the kingdom, and had a large army of cavalry and infantry and therefore received a large share of revenue. His headquarters were at Belgaum, the entrance from the Southern coastal region to the Adil Shahi Kingdom. On the south-western side he was shielded by Portuguese territory and it is natural that he tried to be friend them.¹⁷ He was therefore of the status of commander-in-chief of the Adil Shahi army and surely had the ear of the Adil Shahs, his relatives.

FIRST WAR WITH THE PORTUGUESE

Assad Khan first swung into action against the Portuguese in 1516,¹⁸ when he was not yet commander-in-chief. He descended upon Goa, with a 30,000 strong army, 4,000 of which was cavalry. On reaching the Tisvadi ferry crossings, he found them guarded with men and vessels. So he laid siege to the whole of Tisvadi. The crossings were specially guarded. The people of Goa underwent much privation, because provisions used to be imported from the peninsulas and mainland. But reinforcements began to reach Goa in September and the siege had to be lifted at the end of the monsoon.

BATTLE OF RAICHUR

Somewhere between 1518 and 1522, war broke out between Vijayanagar and Bijapur. The Vijayanagar army suffered severe losses of over 16,000 men, but continued to fight bravely. Towards the end of the final battle fought at Raichur, the young Ismail Adil Shah was in his tent. Assad Khan, who was with him, advised him to remain silent within. When defeat appeared inevitable, Assad Khan showed him a path of escape shortly before Krishnadeva Raya's men came to search the tents. The Vijayanagar army then pushed forward to Mudgal and Bijapur, but was never able to capture Ismail Adil Shah. Krishnadeva Raya later met Assad Khan. The latter told him the cause of his not being able to capture Ismail, namely that Ismail Adil Shah had been following the expert advice of his commander Salabat Khan. Salabat had by then been captured and taken to Vijayanagar. Chafing under the failure to capture Ismail Adil Shah, Krishnadeva Raya straightaway gave orders that Salabat be put to death.¹⁹ After this Assad Khan succeeded as commander-in-chief of the Bijapur army and chief adviser to the ruler.

VIJAYANAGAR—PORTUGUESE DEAL

After the defeat of Adil Shah, the talukas on the border near Goa were left abandoned. Krishnadeva Raya was rich

enough not to need the revenue from them. But he wanted to have all the horses that came to Goa. He also wanted Adil Shah's horse supply from the Middle East stopped. So he informed Goa captain Ruy de Melo that he would donate in perpetuity to the Portuguese the territories which lay between Belgaum and the coast, which yielded 50,000 + gold pardaos annually, in return he could get the horses that arrived at Goa. The captain accepted the donation of Goa territories and said he would do everything reasonable about the horses. He then gave charge of the new lands to his nephew Ruy Juzarte de Melo, and stationed him at Ponda.²⁰ Two months later, two Adil Shahi captains, under instructions from General Assad Khan, went out to recover the lost talukas and fight captain Ruy de Melo, but they were defeated.

BIJAPUR—PORTUGUESE CLASHES

About three years later, around 1525, Ismail Adil Shah tested Goa again. He sent a force of 5000 men to take Ponda and Salsette. There was a fierce battle. The Bijapur soldiers tried to surround the badly wounded Portuguese troops but failed again. Another battle took place at Cuncolim. The Portuguese won but had to retire much weakened to Tisvadi. There, many died of their wounds. So they abandoned the talukas around Tisvadi. An Adil Shahi captain then established his seat at Ponda. He forbade food and provisions to be taken to Goa from the peninsulas.²¹ At the back of this reconquest of the talukas of Salsette, Bardez and Ponda, was Assad Khan.

ASSAD KHAN MOVES TO BELGAUM

In 1534 Ismail Adil Shah passed away. His successor Malu after a very short reign also died. Assad Khan tried to put his grand-nephew Meale, who was in prison, on the throne. But Ibrahim, Malu's brother, had on his side money, the army captains and, above all, his grand mother Fatima. Ibrahim ascended the throne soon after he released his uncle Meale from prison, where he was confined by Malu. He also

gave him a princess in marriage. After this he tried to effect a reconciliation with Assad Khan. But his son (Xandivan) and the other captains opposed it and even wanted Meale and Assad Khan out of life's way. Slowly Assad felt himself unsafe at Bijapur and moved his headquarters to Belgaum. Ibrahim, on the advice of his counsellors, invited Assad Khan back to the court in order to receive his obeisance. But Assad feigned extreme illness and kept on excusing himself.²²

ASSAD KHAN GIVES SALSETTE AND BARDEZ TO THE PORTUGUESE

It did not take Assad Khan very long to realize that he was not safe even at his own headquarters Belgaum. He strengthened his fortress with the help of renegade Portuguese soldiers. He also heard a rumour that Adil Shah wanted to kill him. It was a false rumour spread by his enemies. But Assad was sharp to notice the straws in the wind. He made overtures to the governor of Goa, offering the 50,000 gold pardaos annual revenue of Salsette and Bardez in exchange for help in Assad's hour of need. Moreover, he promised that if Meale was made Adil Shah of Bijapur, the Salsette and Bardez offering would be in perpetuity. The Governor Nuno da Cunha was delighted to accept the bargain. He also reciprocated with gifts and other signs of friendship. Thus the Portuguese started collecting the revenues of Salsette and Bardez.²³

THE FORT AT RACHOL

Since the Portuguese collected the taxes of Salsette, they also asked Assad Khan permission to build a fort at Rachol. On receiving his assent, Capt. D. Joao Pereira built a prison tower there with artillery positions and store-rooms. In the fortress stayed the captain himself and 80 armed riflemen. Assad Khan came to see the fort for himself and was satisfied.²⁴

To strengthen himself even further, Assad Khan tried to ingratiate himself with the king of Vijayanagar. Assad set out with a force to meet him at Raichur. But when king

Achyuta heard that Assad was in contact with Adil Shah also, he attacked his forces, took his men prisoners and captured his provisions. Assad then fled to Bijapur for help and Adil Shah gave him Kudal and Salsette for his revenue.²⁵

Now that Assad was reconciled with Adil Shah, he asked the Portuguese to demolish the Rachol fort and return the revenue territories. They refused. He sent a force under Suleiman Aga to attack Salsette in 1534-35, but the expedition ended in a failure.²⁶

Assad then ordered a blockade of Goa. He positioned his batteries across the Zuari. The Goa governor countered with exempting all peninsular farmers from payment of taxes to Assad Khan. If they cultivated their lands and helped the Portuguese they were exempted from paying any tax. The villages thus became strong and their inhabitants even made occasional incursions into Assad Khan's territory. Finally for lack of advantage and because of scarcity of provisions the governor ordered his troops back to Tisvadi, but the war continued on the river front.²⁷

Duels and skirmishes continued. The Adil Shahi troops were defeated several times by the Portuguese. But undaunted by failure Assad Khan resolved to direct the attack in person. He came to Salsette and pitched his camp 1.5 miles from the Rachol fort. He ordered a palisade to be constructed across the Rachol river, from bank to bank and a bastion at one end with a Moor to defend it. The Portuguese tried to uproot the palisade, fought bravely and won a pyrrhic victory. They lost more than 250 men. Of these 34 were captured by Assad Khan's forces. But they were released and sent back to Goa with the request that Rachol fort be demolished. Assad Khan promised, moreover, that if the fort were razed to the ground, he would give the revenue of some talukas near Goa to the Portuguese to make up for the loss of the fort. Governor Nuno accepted the compromise and had the fort blown up. Thereafter there was a truce.²⁸

About 1535, Assad Khan asked Vijayanagar for help to put Meale on the throne in exchange for acknowledging its suzerainty. The king sent a huge force of 12,000 cavalry and 30,000 infantry and caused destruction in the Adil Shahi kingdom. The young Ibrahim wanted to wage war against Assad, but his "mother" counselled patience, because Assad was very strong. He and his mother then assured Assad that his seniority would be respected. So Assad sent back the Vijayanagar forces and thus lost his only opportunity of placing his grand-nephew on the Bijapur throne.²⁹

In 1536 Assad Khan resolved to conquer the peninsulas around Goa. He first marched on Miraj. Capt. Mohamad Barin had not collected the taxes, because he had received orders from Adil Shah not to do so. Assad showed his displeasure at this by knocking down a portion of the town wall. The captain immediately informed Bijapur about it and a large force was sent to his rescue. Assad withdrew to a place between Miraj and Belgaum, and pledged his fidelity to the Bijapur throne. The Shah then told him to reconquer the Goa peninsulas. But Assad counter-suggested that it was more important to first defend Berar unitedly against the Moghuls. Adil Shah agreed to this and the march on Goa was postponed.

On May 17th, 1536, Assad Khan finally reached Ponda at the head of an army.³⁰ He then sent a letter to the Portuguese governor asking that the revenues collected in Salsette and Bardez be handed over to him. The governor said that he would reply only after receiving Adil Shah's answer to his own letter. Assad was dissatisfied and sent a force to recapture Salsette. Salsette at this time had been deserted by the local people. The monsoon had been long, the crops washed away by heavy rains and the countryside ravaged by epidemics. Assad Khan made sorties by land and river haphazardly and remissly. Adil Shah came to realize that Assad was leading a comfortable life at Ponda, rather than giving the enemy a stiff fight. He regretted that "Assad Khan's beard was not reddened with Portuguese blood".

