

State legislation has in some cases told heavily upon Indians who acquired land.

The new status of India has been recognised by the grant of powers of direct negotiation with Dominion Governments, and in 1924 the Government of India itself appointed a Committee in London to confer direct with the Colonial Office. For many years the India Office has been constantly engaged in difficult discussions with that Department on the problems arising out of legislation and executive policy in the Dominions, and on the results of labour emigration to Crown Colonies, and one of the most important duties of the Secretary of State for India is to see that the Indian point of view is presented as clearly as possible to the Imperial Cabinet and the Governments of the other members of the Empire.

Chapter XIV

THE LIBRARY AND RECORDS

The Library—The India Museum—The Imperial Institute—The Indian Scientific Departments—Indian Archaeology—Literary Patronage—The Geographical Department—The India Office Records

The India Office Library

It is to the liberal policy of the East India Company that the India Office owes the possession of a fine Library.* Its collection of books is much more than an official reference library used for purely departmental purposes. The historian Robert Orme, whose close narrative of our struggles with the French in Southern India is perhaps more honoured than perused in these hurried days, was Historiographer to the Company in the closing days of the eighteenth century, and urged insistently upon the Directors the advantages of forming a collection of Oriental manuscripts and printed books. Though he did not live to see the Library formed at the East India House in Leadenhall Street, it was created at his suggestion, and enriched by his bequest to the Company of his large collection of

* The India Office Library has been described by Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., in "The Library," July, 1904, and *The Pioneer Mail* of Allahabad, August, 1904, and by Mrs. Storey ("James Cassidy") in "The Indian Magazine," July, 1906. I am indebted to these articles for several interesting particulars.

books, manuscripts, maps and letters. In 1801 the Directors established the Library, ordering that "all printed books at present dispersed about the House and warehouses, not in use in the several departments, be deposited in the Library, together with any articles of curiosity that can be collected within the House or warehouses." An appeal made to the servants of the Company to foster the new institution met with generous response, Mr. Colebrooke presenting his wonderful collection of 2,000 volumes of Sanskrit manuscripts. The Hamilton Collection of Oriental, Portuguese and Dutch manuscripts, Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson's Tibetan manuscripts, Colonel Phayre's Burmese collection, and Colonel Mackenzie's Tamil manuscripts are notable features of the Library. The Royal Society, some forty-five years ago, deposited at the India Office its collection of Oriental manuscripts. The Oriental manuscripts now number some 13,000: the Sanskrit series is probably the finest in the world, and the other ancient languages of the Indo-Iranians, Pali Zend and Pahlavi, are well represented, while in Arabic and Persian the Library is exceptionally rich. Its scope ranges as far afield to the East as Chinese, Malay, Javanese and Siamese, while Syriac and Ethiopic are represented. There is an extensive range of manuscript works in the modern Indian vernaculars. While the chief literary treasures are in manuscript, every effort has been made to compile a comprehensive library of Oriental printed books, not only in the "classical languages," Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian, but in the current tongues of the Indian Empire.

A notable series of Sanskrit scholars has presided over the Library during the hundred and twenty years of its existence. The first of the Company's Librarians was Sir Charles Wilkins, who co-operated with Sir William Jones in founding the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and after his return to Europe took a leading part in the inauguration of that junior, though now venerable, institution, the Royal Asiatic Society of London, which from its foundation has been aided by the Company and by the Secretary of State in Council. Wilkins remained in harness until well over eighty, and was followed by Professor H. H. Wilson, who passed from the Company's to Government service and saw his charge moved from Leadenhall Street to Cannon Row, but died before the new India Office in Whitehall became its permanent home. He was followed by Dr. James Ballantyne, Dr. Fitzedward Hall, Dr. Reinhold Rost, Mr. C. H. Tawney (who, like Dr. Ballantyne, had served in India as an educational officer) and Dr. F. W. Thomas. Care has also been taken to provide expert knowledge in the classics of the Indian Muhammedans as well as those of the Hindus: thus the last three Assistant Librarians have been men of recognised attainment in Arabic studies—Dr. (now Sir Thomas) Walker Arnold, Mr. Ellis and Mr. C. A. Storey. Real service has been rendered by the India Office to Oriental scholarship, not only in this country, but throughout Europe. Manuscripts are lent, of course under strict conditions, to accredited scholars in other countries as well as at home, and the Reading-room has been and is a workshop of industrious