He asked him to suspend the Goa campaign and prepare to march on Golconda. But Assad replied that the money, effort and honour risked on Goa till then was so great that he could not abandon the campaign.³¹

Meanwhile, the Portuguese governor had learned that Assad Khan didn't care for the Shah's instructions. So he sent a fleet to ravage Banda in Assad's territories. Assad ordered an artillery post on the Rachol river so that the passage to Rachol was obstructed. Each tried to outwit the other and the war dragged on.³²

During these years Meale had gone into exile. He had tried to go to Mecca in April 1541, but was shipwrecked near Zeila in Abyssinia. After being robbed there, he decided to return. At the beginning of August he set out for Surat and Ahmedabad. Assad knew Meale would not be safe there. He requested the Portuguese governor to have Meale escorted to Goa. The governor did oblige, but later also informed Adil Shah, who was not happy at the run of events.³³

When the new governor, D. Martin Affonso de Souza, reached Goa in May 1542, both Assad Khan and Ibrahim Adil Shah sent him envoys to strike a new deal: the former asked for the protection of and help to place Meale on the Bijapur throne in exchange for 40,000 gold pardaos, a promise of 10,000 more later, the handing of the whole Konkan region and the peninsulas around Goa and gifts for Captain Garcia; the latter promised Salsette and Bardez talukas, which yielded 60,000 pardaos (=500 ducats) annually and many other gifts in return for the handing over of Pretender Meale. The Governor did not know whom to believe and which to choose. He left Meale at liberty, but ordered a guard on him. He replied to Adil Shah that it was a breach of trust to hand over Meale, but in return for Salsette and Bardez he would send Meale to such a distant place that Adil Shah would have no cause to fear him. At

the same time the governor also agreed to help Assad Khan instal Meale as king at Bijapur.³⁴

The plan was to send Meale to Belgaum and finally install him on the Bijapur throne. But Adil Shah got wind of these plans. He sent a force of 15,000 cavalry towards Belgaum and defeated some of the conspiracy troops. Assad Khan realized full well what the defeat portended. Before his death he left Meale heir to his wealth in Cananore. Then he invited Adil Shah to Belgaum. A few days later he fell ill of fever and passed away in the year 1544 at the age of 90. Soon after, Ibrahim Adil Shah swooped down, captured Belgaum and re-incorporated it into his kingdom.³⁵

Though Assad Khan was dead and Belgaum re-incorporated, he remained the protector of Belgaum, and his memory was cherished by its people. Even in the last century i.e. about 300 years later, the towns people still "Worshipped" him there.³⁶

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NEWS NOTES

INDIA

National Archives of India

DURING THE PERIOD under report, accessions comprised :

- (1) *Public Records* : 436 files of Ministry of Education pertaining to the period 1935-55.
- (2) *Private Papers* : (a) 372 additional items of private papers from Genl. (retd.) K. M. Cariappa, (b) 20 issues of Urdu newspapers *Jhung Siyal*, *Baidari*, *Hindu*, *Rajput Gazette*, *Akash* and *Sanatan Dharma Pracharak* from Shri Kulbir Singh, (c) 8 photographs of revolutionaries from Comrade Ram Chandra ; (d) Six folders and one envelope containing different denominations of Bank/Currency notes received through the President's Secretariat.
- (3) *Microfilms* : Under the Exchange Programme 30 rolls of Factory Records (Dinajpur, 1774-78, Fort St. George, 1655-1700) were received from India Office Library and Records, London, and 12 rolls of records of Indian interest from Federal Republic of Germany.

The Record Management Division completed the appraisal of 46,157 files of various Ministries/Departments, viz. Commerce, External Affairs, Finance, Home Affairs and Health, erstwhile Departments of Industry and Labour, Food, Western India States Agency, Office of the Counsellor of Rajasthan, Jaipur, Political Agencies in Gujarat. Labour Investigation Committee, Railway Board and Director General, Civil Aviation. A total of 27,134 files were recommended for retention.

Study reports and draft retention schedules of the records peculiar to the office of Controller of Defence Accounts, Pune, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting (Main Secretariat, Research & Reference Division, Press Information Bureau, Publication Division, Song and Drama Division) and Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Commission were finalised and forwarded to the respective offices. Meanwhile, spot-study of records of Central Water Commission, and Directorate of Audio-Visual Publicity, made good progress while the spot-study of the records of the Directorate of Printing and Government of India Press, Minto Road and Mayapuri was completed.

The 8th Report of the Director of Archives on the Implementation of Archival Policy Resolution was sent to the press for printing.

Advice on various aspects of Record Management was rendered to Department of Atomic Energy, Bombay, Institute of Secretariat Training and Management, Chief Pay and Accounts Office, Delhi Administration and Central Water Commission.

Items of Reference media completed during the period were :

- (1) *Public Records* : (a) Descriptive Listing of Baghelkhand Political Agency (1921-32) 541 files; Baghelkhand Agency (Vernacular, 1843-1910) 838 files; Babelkhand Agency (Rewa-Ver, 1858-99) 107 files; Bhopawar Political Agency (1885-1920) 293 files, Bundelkhand Political Agency (1895-1937) 2,905 files; Bundelkhand Agency (Vernacular 1805-1949) 2,336 files; Bundelkhand Agency (Judicial 1914-47) 376 files and Bundelkhand Agency (General, 1904-1906) 987 files completed; (b) Persian Records : Descriptive Listing of 802 letters of Persian Correspondence (1827-28); Descriptive docketing of 3,780 documents of Inayat Jang Collection;

- (2) *Private Papers* : Subject listing of 2,224 items of private papers of Dadabhai Naoroji, Rajendra Prasad, K. M. Cariappa.
- (3) *Guide to Records in National Archives of India* : Work on the preparation of Parts VI and VII of Guide to Records in National Archives of India was continued and abstract lists of the following major items were prepared : Finance Department, P.W.D. ; Finance & Commerce Department. In addition, write-ups of a number of series were prepared.

As usual research facilities were accorded to research scholars and a total of 53 queries on different copies were attended to. Noteworthy among them were ones relating to Jullunder Conspiracy Case 1930, British presence in Tibet and letters of Rani Laxmibai.

Publications :

Publications brought out during the period were the *Indian Archives*, Volume XXIX, No. II and Volume XXX, No. I, Annual Report of National Archives of India, 1980. Fort William—India House Correspondence, Volume VIII has been printed and is expected to be received from the Press shortly.

Compilation of material for the 'Towards Freedom' Project was continued and 7,028 pages of material were typed. The major series of records covered during the period were Linlithgow collection, Manipur State Records, records in the Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Bihar State Archives, Jayakar Papers, Rajendra Prasad Collection and I.N.A. Series, Ministry of Defence.

School of Archival Studies :

The School of Archival Studies continued to run its various courses during the period. The results of the One-Year Diploma Course in Archival Studies, 1980-81, were finalised and 11 candidates were declared successful. The

1981-82 session also commenced. Other courses completed during the period were : Short Term Course in Care and Conservation of Books, Manuscripts and Archives, Short Term Course in Record Management, Short Term Course in Servicing and Repair of Records and Short Term Course in Reprography.

Repair and Reprography :

Technical services and assistance of the Department in respect of repair and reprography were provided to a number of Departments. A total of 1,26,474 exposures of micro-films and 9,489 xerox copies were prepared. On the repair side the major tasks achieved were : Pagination (1,46,471 pages) ; lamination (9,773 sheets + 54 farmans) ; binding (528 volumes and 310 books). Among those who availed of these services were : India Office Library and Records, London, Bahrain State Archives, Bahrain, Delhi University Library, Delhi State Archives, Ministry of Education etc.

Public Relations :

Exhibitions, seminars and lectures continued to play a significant role in the Departments' efforts to bring archives closer to the people. The lectures held during the period were :

- (a) The Sources of Indian Tradition by Prof. A. Embree of Columbia University on 16 July 1981.
- (b) Maulana Mohammad Ali and the Congress by Prof. Mushirul Hasan of Jamia Millia Islamia on 28 July 1981.
- (c) Symbolical Significance of Dastar (Turban) in Sufi Tradition by Dr. R. Eaton of Arizona University, U.S.A., on 19 August 1981.
- (d) Archives and Libraries—two different worlds by Mr. B. C. Bloomfield, Director, India Office Library, and Records, London, on 2 November 1981.

- (e) Indian Image in Persian Poetry by Dr. P. Sprachman of Regeastein Library, Chicago, on 28 December 1981.

Exhibitions organised during the period were (a) 'Proscribed Poems and Posters' from 15-24 August 1981 and (b) 'Our Archives and Our Neighbours' from 13-17 October 1981 to coincide with the international seminar on 'Disposition of Government Records'.

International Seminar :

An international Seminar on Disposition of Government Records was held in New Delhi between 13-16 October 1981 under the joint auspices of the National Archives of India and International Council on Archives. The seminar was inaugurated by the Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting, Shri Vasant Sathe. Delegates from India, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan and Srilanka participated in the seminar. India was represented by Prof. S. A. I. Tirmizi who also acted as Local Expert. The International Council on Archives was represented by Dr. Charles Kecskemeti, its Executive Secretary. A Handbook on 'Disposition of Government Records' by Dr. T. A. Wadlow of U.S.A. was the subject of the seminar.

Archives Week :

The National Archives of India observed Archives Week during 13-19 November 1981. As part of the celebrations, an exhibition 'Nehru and Socialism'—a documentary display was organised from 14-21 November 1981 to commemorate his 92nd birth anniversary. An 'Open House' was observed and visitors were taken on a guided tour of the Department. 'A Handbook for Record Managers' was released on the occasion. On 13 November, a panel discussion on 'Information—a vital national resource' was held under the joint auspices of the National Archives of India and the Indian Library Association. The panelists were Prof. B. B. Mangla, Dr. B. 7-579—Dir of Arch/ND/81

Guha, Prof. M. Dayal, Shri S. K. Jha, and Dr. N. H. Kulkarnee, Prof. S. A. I. Tirmizi, Director, National Archives of India acted as moderator.

Distinguished visitors to the Department during the period included the Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi, Union Home Minister Giani Zail Singh, Shri S. P. Gangooli, Director, Films Division, Bombay, and Mr. U Tun Tin, Counsellor, Burmese Embassy.

International Relations :

The Department continued to be associated with international bodies in various fields of archives. Prof. S. A. I. Tirmizi, Director of Archives, attended the XX International Round Table on Archives held at Oslo from 3-7 September 1981 and the meeting of the International Council on Archives Executive Committee from 8-12 September at The Hague. He also attended the meeting of Regional Co-ordinating Committee of the Guide to the Sources of Asian History at Colombo during 6-9 October 1981. He has been elected Chairman of the UNESCO Asian Regional Co-ordination Committee for 1981-84. Shri P. K. Ghosh, Archivist, National Archives of India, attended the Training Course in Record Management from 5-31 October 1981 at Ottawa organised by the Public Archives of Canada. Shri Y. K. Kathpalia, Scientific Officer, National Archives of India, visited Iraq from 22nd November to 5th December 1981 on the invitation of ICCROM to deliver lectures on 'Deterioration of Paper and Preventive Conservation' at the Regional Centre for Conservation of Cultural Property in Arab States in Baghdad. Dr. T. R. Sareen, Assistant Director of Archives, who was on assignment under the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation as expert on record management

with the Kenyan National Archives, returned to his duties after serving there for one and a half year (March 1980 to September 1981).

Cultural Exchange :

Two Soviet archivists, Mr. K.A.K. Kakharovitch, Head, Chief Archives Department, Soviet Council of Ministers of Tazhkistan and Mr. K.A. Pavlovitch, Director All Union Scientific Research Institute of Documentary and Archival Affairs, visited the Department from 5-18 November 1981 under the Indo-Soviet Cultural Exchange Programme. During their stay in India, they also visited the State Archives of West Bengal, Calcutta.

Committees and Conferences :

The 5th meeting of the National Guide Committee was held on 2 December 1981 at the National Archives of India. The Committee appointed Prof. S.A.I. Tirmizi, Vice-Chairman, to function as Honorary Project Director. The Committee also approved the mode of recruitment of staff and discussed allied matters relating to the project. The Guide cell will start functioning in the National Archives of India in as much as the first phase of the project will cover the material available in the National Archives of India.

The Historical Documents Purchase Committee of National Archives of India held its 34th meeting on 1 December 1981. The Committee recommended the purchase of 86 documents, 10 papers, one *Nishan* of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah and one rare book. The acquisition of one volume, four letters, eight papers, one hundred and thirteen xerox copies, three photocopies and 6 folders of eminent Indians made by National Archives of India by way of gift were accepted on the recommendation of the Committee.

The first meeting of the Publication Committee of the Inayat Jang Collection was held at the National Archives of India on 26 December 1981 under the Chairmanship of Prof. S. Nurul Hasan. It was agreed at the meeting that in

the first instance the documents of the reign of Aurangzeb may be calendared in five volumes, each volumes comprising about three thousand documents. The Committee recommended the following names for editors in their personal capacity. Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, Prof. J. S. Grewal, Prof. S. C. Misra, Prof. Satish Chandra and Prof. S. A. I. Tirmizi. It was unanimously agreed that the Director of Archives should be the General Editor of this Project.

Dr. T. R. Sareen, Assistant Director of Archives, attended the second meeting of the committee for Survey of Historical Records, Government of Karnataka, at Bangalore on 14 December 1981. Among the significant resolutions adopted at the meeting were (i) Establishment of intermediary record centres at Division levels, (ii) acquisition of private papers from freedom fighters, (iii) translation of Modi, Marathi and Persian documents and (iv) suitable accommodation for the State Archives Department. Dr. Sareen also suggested the formation of the Archival Council and the Document Purchase Committee since the Regional Records Survey Committee is not competent to take decision on the issues discussed in these meetings. The Regional Records Survey Committee should confine to the discussion of the functions allotted to it by the Constitution. Dr. Sareen expressed the same sentiments when he attended the Regional Records Survey Committee meeting of the Delhi State Archives on 20 October, 1981.

News from States

ASSAM

During the period January-June 1981, the Assam Secretariat Record Office completed appraisal of 1728 files; of these 83 were recommended for permanent retention. In addition, descriptive lists of 485 letters of pre-1874 period were completed. The Repair Section carried out chiffroning of 1247 sheets; binding of 66 volumes and gazettes and minor repair of 539 documents.

BIHAR

A sum of Rs. 33 lakhs was sanctioned by the Bihar State Government during the period January-June 1981 for the construction of a functional Archives building. Meanwhile, the State Archives accessioned 917 files of the Labour and Employment Department, 494 copies of India Gazette and 519 copies of Bihar Gazette. The reference Library acquired 263 books besides journals and periodicals. Over 10,000 records belonging to the Gram Panchayat Department and at the Sub-divisional Record Room at Deoghar were appraised. The Repair Section completed the binding of 154 files, hand lamination of 200 sheets, full pasting of 6,840 pages and stitching of 249 documents.

Mr. Fredrick Marsh, head of the Conservation Department of the India Office Library and Records, London, visited the State Archives and participated in a seminar on Conservation Problems, held under the auspices of the Bihar Research Society and the British Council.

GOA

During the period July-December, the State Archives acquired the following : 3,473 files from Mapuca Court; 200 volumes from Collectorate; 12 files from Bardej Court and 16 files from Quepem Court. The Library acquired 152 books and periodicals. On the publication side, English summaries of the *in extenso* series 'Assentos do Conselho de Fazenda' Vol. I Part II were prepared. Seventeen frames of microfilms received from National Archives of Lisbon 'Torre de Tombo' were transcribed. The preservation section completed binding of 335 volumes, stitching of 2,820 volumes, flattening of 28,319 folios, fumigation of 820 volumes and guarding of 2,997 folios. A xerox machine has recently been installed to cater to the needs of the scholars. The Department observed 'Archives Week' from 13-19 November 1981 to highlight the importance of Archives among the public.

GUJARAT

During the period January-December 1981, the State Archives completed the appraisal of 13,705 files of old Princely State records. Preparation of descriptive lists of 4,834 files and 2,944 mss. was completed and a brochure 'Gujarat State Archives' was sent for printing. The Preservation Section performed the following main tasks: Stitching — (2,880 files); binding — (2,013 books and registers); fumigation (2,890 files and 1,916 books); guarding — (2,613 sheets) and minor repair — (4,313 documents).

To streamline the administration of records in the State, the Government of Gujarat passed the Archival Policy Resolution in April 1981.

The Department observed 'Archives Week' from 13-19 November 1981 to highlight archives consciousness, in the State.

HARYANA

During the period January-December 1981, the State Archives acquired 5,823 old and rare books from Government Higher Secondary School, Karnal, and Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay, and 136 old Gazettes (1948-79) from Director, Elections, Haryana.

In the private papers unit the Department recorded evidence of 18 freedom fighters and collected 56 bio-datas of I.N.A. personnel. The Department also participated in a number of exhibitions at New Delhi, Chandigarh, Kurukshetra and Rohtak.

The preservation unit completed the following major tasks: fumigation (1,400 books); binding (130 books); hand lamination (731 pages); and general repair (500 papers).

KERALA

During the period January-June 1981, three Asstt. Archivists of the Kerala State Archives visited various Government Offices in the State and appraised about 20,000

files. The State Archives also acquired records relating to Kerala history from the Goa Archives at an estimated cost of Rs. 200.

The State Archives participated in the all India exhibition conducted by Shri V. K. Krishnamenon Memorial Government Women's College, Vikasana Samithi and secured a gold medal for the most informative pavilion.

WEST BENGAL

Dr. H. N. Chakravorty took over as Director of the State Archives in January 1981. During the period January-June 1981, State Archives accessioned 2,191 proceedings volumes from the Home (Police) Department covering the years 1975, 1977 and 1979; 507 copies of the Calcutta Gazette and 448 files of confidential records from the Home (Pol.) Department. Descriptive lists of the last mentioned files were also prepared. The Preservation Section performed the following main tasks: mending (115 volumes); fumigation (226 files); binding (46 volumes).

The State Archives observed 'Archives Week' during 13-19 April 1981 which was inaugurated by the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Shri Jyoti Basu. Mr. T. S. Marsh and Mr. J. M. Sims, both of the India Office Library and Records, London, visited the State Archives during February and March 1981 respectively.

XAVIER CENTRE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

The Indian Council of Historical Research held a seminar on 'Western India with reference to the sea' from 25-27 February 1981, under the auspices of the Xavier Centre of Historical Research. Dr. T. R. De Souza, Director of the Centre, was also the co-ordinator of the Seminar which was co-sponsored by the Maritime History Society of Bombay.

Thirty four papers were presented at the seminar. These covered wide ranging issues relating to the theme such as socio-economic conditions, ship-building, trade, economic relations etc. Among the eminent scholars who guided the

proceedings were Dr. A. R. Kulkarnee, Dr. S. C. Misra, Dr. P. M. Joshi, Prof. G. S. Dikshit and Rev. Fr. John Correia-Afonso.

INTERNATIONAL

International Council on Archives (ICA)

ICA Bureau Meeting

The International Council on Archives Bureau meeting was held between April 1-3, 1981 in the Federal Palace (Parliament), Switzerland.

The Bureau accepted the application for membership of four national archival administrations (Brunei; Dominican Republic, Ecuador and Qatar), one national association of archivists (Poland); eight institutions and nine individual members. The Bureau also decided to produce a booklet in order to stimulate applications for membership, especially by archival institutions and professionals, with a view to ensure a wider circulation of ICA's publications within the professional community.

International Archival Development Fund

(a) *Projects financed from 1 January—30 June 1981* : Purchase of 1,500 off-prints of the entry on archives published in 1980 by the American Library Association in the ALA World Encyclopaedia of Library and Information services.

(b) *Donation received* : A donation of US dollars 500 (4000 rupees) was received from the Government of India for 1981.

Contracts with UNESCO for 1981-82

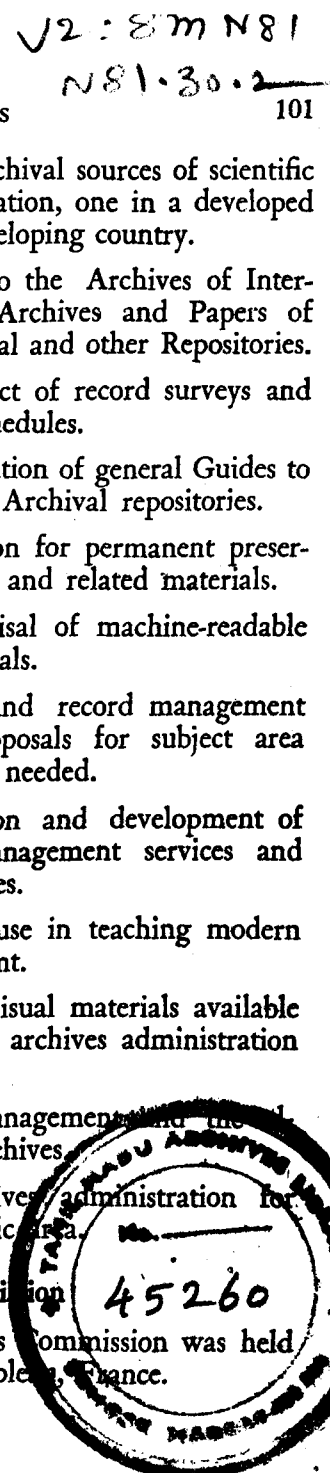
International Council on Archives has concluded 14 contracts with UNESCO for implementation of the following projects :

(a) Study of obstacles to and transfer and use of information contained in archives.