Orientalists, among whom may be mentioned the late Sir Charles Lyall. His translations of "Ancient Arabian Poetry," published while he was a member of the Indian Civil Service, opened to English readers stirring pages of the pre-Islamic bards of Arabia. On retirement from twelve years of administrative work at the India Office Sir Charles Lyall remained a well-known figure in its Library, where he completed his edition and translation of the *Mafaddaliyat*, an anthology of ancient Arabian odes.

It is not only, however, as a treasure house of Orientalism that the Library justifies its existence: it possesses some 130,000 printed books, and is intended to be a repository of all important publications in English and the languages of the Continent on Indian subjects. Indian Government publications are stored in the Records Department of the India Office, only a selection being placed in the Library for the benefit of readers (who can, however, obtain any non-confidential Reports from the Records). But any unofficial publications about India which are considered of permanent value or interest find their home in the Library. Its range has in the past been very wide, and perhaps the manifold nature of the intellectual interests connected with Indian studies can best be appreciated by a glance at the catalogues. How far the India Office Library should spread its tentacles has always been a difficult problem. The Company's early connection with the Chinese trade is responsible for the acquisition for many years of as complete a collection as possible of books about China. But considerations of economy and of official needs,

quite apart from those of space, have properly limited the collection in more recent years. The original purpose had been laid down as that of "an institution which should become a permanent receptacle for everything connected with Oriental lore, so as to assist the members of the services whilst at home on furlough, and also to promote the study of everything connected with the East." In 1877 the Library Committee of the Council of India considered that "the main object is to obtain a complete collection of works relating to the East, and more especially to India, and the countries adjoining it, including the Russian Empire." They also noted the necessity of keeping for official use "works of reference and publications bearing on administration and government." But eighteen years later it was found necessary to lay down stricter limits. While all new books of any value dealing directly with Indian matters are acquired, a careful selection is now made among works with a less immediate bearing on them, whether general treatises on subjects—such as comparative religion, law, or language—which Indian administrators or students would find relevant to the study of distinctively Indian subjects, or books on other Asiatic countries that treat of their relations to India. An Indian Act of 1867 placed at the disposal of the India Office Library a copy of every book printed in India in any language, and this produced a flood of miscellaneous matter. It is obviously unnecessary to get either every new vernacular publication, or every English school-book printed in India for local use, and strict discrimination is now exercised in indenting

on India for new publications. In consequence of this Act, of gifts and of exchanges, it is estimated by the Librarian that probably only about one-twentieth of the annual acquisitions come by purchase. It is never easy to adjust the by no means extravagant Library budget between purchase of new books, binding, and cataloguing—a continuous and laborious process, involving from time to time the temporary engagement of outside help. The Library, though primarily intended for the use of the Indian Services and the India Office, is open to readers under rules published in the annual India Office List, and the average annual number of visitors to the Reading-room is about 2,000.

The India Museum

The original scheme of Sir Charles Wilkins included a Museum (as the Directors' reference to "articles of curiosity" shows), and for over seventy years the two institutions lived side by side. But the top floor of the India Office was not an ideal position for a museum, and in 1874 the Secretary of State in Council, urged by Dr. Forbes Watson (the official Reporter on Indian Products) determined that if the Home Government would help, a great Indian Museum and Library should be built on the further side of Charles Street, but failed to secure the necessary co-operation, and other Government offices now stand on the coveted site. So the Library was severed from its twin institution, and the "curiosities" were distributed between South Kensington, Bethnal Green, the Royal School of Mines, and Kew, with the result

that the Victoria and Albert Museum has come to possess an important Indian section.