- (b) Two model guides on archival sources of scientific and technological information, one in a developed country and one in a developing country.
- (c) Part II of the Guide to the Archives of International organisations : Archives and Papers of former officials in National and other Repositories.
- (d) Guidelines for the conduct of record surveys and preparation of records schedules.
- (e) Guidelines for the preparation of general Guides to the holdings of National Archival repositories.
- (f) Guidelines for the selection for permanent preservation of motion pictures and related materials.
- (g) Guidelines for the appraisal of machine-readable records and related materials.
- (h) Guidelines for archival and record management legislation, including proposals for subject area where regulations may be needed.
- (i) Guidelines for the creation and development of archival and records management services and systems within UN agencies.
- (j) Outline of a reader for use in teaching modern archives record management.
- (k) Survey of existing audio-visual materials available for use in the teaching of archives administration and records management.
- (l) Curriculum on records management and the administration of modern archives.
- (m) Training course on archives administration for participants from the Pacific area.

Publications Commission

The meeting of the Publications Commission was held on 9-10 February 1981 at Fountainsbleau, France.



The Commission reviewed the progress made in the publication Programme of the ICA. The following publications have been or were expected to be released shortly :

- (i) Arrangement and Description of Archives—a handbook compiled by Mr. A. M. Taylor;
- (ii) Handbook on Record Centre Operations by Mr. I Maclean;
- (iii) Educational use of Archives by Mr. B. Trainor;
- (iv) Glossary of archival terminology.

Microfilm Committee

The microfilm committee met from September 10-13, 1980, at Dublin.

The Committee discussed the reports made by Mr. G. Weill on his study on the legal validity of microforms and by Mr. I. Borsa on his feasibility study of the international funding of microfilming. The committee also agreed to submit to the ICA General Assembly, a recommendation urging the member institutions to reduce their microfilm charges as much as possible.

Round Table Meeting on Audio-Visual Records

Following preliminary discussion held in London at the IXth International Congress on Archives, representatives of five organisations i.e. International Association of Sound Archives (IASA); ICA; International Federation of Film Archives (FIAPF); International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) and International Federation of Television Archives (FIAT), met at Brussels on 6-7 April 1981. The meeting examined the possible schemes of cooperation on study of the links between institution collecting audio-visual material, selection for permanent preservation, cataloguing, storage and management of holdings, technical studies on archival media; textual material relating to audio-visual records and access to archives for research purposes.

Section of Archivists of International organisations

The seventh session was held in Rome between 9-11 March 1981 at the FAO headquarters.

The meeting discussed at length the problem of classification and declassification mainly from the United Nations point of view. It urged the harmonisation and standardization concerning archival rules for classification and declassification of records of international organizations. The meeting also exchanged views on standardization of archival arrangement and finding aid programmes, archives and computer generated records and collaboration with UNESCO.

The meeting expressed its condolence over the demise of Mr. Yves Perotin, a leading French archivist, who was one of the key figures of the section.

Commission for Archival Development (CAD)

At its general meeting held in London on September 19, 1980, the ICA approved the restructuration of the Committee on Archival Development into a Commission, which would be chaired by a Vice-President of ICA from a developing country. Mrs. Seomartini, Director, Arsip Nasional Republic Indonesia, was named Chairwoman for 1980-84 and Mr. E. V. Laar of the Netherlands Archives was made Secretary.

International Roundup

ARAB LEAGUE EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (ALECSO)

The Arab League Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ALESCO) is a specialized organization of the Arab League which was established in Cairo in August 1970.

The Department of Documentation and Information (DDI) is one of the five departments attached to ALECSO headquarters, and its main objectives are :

To develop infrastructures of documents and information centres in the Arab countries.

- To provide bibliographical services, using developed techniques and new technology.
- To promote the capabilities of librarians, documentalists and archivists through library training courses, conferences, seminars and symposia, etc.
- To collect basic information on the Arab countries, particularly in the specialized subjects of ALECSO, and to make this information known world-wide.

In its projects for 1980-81, the DDI has included the following :

- (a) *Arabic list of subject headings* : On the invitation of DDI, Arab specialists held a meeting from 5 to 10 April 1980 at the Library of the University of Jordan, where the principal rules that should be applied in compiling an Arabic list of subject headings were laid down.
- (b) *Classification scheme* : The DDI will provide an Arabic version of the eleventh abridged edition of the Dewey Decimal Classification, with modest and different local modifications to accommodate subjects of local interest, particularly Islam, Arabic language and literature.
- (c) *Descriptive cataloguing* : Under this programme the International Standard Bibliographic Descriptions for monographs, ISBD(M) and for serials, ISBD(S), published by IFLA, will be translated into Arabic.

CANADA

Consultative Group on Canadian Archives : The Consultative Group on Canadian Archives appointed in 1978, with a broad mandate to report on the state of the archival system has submitted a detailed report for the benefit of government institutions, associations and individuals.

MALAYSIA

Seminar on Record Retirement and Appraisal : The National Archives of Malaysia sponsored a two-week seminar on records retirement and appraisal, June 30—July 12, 1980, under the chairmanship of Mr. Morris Rieger.

Oral History Workshop : The National Archives and Malaysian Oral History Committee organised a two-day workshop on oral history during 2-3 September 1980. Participants included oral historians and professionals from Malaysia and surrounding south-east Asian countries.

MEXICO

The 4th national meeting of administrative and historical records of States and municipalities, was held at Guanajuato from October 8 to 10, 1980. About twenty papers were presented at the meeting, which covered a wide field of interest; improvement in state archival systems, introduction to microfilm, basic principles of conservation, arrangement of documents etc. Among the several recommendations made were : agreements be concluded with owners of private documents; suitable buildings be used for archives; appropriate research rules be formulated; regional programme of training of personnel be promoted and representations be made to the states on the importance of the national archival system and of the integration of legislative, executive, judicial and agencies records.

POLAND

Joint French-Polish Archival Exhibition : Poland and France have agreed to mount a joint documentary exhibition illustrating French-Polish relations from 1500 to 1945. The exhibition will open in Paris in January 1982 and will be displayed in Warsaw later.

U. K.

Award for innovative conservation : Archival Aids, Ademco Ltd., has announced an annual cash award for

original ideas/innovations in paper or book conservation, including training methods. At present the award will be open only to conservators in the United Kingdom.

UNESCO

Second World Symposium on International Documentation

The second world symposium on international documentation was held during 20-22 June 1980 in Brussels' Palais des congress. It was organised by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) and the Association of International Libraries (AIL) under the auspices of the ICA, International Federation for Documentation (FID); International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA), Union of International Associations (UIA) and UNESCO and with the support of the Commission of the European Communities. The symposium considered the recommendations of the First Symposium held in Geneva in 1972 and examined the numerous and complex problems of international information with a view to contributing to the universal Bibliographic control (UBC) of international documents.

GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY OF UTAH

The second world conference on records sponsored by the Genealogical Society of Utah was held between 12-15 August 1980 at Salt Lake City, Utah. More than 8,000 scholars from 30 countries attended the conference whose theme was 'Preserving our heritage'. Various areas of family history and genealogy were examined and discussed at the conference. The papers presented at the conference have been published in twelve volumes.

SWARBICA

The 6th Meeting of the Executive Board of SWARBICA was held on 13-14 October 1981 at New Delhi, under the Chairmanship of Mr. A. Dewaraja. Mr. Charles Kecskemeti, Executive Secretary of I.C.A., attended the meeting as an observer.

Among other things, the meeting discussed the Medium Term Plan of SWARBICA for 1983-84. Mr. Kecskemeti wanted the SWARBICA Board to assign priorities of its own for the plan as a whole, select items which can be taken up by SWARBICA, again in order of priority, and formulate them into Concrete proposals for onward transmission to the ICA Secretariat.

The Board also decided upon a fresh panel of names for the new office bearers of SWARBICA.

BOOK REVIEWS

Secret Correspondence of Tipu Sultan by Kabir Kausar, New Delhi, 1980.

THE SECRET CORRESPONDENCE of Tipu Sultan has been collected by Mr. Kabir Kausar from works recently published and from those out of print and not easily available. It is, therefore, not a work of research but a hack-work to the compiling of which he has devoted a great deal of time and energy. It is useful for assessing Tipu's aims and ambitions and for understanding the history of the last two decades of the eighteenth century, which witnessed the disintegration of the Maratha confederacy, the decline of the Nizam and the eclipse of the Mysorean power, thereby paving the way for the establishment of British rule in India. The biographical notes and the glossary at the end of the book has added to its usefulness.

In spite of these merits, the work suffers from serious deficiencies. The language of the Preface and Introduction is unidiomatic and full of grammatical mistakes and tends to be pompous and rhetorical. The bibliography is both defective and incomplete, for it fails to mention the latest editions of Tipu's biographies and is content to refer to the first editions; nor does it include some of the latest publications like Mrs. M. Archer's *Tipoo's Tiger* (London 1959), Elizabeth Longford's *The Years of the Sword* (London 1969) and Denys Forrest's *Tiger of Mysore*, the best work on Tipu Sultan written by an Englishman. Moreover, for his evaluation of Tipu's character and achievements, Mr. Kausar has not relied on the standard biographies based on original sources; instead, he has relied for his conclusions on Bhagwan S. Gidwani's *The Sword of Tipu Sultan*, which is a historical romance and not a work of history. Scot's *Kennilworth*, Balzac's *Chouans* and Tolstoy's

War and Peace are excellent historical novels, but since they are not works of history, they are never quoted by scholars, though they give a very realistic picture of the age about which they were written.

In the brief account of Tipu's career given in the Introduction, Mr. Kausar's approach is unscientific. He eulogises Tipu for his qualities but does not criticise him for his faults—his lack of diplomatic skill, his unforesightedness and his suspicious and irritable nature. Mr. Kausar never attempts to analyse events; he merely narrates them without discussing the play of the social, personal, dynastic and international forces which led up to them. He claims in the last para of the preface: "Being an ardent lover of truth I have, by this attempt, played my role to remove the impure and licentious falsehood from the holy and sacred face of 'paper' which is treated next to heart almost by all the writers". What he means by this, he only knows! But it is a tall claim. If only Mr. Kausar would be a little less pretentious.

MOHIBBUL HASAN

Index to Titles (1798-1885): As recorded in the Alqabnamas or Books of Titles and Forms of Address. ed. by S.A.I. Tirmizi, National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1979, pp. 2 + xxi + 224.

THIS IS A somewhat unusual reference tool. The usual run of reference media consist of catalogues, calendars, handbooks, subject indexes *et al* and many a resolution of the Indian Historical Records Commission has voiced demands for them. The National Archives as well as various state archives have published guide books falling into these categories, but the volume under review, according to the present writer, is the first of its kind in the modern archival set up of our country.

The term *alqabnama* on the title page is a composite Perso-Arabic words; the first part *alqab* (titles of honour, 8—579 Dir. of Arch./ND/81

appellations, epithets, styles, surnames, nicknames, forms of address) being the plural for of the Arabic word *laqab*¹ and the second part *nama* being pension, meaning "a writing, epistle etc." The *alqabnamas* that form the subject matter of this volume were the creation of the East India Company and, after 1857 of the British Administration who took over the Government of India from the Company. The East India Company, which started its career in India as merchants and traders, found it, in course of time, profitable to get involved in the politics of the country. One may even say they were compelled to do so. Aurangzeb, that martyr in the cause of political unity of India, (if not its emotional integration) failed to create a nation; and after his death the country was split into congeries of fragments almost always at variance with each other. This was the opportunity for the East India Company to plant its political roots in the country. After the battle of Plassey (1757) the East India Company extended its sway and became politically supreme by the end of the eighteenth century. The Maratha confederacy, which in its own way was also making a bid for this supremacy, during most of this century was in disarray (after 1761 and particularly after the death of Mahadji Scindia and Nana Phadnavis) and after the final defeat of Peshwa Bajirao II in 1818 the Company had no political rival till the rise of the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh. The Company administration, though its writ held sway over most of our country, maintained a facade of protocol in dealing with the native rulers who had been reduced to vassalage. It was from this adherence to protocol that there emerged a system of addressing native princes, members of the aristocracy and other personages in correct diplomatic terminology in use from early times.

The volume under review is the result of this practice. It assuaged, to some extent, the company felt, the bruised

1. Readers may be interested to know that the Arabic word *laqab* has filtered into Marathi with a slightly different meaning.

ego of random potentates,² members of the aristocracy and others who had a feeling that they were somebody. To quote Prof. Tirmizi, the *alqabnama* "contains titles and forms of address observed by the Company's servants and British Officials in their day to day correspondence with the princes and notables of India and the neighbouring countries during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries". Prof Tirmizi further tells us that these documents were first reduced to writing in the middle of 1798.

The work is divided into two parts. The first part is an introductory essay, a scholarly piece of research giving the historical background of the main theme of the volume. It shades lustre on the writers' mature and mellow scholarship in the worthy tradition of Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, a predecessor of Prof. Tirmizi. The reviewer feels that not since Dr. Sen's introduction to his *Thevenot and Careri* has a publication of the National Archives so learned an introduction covering such a wide canvas. More of this later. This introduction extends to 21 pages. The second part of the volume *Index to Titles* takes up 219 pages and there is a "Bibliography" at the end, 5 pages. From the "Preface" we see that quite fifteen years ago Prof. Tirmizi (the present Director of National Archives of India) then working as Assistant Director noticed some volumes (seven in number) of persian Miscellaneous Records in our National Repository. This was a most welcome discovery of interesting reference material, somewhat recondite but most helpful in the better understanding of the Indo-British period of our history. It was a wise decision to publish it. In the last paragraph of the "preface" Prof. Tirmizi tries to explain the delay in this plan and process of publication.

The main part of the book under review bears the simple bibliographical term *Index to Titles*. But a close study of this *Index* brings home to the reader the fact that

2. The reviewer remembers as a school-boy, one of these dignitaries enjoying the high standing & sonorous title "Farzandi-Khas, Daulat-i-Inglisiya".

this alphabetical arrangement gives, indicates or implies much more information than mere names of persons and places. We see from the names of countries and persons mentioned in the *Index* that the East India Company had political and business ramifications in various parts of Asia, from Mongolia and China in the East, Johore and Achin in the south-east to Iran, Baghdad, Mocha, Jidda in the West. Its interests also spread to Central Asia to Bokhara, Khiva and other places. Names of countries like Afghanistan, Iran, Nepal, Tibet have under each item various sub-entries; evidence of the keen interest the East India Company took in the divisions of these countries, their governors, high personages and other details. Even the river Irrawaddy in Burma comes in for attention. Students of the history of the East India Company are all familiar with these details and with the methodical attention the Company gave to them. This *Alqabnama* is an additional but most refreshing evidence of the Company's approach to its responsibilities in India and the rest of Asia.

Another point that deserves mention is the meticulous care the *Index* devotes to various dignitaries of the female sex. Begam Sumru (Zebal-Nisa' Begam) is always 'Umdat al-Arakin Tazzand-i-Azōza (pp. 183, 218) and the Travancore queens, *Padmānābha Walabhi*...Raj Rajeshwari (Rani Lakshmibai) and *Sri Padmānābha Sevani*...Raj Raja Sri Rani, (Parvati Bai—Regent). This is in contrast to the way in which Mughal courtiers sneered at Lal Kunwar, the favourite mistress of Jahandar Shah who was given the title *Imtiyaz Mahal*. Another lady, Raiman, a brave Qalmuq, who showed exemplary courage in an encounter with a sortie made by some soldiers of Jahandar Shah's rival Azim-us-shan, was rewarded with the title *Rustam-i-Hind* by the emperor. "This led scoffers to say that in India their only Rustam was a woman!" This kind of levity on the part of the emperor and courtiers would have been unthinkable in the life time of the great Aurangzeb. The East India Company followed the high traditions laid down by Aurangzeb.

The East India Company had to deal, over the years, with many persons who held the same title not necessarily at the same time. Some holders of these titles were endowed with these distinctions by the titular Mughal emperors or local rulers like the nawabs of Bengal, the nawabs or kings (by courtesy of the East India Company) of Awadh, the Nizam of Hyderabad or the nawabs of Karnataka and others. The *Index* enables us to identify a given personage, in a given context. For instance, under *Umdat al Umara* we have a welter of 9 persons; the index helps us to locate a particular grandee we may be interested in as the names of all the bearers of this title are listed in one place.

An interesting aspect of these titles is that the title was conferred on persons of all castes and creeds without distinction. The nawabs of Arcot, Muhammad Ali Khan (d. 1795) and his son Anwar Ali Khan both bear the title *Umdat al Umara* (p. 209) as did Daulat Rao Sindia and Jankoji Sindia. Among the three *Umdat al Mulks* on the same page is Vitthal Rao Vinchurkar, a Peshwa Officer. Readers of this paper may be interested to know that the French general Bussy was given the title *Umdat al Mulḳ* by the Nizam. That was in the middle of the eighteenth century, quite 45 years before the *Alqabnama* started being compiled. Bussy also enjoyed another *laqab*, *Saif ud-Daulah*. Among the five Ghalib Jangs on page 62 we have two Europeans. Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay (1795-1811), who started his career in Benares, had the distinction of having four *laqabs* (p. 54), *Mumtaz al Daulah*, *Amin al Mulḳ*, *Bahadur* and *Ghazanfar Jang*. Because of the interest he took in Hinduism and Sanskrit learning he was also called by his colleagues, Duncan, the Brahmin.

The book is full of such sidelights on persons and events of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and as stated earlier, is a reference work of a special kind. If our Universities are really interested in training sound research scholars in modern Indian History, this *Index* should provide guidance to ample material and many topics which in the

opinion of the reviewer, would help M. Phil candidates to prepare preliminary dissertations for admission to a Doctoral course. We hope our University Departments of History will take note of this Index. It is a guide and invitation to research and the *Introduction* to it by Prof. Tirmizi is an example to show how this research can be undertaken.

III

The purpose of the *Introduction*, in itself a research essay of high merit as already indicated, is best given in the words of Prof. Tirmizi : 'In order to appreciate the significance of the titles indexed in this volume, it is necessary to provide some sort of *mise en scene* or historical backdrop.

The "historical backdrop" is divided into ten sections. We are told in the first three sections how this *Alqabnama* came to be compiled and the machinery and technique of the Department known as *Daftar-i-Farsi* (Persian Department) in charge of a *Mir Munshi*. This arrangement existed in the presidencies also. Bombay had its Oriental Office; but the papers and titles of this Department were destroyed about 100 years ago. The great achievement of this office was the publication of the Persian text of Ferishta's History in 2 volumes in 1831.³

In section IV of the *Introduction* Prof. Tirmizi discusses the practice of title giving in ancient and early medieval times by the rulers and the royal practice of assuming titles for themselves by these rulers. He gives examples from Roman, Mauryan, Koshan and Gupta history and from the history of the Satavahnas and southern kingdoms. He then takes us on title giving and title taking

under Sultanate rule in the next section V. Here he equates the Hindu concept of *Chakravartin* with Mongol title *Khaqan*. Both the terms "had no religious or spiritual connotation" unlike the Islamic *Khalifa* which "hedged the sovereign round by the Sharia or Islamic Law". Many of the sultans styled themselves *Yamin al-Khilafatah*, *Amir-al-Mominin Zill Allah*. The most daring of the sultans seems to have been Qutb ud-Din Mubarak Khalji (1316-1320), who "arrogated to himself the style of Caliph and the pontifical title of *al-wathick bi'llah*".⁴ Readers may be interested to note that even in the Deccan Ramachandra Yadava of Devagiri continued to be styled as *Chakravarti* and *Srimat Prandha Pratap* (of great strength) in inscriptions of 1298, 1300 and 1305 by his provincial officers "when in fact he had accepted to pay annual tribute to Ala-ud-Din Khalji and had become almost a vassal of Delhi".⁵

After the break up of the Tughluq empire many independent sultanates were established in India (Bengal, Gujarat, Jaunpur, Kashmir, Madura, Malwa and the Bahmanis of the Deccan and their succession states). Prof. Tirmizi gives us a list (p. vi) of these sectarian and secular titles adopted by the rulers of these newly independent kingdoms. Among these there were many patronymic or filionymic titles. These rulers also endowed their aristocracy with fitting *laqabs*. We may note here an interesting and unusual title of this period, *Malik ul-Tujjar* (Prince of Merchants). It was used only under the Bahmanis and the present writer knows of only three Bahmani grandees on whom this *laqab* was bestowed. The most outstanding bearer of it was Khwaja Mahmud Gavan, the great Bahmani minister; he had also another title *Sadr-i-Jahan*.

3. This was discovered by the writer of this paper when, at the Secretariat Record Office in Bombay, about 1952-53 he launched a search for the Persian text of Ferishta's History. The writer expected Briggs, the editor of the published text, to have collected for collation as many copies of the Persian text as available to him. It was during the search that he came across noting in the government files that the records of the Oriental Office were destroyed!!

4. *Encyclopaedia of Islam* II (1927 Ed.), 1168. See also Nelson Wright, *Coinage & Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, 96; Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 180; Wright, *Catalogue of Coins of the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, II, 44 (No. 244).

5. H. K. Sherwani & P.M. Joshi Eds., *History of Medieval Deccan I*, 40.

Section VI discusses the titles assumed by the Mughal rulers from Babur to Aurangzeb and by the contenders to the Mughal throne who indulged in the fratricidal struggle that disfigured the Empire when Shah Jahan fell ill (1656). The next section (VII) deals with titles assumed by the later Mughals. These were high flown but to students of later Mughal history they sound so unreal and hollow⁶. Section VIII is a socio-political discussion about titles in Medieval India; it maintains the high tenor of scholarship of the whole *Introduction*.

The study of titles conferred on the Hindu nobility during the medieval period, particularly under the Mughals, is the subject matter of Section IX. Title giving by the Maratha ruler Shivaji comes in for attention and the titles conferred on the Peshwas⁷ by later Mughals and on other Maratha grandees are also touched upon.

Here we may be allowed to supplement the information collected by Prof. Tirmizi to support his contention in the concluding paragraph of the *Introduction* that these titles are a pointer to "the increasing assimilation and integration of religious and racial ideals in the crucible that was medieval India". An unusual, perhaps even more so than *Malik-ul-Tujjar* was the *laqab* or title *Chandrarao* which was always borne by the head of the More clan in the Jaoli region of the Sahyadri range. Thus every succeeding head of chief of the clan, whatever his name at birth, was always *Chandrarao*. This title, according to the present writer, goes back to the hoary past and was respected by the Sultans of the Deccan, the Bahmanis and the Adilshahis. *Nilanatha Rao* was a similar title always applied or used by the head

6. We wish Prof. Tirmizi had pointed out the irony of history in the assumption of titles like *Sahib Qiran* and *Sahib Qiran Sani* by the pettifogging later Mughals.

7. The term Peshwa (Persian) was used to indicate the second Minister under the Nizamshahis of Ahmednagar (1498-1636). It was later adopted by the Adilshahi, Sultans of Bijapur for their Chief Minister. It was in this sense that it was used in Maratha History.

of the family in charge of the fort of Purandar. This goes back to Bahmani times, if not beyond, and was continued under the Nizamshahis of Ahmadnagar and the Adilshahis of Bijapur.

The Adilshahi sultans conferred the *laqab Diyanat Rao* on the Deshpande family of Karad (Satara district). It became a family surname. Thus we have Timaji Diyanatrao and his son Kashi Timaji Diyanatrao. The corresponding form of the title conferred on a Muslim noble was *Diyanat-ul-Mulk* the *Sarkhel* of Muhammad Adilshah of Bijapur (1627-1656). Two other Adilshahi titles were *Sarje Rao* and *Rustam Rao*. The latter title was also conferred by Aurangzeb on a member of the Jadhao family of Sindkhed. *Sarje Rao* and *Rustam Rao* are now good proper names amongst Maratha families. Shivaji conferred the title *Hambira Rao* on Hansaji Mohite, one of his army officers. This, we think, links up with Hamir or Hammira mentioned by Prof. Tirmizi in paragraph 2 of Section IX (p. xiv).

The last Section (x) lists 'titles of different provenance, viz., Sanskrit, Prakrit, Greek, Arabic Turkish, Persian, English etc.' The titular Mughal Emperors or local nawabs conferred Persian titles on British Officers of the East India Company which make interesting reading and have been briefly touched upon earlier.

In conclusion we must offer our thanks to Prof. Tirmizi for this scholarly work. May it lead our research workers to events and topics in Indo-British history which require further study.

P. M. JOSHI

Indo-Portuguese History : Sources and Problems. Edited by John Corria-Afonso S. J., Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1981.

AT THE END OF November 1978 there took place at Panjim, Goa, the first International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History. It was launched and organized

by Father John Correia-Afonso, the Jesuit Director of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Bombay. It was a very successful meeting as I witnessed it myself. It enjoyed the full support of the local government as well as the backing of the well-known and ever generous Gulbenkian Foundation of Lisbon.

Nearly all the contributions read at the Seminar focused on primary sources. Their publication I now review form a remarkable collection of first-class information. Obviously they rarely read like a novel, but they require careful attention and some background in order to reach their intended use. They are a considerable help towards fostering the present revival in India of Indo-Portuguese studies. This is capital for the 16th-18th centuries.

The various contributions now edited by Father John Correia-Afonso can be briefly summarised as follows :

1. A. Mathias Mundadan, 'Church and Missionary Works on Indo-Portuguese History'. It mostly examines, though not exclusively, the published and unpublished material available in Goa and in Portugal. The author has singled out three chief chroniclers for a more detailed analysis of their mentality and the relevant contents of their respective work.
2. V. T. Gune, 'Source Material from the Goa Archives'. The former Director of the Historical Archives of Panjim, Goa, describes in the main the most important sections of their archival material, including those related to Christianity. For further and more detailed information one is to consult the Portuguese catalogue of the late Dr. Pissurlencar (it should be republished, this time in English), and the shorter English catalogue compiled under the auspices of Dr. Gune himself.
3. J. Wicki (Rome), 'Archives and Libraries in Rome concerning Portuguese India'. This is a nearly

complete survey of the chief material lying in various places of Rome, i.e. Vatican Archives, Vatican Library, Roman Jesuit Archives, Gregorian University Archives, Italian National Library (manuscript section), Propaganda Fide Archives and Library, and of three smaller centres.

4. A. da Silva Rego (Lisbon), 'The Monsoon Codices at the National Archives of the Torre de Tombo'—The author deals with the sixty-two bound volumes, formerly belonging to the Goa Archives and brought to Lisbon in 1777. They are kept today in the National Archives of Lisbon. They cover the years 1605-1656, with one volume reaching out 1697. These volumes, as much as those remaining in Goa, contain the official Lisbon-Goa-Lisbon correspondence. This contribution provides a fairly detailed account of those sixty-two volumes now in Lisbon under such headings as administration, trade, social aspects, religious problems.
5. John Correia-Afonso. 'Indian History in the Cartorio dos Jesuitas'. *The Cartorio dos Jesuitas*, which means 'archives of the jesuits', are kept in the National Archives of Lisbon. They are made of 106 bundles of documents, a great part of which is of fiscal nature. A brief and general survey of their content is given by the author from the Indian viewpoint.
6. G. Bouchon (Paris), 'Portuguese Documents on Sixteenth Century India'. It is a kind of learned introduction to the primary sources to be eventually used for the history of the west-coast of India in that century.
7. L. F. Thomaz (Lisbon), 'Portuguese Sources on Sixteenth Century India Economic History'. The author's own work on the subject is explained in

some detail, pointing out the various approaches, the methods, and the main documentation at hand.

8. T. R. de Souza (Goa), 'The Voiceless in Goan Historiography. A Case for the Source-Value of Church Records in Goa'. The learned contributor makes a plea in favour of the historico-sociological study of the Goan people instead of the rather Portuguese-oriented approach of the past. The latter tended to insist on 'heroic' exemplars and the like. Both the Historical Archives and the Church Archives are to be used in this respect.
9. C. R. Boxer (London), 'Some Second Thoughts on Indo-Portuguese Historiography'. The well-known specialist and writer on Portuguese expansion in Asia endeavours with his usual sense of criticism to survey recent printed works, which deal with one facet or another of the Lusitanian activities in India and in the rest of Asia.
10. A. Disney (Melbourne), 'The Portuguese Empire in India c. 1550-1650'. In the subtitle, the author mentions that his contribution aims only at giving suggestions 'for a less sea-borne, more Landbound Approach to the Socio-Economic History (of that empire)'. According to him greater attention should be paid to the Portuguese territories in India and elsewhere, and to the doubtless influence they exercised on the interior of the country. This is particularly significant from the economic standpoint.
11. G. V. Scamell (Cambridge), 'Indigenous Assistance in the Establishment of the Portuguese Power in the Indian Ocean'. Much is learned from this paper about the Indians who helped in one way or another the Portuguese, e.g. in financial, economic, administrative and military matters.

12. A. Das Gupta (Santiniketan), 'Some problems of Reconstructing the History of India from European Sources'. With the help of quite a few examples the contributor explains quite convincingly how much and how often new questions are to be asked from the western documentation. He makes excellent use of his method in several concrete cases, e.g. concerning Surat and its commercial role.
13. C. R. Boxer, 'Some Possible Fields of Research in the History of Portuguese India (16th-18th Centuries)'. The learned scholar indicates some fourteen fields of research, which, though mostly connected with Goa, could be easily extended to other parts of India. Some of those fields are perhaps more fascinating than others, e.g. charities and social assistance, inter-cultural relations and reactions, pharmacopy and medicine.

Oxford University Press deserves all praise for having brought out this scholarly publication flawlessly and attractively. It enhances the intrinsic value of such an excellent instrument of further research.

E. R. HAMBYE S. J.

Education in Bihar (1813-1859) by Dr. Jata Shankar Jha,
Published by K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.

THE BOOK UNDER REVIEW originally was a Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the Patna University in 1961. It is a well documented research monograph. Its central aim is to trace the progress of English education in Bihar and its reactions on the people of the province. Bihar at that time was a part of the Bengal Presidency. During the period under review English education had caught the imagination of the people of Bengal and it became increasingly popular. Bengali Zamindars in the countryside vied with one another in opening high schools for English

education, but the situation in Bihar was quite different. People in Bihar were generally apathetic and had deep prejudices against the new education. The middle class in Bihar on the whole did not care for English education. A few Zamindars or Rajas, of course, made contributions for establishment of schools at district headquarters but they did it more to please the local government officers. Similar considerations weighed with the court *amlas* in sending their children to the local government school. In some cases the local officers personally asked their 'native' subordinates to send their children to the school. In fact the demand for English education was still very limited in Bihar. Hence, Mr. Harrison suggested to the Government the need for making the knowledge of English compulsory for some of the higher posts like those of Deputy Collectorship, Sadar Principal Aminship, etc., for which natives were reported to have been aspiring.

During the period under review the European officials took active interest in the cause of education in Bihar. This fact has been well illustrated by the author on the basis of documentary proofs. Mr. W. Tayler, the commissioner of Patna division, started the movement of associating the Zamindars with the educational work in Bihar. He encouraged the Zamindars to establish Vernacular schools in their estates. Although most of the big Zamindars showed their readiness to establish schools in their estates, there were, among them, really very few who were genuinely interested in the work. They did it more to please the local government officers. There were others who did not view this educational movement with equanimity. Mr. Harrison, the Inspector of Schools, reported his conversation with a Zamindar as follows : "It is an error on the part of the Government to attempt the education of the masses on the system now devised, or in fact at all, as it will result in subverting the whole status of society, and bring into contempt the Upper classes, to whom that deference which is due will no longer be paid" (p. 335). Here lies the difference between the Zamindars of Bengal and

Bihar. This fact has been well illustrated by a letter of Mr. Tayler to the Director of the Public Instruction, dated the 3rd of December, 1856, as follows : "In Bengal, the landlord may, through his wealth, his superior intelligence or the neediness of his ryots, attain a power over them as that of a despot over slaves but this power of circumstance is very different from the influence exercised by the Rajas, and great landlords of Bihar.

Here the military Brahmans (Bhumihars) and the Rajputs of different tribes, who form the great body of farmers and cultivators—are not like the timid and helpless slaves of a Bengal province—and are not, therefore, to be cowed by mere force into submission or subservience—they are a spirited and a fearless body of men who know how to hold their own and whose far famed *lathees* present a formidable limit to tyranny; yet these very men render a willing and almost unlimited submission to their leaders and great landlord.

The influence is a moral influence bearing traces of feudalism and the subservience of a clan to its chieftain.

And this is specially and strikingly displayed, in all matters—whether for good or evil connected with caste, their religion or the social observances of the people".

Thus, there existed a peculiar relationship between the Zamindars and their tenants in Bihar. The Zamindars of Bihar generally were not interested in spreading education among the mass, because that would subvert their position in the eyes of the people. Thus, the Zamindars in Bihar as leaders of society having wealth and influence failed in their duties to promote education. This is one of the reasons of backwardness of the province. With the help of records the author has shown the reasons for the slow progress of education in Bihar. In a letter to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, dated the 15th May, 1857, Mr. Hantour, the Collector of Tirhut, observed — "I am sorry to say the natives of the districts do not patronise education.

They imagine they are to be converted into Christians. In fact, the higher classes of natives in this respect are veritable *gobemarches* and nothing is too absurd, which they will not believe, as regards the introduction of education among them. The natives of the *Lala (Kayastha)* caste are against education to a man, as that class are employed entirely in keeping village and Zamindars' accounts and they object to competition. The Rajpoots and Brahmins are also against it. They are arrogant and superstitious. When education is mentioned Christianity is their cry". As a matter of fact, Bihar needed special treatment because of the prevailing 'ignorance and bigotry of the people'. In order to conciliate the feelings of the people, Mr. W. Tayler, Commissioner of the Patna Division, advocated the introduction of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian classes in the Government Schools.

In chapter VI the author has discussed the question of the connection between the 'Mutiny' and educational measures in Bihar. Sir F. J. Halliday, the then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, strongly repudiated the proposition that the educational policy of the Government was a cause of the general rising of 1857, but he admitted that "the people of Bihar doubted and disliked the government plan of education". Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for India, also expressed more or less similar views, but made an exception of Bihar province where some jealousy had been excited by the educational measures. The very fact that special mention is made of Bihar in this connection shows that at least in that province the rising lent some support to the general belief that educational measures were also partly responsible for it. The Resumption laws and the abolition of Persian as the language of the Court threw a large number of oriental educated people out of employment. Moreover, the English educated people began to be preferred in public employment since 1844. These facts created feeling among the people that the government was suppressing the 'native' learning and promoting its own language at the cost of the former. At the same time the activities of the Christian

missionaries deepened the prejudice of the people against English education. In this background the author has rightly come to the conclusion that 'it will not be correct to say that the educational measures of the government had nothing to do with the rising of 1857. As a matter of fact they were as much responsible for creating suspicion in public mind that their religion was in danger as any other acts of government" (p. 303).

The Wood's Despatch of 1854 is 'the Magna Carta' of English education in India. The actual results of the measures adopted under that Despatch, during the period (1854-59) were, however, far from satisfactory in Bihar. Little progress was made in Bihar adding to the outbreak of several risings within the short period of five years. Mr. Buckland observed — "Great difficulty was at once met in Bihar in inducing the inhabitants to comply with the condition of the grant-in-aid rules as regards private contributions. Not only were indifference and unwillingness to make the smallest efforts for self-improvement exhibited, but bigotry and suspicion amounting sometimes to hostility, were encountered". The progress of English education, despite several measures adopted by the Government for encouraging it, was not satisfactory in Bihar. Some schools had, of course, been opened during the period by private individuals, but the prejudices against it still persisted. Even as late as 1867 the Inspectors of Schools for Bihar division reported that a large section of the influential class had "persistently kept aloof for the most from English school where the pupils acquire foreign dress and manners which will shut them out from paradise". Thus, a strong prejudice against English education continued in Bihar for a long time. There were several sociological and economic reasons for it. It is really distressing to note that during the period under review, in respect of female education practically nothing was done in Bihar. Not a single school was opened for the education of girls either by the Government or by private individuals.

On the whole, the book under review is a good monograph in Education in Bihar. It is the first book of its kind. All the chapters are well documented. Conclusions drawn are also balanced. The Chapter VII deals with conclusion. This chapter is very sketchy. The author should have tried to answer some of the questions raised in the monograph like the backwardness of education in Bihar. It should have been more analytical. One great drawback of the book is that there is no bibliography. I do not know why the author omitted it.

S. B. SINGH

The Social and Political Ideas of Swami Vivekananda
by S. S. Mital (Metropolitan Book Co. Pvt. Ltd., New
Delhi 1979; pp. XXIV + 336; Rs. 80.00)

THERE IS NO dearth of books on Swami Vivekananda or on the Works of Swamiji. Publication of one more book on the subject needs giving an explanation. The author of 'The Social and Political Ideas of Swami Vivekananda' has an explanation and certainly a valid one.

Vivekananda is not generally recognised as a political philosopher or a social theorist, in the academic sense. Nor did the Swami propound his political views the way the western political thinkers did. But during the short span of his life, Vivekananda delivered hundreds of speeches at diverse places and to different kinds of audiences. Countless were the discourses he carried on with his disciples which the latter have preserved. His ideas, political and social, are found scattered in all these sources. Dr. Radhakrishnan recognised that "Vivekananda's ideas on religion, politics and social reforms are of inestimable value". Dr. S. S. Mital is convinced that these scattered ideas are not haphazard opinions or stray thoughts but are the part of a whole system of thought having great theoretical and practical value to the development of modern political theory although Vivekananda himself might not be aware of the system of political thought.

he was weaving out of his ideas. It is in this context that the publication has acquired a special value and Mital has done the weaver's job rather commendably.

The book does not confine itself to an elaboration of such known ideas of Vivekananda as renunciation service, universalism, image workshop, caste system, untouchability, or value of patriotism or nationalism. It is not that superficial. The author has treaded on a delicate path and has undertaken a stupendous task that seeks to establish the relevance of Vedanta philosophy to the modern political theory. The Vedanta philosophy, as explained in this book, has laid emphasis upon that the area of consciousness in man—his inner being, soul or conscience—has to be probed and the mystique of existence fathomed. A new anchor for modern political theory is being argued and advocated. The author has taken up this work with the dedication of a devotee and has done a good job of it in a book of 336 pages. He has divided his subject into five parts which are subdivided in two or three chapters.

- The author runs the risk of repeating the more or less known history in the Background which is Part I. The first 20 pages make a rapid survey of the impact of the British rule and the emergence of the leaders of Indian renaissance.
- The second 20 pages is the relevant part wherein the influence on Vivekananda's intellectual personality is traced.

Basic postulates of the central theme of the subject are laid in the Chapter III wherein Vivekananda diagnoses the human malady: "The West is groaning under the tyranny of Shylocks and the East is groaning under the tyranny of priests" (184) and proceeds to say "The Western man is born individualistic while the Hindu is socialistic—entirely socialistic" (84). The contrast is complete with the expression "Of the West the goal is individual independence, the language money-making education, the means politics; of India the goal is *Mukti*; the language the *Veda*, the means renunciation" (85). The author produces apt quotations of the

Swami to bring out the basic difference in outlook on life to establish that the Indian reformers, dazzled by the glamour of Western civilisation failed to distinguish between the two outlooks and believed that India's salvation lay in a blind imitation of everything Western. Hence Vivekananda writes : "There is such a wide divergence between Western Society and the Indian as regards the primal course and goal of each, that any sect in India framed after the Western model, will miss the aim" (86).

The author elaborates the concepts of all those distinguishing elements of the Hindu social organisation such as the 'Wonderful Scheme of *Varna-asrama*', the principle of Rigvedic *Purusha-Sukta*, the four stages of life, the four *puru-sharthas* the concepts of *pravritti* and *Nivritti*, the organic analogy of *Vyasthi* (a Part) and *Samasthi* (the whole) and their interpretation as Vivekananda made in the context of an industrial civilization. The Swami's conception of Social evolution, Change and Development are dealt with in detail.

Vivekananda held marriage sacred and inviolate and considered that child-marriage weakened the Hindus. Making his idea of inter-marriage clear he says 'It is the inter-marriage between the people of the same religion that I advocate' (129). He advised his countrymen to widen the circle of marriage and referred to the dangers of forbidding inter-marriage between sub-castes. The author's explanation of Vivekananda's non-committal attitude towards widow-marriage 'because he dealt with grown-up adults who could choose for themselves' is hardly convincing. At best it was not judicious for him to go in for that all of a sudden.

His attack on social orthodoxy had a ring of prophesy : "That is why one-fifth of our people have become Moham-medan. It was not the sword that did it all. It would be height of madness to think so. And one-fifth.....one half of your Madras people will become Christians if you do not take care" (96).

Dr. Mital has devoted one full Chapter to a review of Vivekananda's ideas of Education. In fact it is a well organised chapter beginning with his conception of education, his analysis of the defects in the existing system, the Vendantin's idea of true education, his advocacy of teaching in the language of the people, his attachment to Sanskrit 'which gives a prestige and a power and a strength to the race', his stress on the method of education beginning with good parentage and so on. His ideas about mass education which poverty 'would not easily permit' and the scheme of women education with the object of achieving 'all that was best in the idea of Indian womanhood—self sacrifice, modesty, meditateness, spirituality—with all that is best in the West—intellectual attainment, practicality, boldness, freedom and self-confidence' (156) are referred to. A novel suggestion of the Swami is that the educational edifice for the girls had to be built around some temple. Many a modern eye-brows may be raised at his suggestion that 'it is not good to let them (girls) touch novels and fiction' (156).

In part IV a scholarly attempt is made to elucidate Vivekananda's contribution on matters concerning political theory like Individual, Society and State, Freedom, Democracy and Government, Socialism, Nationalism and Internationalism. The greatest defect detected by Vivekananda in modern political theory was its cruel separation from religion. The author confesses at the outset that his thoughts were mainly derived from ancient Indian scriptures and steeped into oriental lines of thought. The role assigned to religion becomes clear at once when the Swami declares that 'no nation is great or good because Parliament enacts this or that, but because its men are great and good' and as 'men cannot be made virtuous by an Act of Parliament, the religion, therefore, is of deeper importance than politics, since it goes to the root, and deals with the essentials of conduct' (169). The importance of these Chapters lies in that, that the author has discussed the political ideas of Vivekananda in the context of the known ideas of Aristotle, Hobbes, Rousseau, Hegel, Mill, Marx and other master-minds of the West.

It is doubtful whether the author is on sure ground in his portrayal of Vivekananda as a great 'socialist'. The reported remark of the great Swami 'I am a socialist' (page 254) is only reflective of his deep concern for the poorest, the lowliest and the lost. But socialism is a body of certain rigid doctrines and also a social and economic mechanism that can hardly be reconciled with the Vedanta philosophy unless essentials in both are compromised. The fact is Socialism and social justice are two different things and it is in the context of the latter that the ideas of Vivekananda shine forth.

The hard blows that the Swami has struck at the institutions of injustice and inequality with the weapon of Vedanta is an important contribution to the concept of social justice giving it a flavour and an accent not found either in Western socialist movements or in their Indian counterparts. The insistence that Vivekananda was a 'socialist through and through' (p. 256) followed immediately by the conclusion that his 'socialism was just a compromise' speaks the author's recognition of this basic incompatibility. After all socialism is not the last word on the problem of mass poverty or inequality and what Vivekananda advocated was an alternative to socialism and not another brand.

Vivekananda's internationalism is based on the oneness of mankind and of the universe as a whole and his nationalism was rooted in the philosophy of Vedanta and in Hindu scriptures. Darwin and Marx are outright rejected and his views stand in sharp contrast with their theories of survival of the fittest and dialectics. All his fundamental concepts are based on the key concept of spirituality and it pulsed all through his system of social and political thought.

The author claims that Vivekananda's system of thought 'far transcended any modern system of political thought' and does not conceal his conviction that 'in case this system of political thought was emulated by the world at large the world would be a much happier place to live in'. Well, it

is in the realm of practical politics and hard realities that theories basically agreeable are tested. All in all Dr. S. S. Mital has made a commendable contribution to the study of a subject about which our knowledge is pathetically inadequate. The information he has provided will serve the purpose of ready reference and as such it is a welcome addition.

The price of the book with a fine jacket may not be considered very high but the publication suffers from quite a few misprints. The bibliography is impressive and an index of ideas would have enhanced the value of the work.

K. S. SASTRY

The Transfer of Power, 1942-47, Vol. IX, The fixing of a time limit, November 4, 1946—March 22, 1947. Edited by Nicholas Mansergh and Pendreil Moon, H.M.'s Stationery Office, £ 55.

IN THIS VOLUME the story of transfer of power to India by the British is carried to the threshold of freedom. The notable events covered in it include the stubborn refusal of Muslim League to join the Constituent Assembly, the dismissal of Wavell as Viceroy, the fixing of the time limit by Britain for transfer of power to India and the realization by the Congress leadership of the inevitability of partition of India.

"I am rather puzzled and worried", noted the Viceroy on 4 November 1946, the day on which this volume opens, "about the matter of getting the Muslim League into the Constituent Assembly". It may be recalled that the Cabinet Mission had sought to make participation in the Interim inter-party executive by the parties conditional upon participation in the Constituent Assembly. Mr. Jinnah, though acquiesced in principle, did nothing to give a practical effect, i.e. summoning the Council of League to rescind the July resolution, until the League had first obtained certain assurances from

the Congress in respect of interpretation and application of the provisions in the Mission's Statement of 16 May relating to the drafting of the constitution of provinces within each section (and by each section as Jinnah interpreted) and to grouping of Provinces. Notwithstanding his objections, the Constituent Assembly met on 9 December. But it was obvious that without League's representatives in it, it could not be called a representative body. Wavell's interviews with Jinnah on 30 October and with Liaquat on 13 November respectively failed to bring them round to rescinding the Bombay resolution. On the other hand, Jinnah struck a different note at a press conference he held on 14 November where he asserted that 'absolute Pakistan' was 'the only solution'. Privately, he had declared that it was impossible to cooperate with the Congress.

Both the parties entered into what may be called a barren dilectic. The Congress demanded the Viceroy to ask for the resignation of the League Members from the Interim Government. The Viceroy, though agreed with the Congress view that the League has put itself in the wrong, was not prepared to precipitate the matter. The riots in Bombay, Bengal, Bihar and U.P. had surcharged the political atmosphere in the country. Successive statements by the Congress and League Members tended to widen the cleavages between the Hindus and the Muslims. Wavell was disgusted with the Home Government for not issuing a clear and public statement about the next step to be taken in India. His contingency 'breakdown' plan sent to the Cabinet on 8 September had been received rather critically. He grumbled that the Cabinet 'dare not do anything which might upset the Congress'. 'The essential question is', he argued with the Secretary of State, 'whether we can stay in India beyond the point of which we cease to have the capacity if necessary to resist the demands of the Indian politicians'. He submitted a phased withdrawal plan beginning with the south. Liaquat's response was: 'well, stay here for years, if necessary If you do intend to leave India to chaos I hope it would be chaos fair for both

parties.' George Abel, Private Secretary to the Viceroy, reported: 'I got the impression from what Liaquat said that the League could not afford to let the communal feeling in the country to die down. They regarded the communal feeling as a proof of their case for Pakistan'.

The effort to bring the two parties together in London yielded no results. In the meanwhile Attlee fixed up with Mountbatten to take over the Viceroyalty. The communal riots in Lahore, and in the Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions had changed the political climate in the Punjab. Sikhs became restive. Punjab had witnessed many horrors and tragedies during the past seven months. Muslim League's agitation which amounted to 'direct action' against the Unionist Ministry under Khizir Hayat and the latter's resignation proved beyond doubt that the League aimed at what Governor Jenkins called an 'undiluted Muslim rule'. On the other hand the Home Government was contemplating a proposal to announce a definite date of withdrawal of British authority from India by June 1948 irrespective of a constitutional agreement. Earlier, Wavell, who had a support of the Commander-in-Chief, had urged the Cabinet the necessity for such a Statement. The intended announcement did not include Wavell's plan of a phased geographical withdrawal. The idea was to bring the Congress and the Muslim League up against reality and it was assumed that the effect of fixing a date would have a sobering effect on both the parties and make a compromise more probable. Wavell now told the Secretary of State that Governors of Punjab and Bengal are of a contrary opinion and he himself is opposed to a fixed date being announced now. Mountbatten, the Viceroy designate, insisted that the announcement of his appointment must contain a precise and definite date for British withdrawal. He wanted to create an atmosphere of 'New Deal' in India. Wavell fought a losing battle. On 30 January 1947 Attlee sacked him. The carefully hammered out announcement was made on 20 February. Nehru called it 'a courageous document.' However, on 24 February Wavell in a letter to the King, regretted that the Cabinet Mission plan 'was not put

across with more vigour; that it was not laid down as an award of a power in possession rather than merely suggested as a plan for discussion'. On 9 March Nehru sent the Congress resolution to Wavell demanding the partition of Punjab and Bengal into Muslim and non-Muslim provinces. Mountbatten, who saw Nehru's letter in London, underlined it and wrote : 'This should be followed up'. Krishna Menon in his note to Mountbatten suggested the creation of autonomous states of Muslim majority areas in the west and north-east enjoying complete independence except for defence and foreign affairs which would be in the hands of a central government. Thus the widespread communal riots in the Punjab forced a realization upon the Congress leaders to think in terms of partition.

The correspondence reveals several points of conflict between the Viceroy and the Congress leaders. There was the question of future of paramountcy, the continued presence of British troops in India, the trial of I.N.A. etc. The Volume offers raw material of great importance to a historian.

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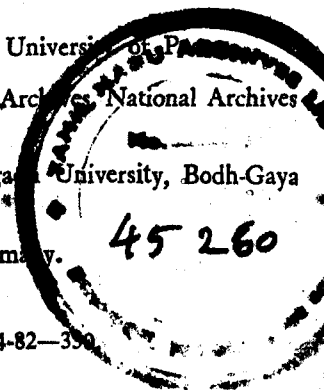
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