The Imperial Institute

India has also taken a large share in the foundation and maintenance of the Imperial Institute at South Kensington. When the scheme was started in 1887, contributors from India provided £114,500 of the original capital of £429,000, while further special gifts amounting to £32,500 were made for a hall, pavilion and corridor. The Ruling Princes showed a munificent interest in the idea of commemorating Queen Victoria's Jubilee by the permanent establishment of an Institute* intended "to illustrate the development of agricultural, commercial and industrial progress in Our Empire," to promote technical and commercial education, and to provide what may be termed an Imperial clearing-house for economic and commercial intelligence. The Secretary of State for India has from the first taken part in the management, and the Government of India has regularly contributed to the cost. Thus in the years 1892 to 1920 the annual payments made by the India Office aggregated £46,000. In return the Institute maintained a collection of Indian economic exhibits, provided enquirers with commercial information about India, and undertook research on Indian raw materials. The marked development in India during the last generation of scientific departments has multiplied the facilities not only for

* The somewhat chequered history of the Institute is summarised in Cmd. paper 1997 of 1923. "Report of the Imperial Institute Committee of Enquiry, etc."

local research but for providing information on the economic products of the country. The justification, therefore, from the point of view of the taxpayer, of continuing to the Imperial Institute substantial grants from Indian revenues, was necessarily re-examined, and the Government of India became more than doubtful whether the Indian contribution (which up to 1923 was £1,400 a year, appreciably more than that of all the Self-Governing Dominions put together) should not be withheld. As a result, however, of the reconstitution of the Institute in 1924, the Secretary of State is one of the Trustees, the Government of India is represented on the Board of Governors, and the Indian Legislative Assembly is to be invited for the present to make an annual grant of £1,200. The services which India might expect from the Institute in its original form had been modified not only by the advancement of practical science in India, but by the establishment in England, since 1887, of two very important new bodies, the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research and the Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau. By the 1924 settlement the Imperial Institute has been amalgamated with the latter.

The Indian Scientific Departments

The contributions made by official departments in India to scientific knowledge are far more considerable than can be stated here, and it would be misleading to claim that the India Office had very much to do with them. But on the whole both the East India Company in its later days and the

Secretary of State in Council have a creditable record as regards the encouragement and support of the actual investigators. The immediate needs of administration in a country so completely uncharted as was India when British rule became established supplied a motive for practical scientific effort. A beginning of statistical survey was made in Bengal as early as 1769, though it was not until 1867 that a survey of every British province was ordered. The work of Sir William Hunter as Director-General of Statistics (from 1870 onwards) culminated in the production of the excellent Imperial Gazetteer of India and its Provincial Supplements, whilst the series of Indian Census Reports since 1881 have not only supplied a model for work of the kind, but have through the enthusiasm of Indian civilians such as Baines, Ibbetson and Risley provided contributions of first-rate importance to the advancement of anthropology and the study of early religions. The Linguistic Survey, with which the name of Sir George Grierson is linked, has thrown light alike on the problems of comparative philology and the mentality of primitive folk. The chaotic reproduction in English of Indian place and personal names ("Isle of the Bats" for Allahabad is an extreme instance) could not be permanently tolerated, and great controversy attended all attempts to establish a system. The so-called phonetic system was open to the objection that the English language has no constant values for its vowels and little for its consonants. A "scientific" system seemed preferable if only any two authorities could agree. The alphabets of

Indian vernaculars differ as greatly from each other as from the Roman. The "Hunterian" system, while it is not absolutely logical, and gives arbitrary values to certain letters, seems, on the whole, to have justified its official adoption, a general approval of which was conveyed by the Secretary of State in 1872. No system that the mind of man or angel could conceive would prevent seven out of ten Englishmen from invariably mispronouncing alien words. The India Office from time to time receives representations, the fruit of earnest study, in favour of phonetic reform or of simplifying the writing of Indian languages by decreeing the general adoption of Roman script for official purposes. But (unlike the American Missionary Board which sternly chided a missionary returned from "Benares," when he pronounced the name in the orthodox trisyllabic way, because, after prayerful consideration, they had decided that it was "Bee-nairs") Whitehall refers these difficult problems to the authorities in India.

The India Office was for many years directly responsible for the annual Statistical Abstract presented to Parliament, a work hardly to be recommended for light reading, but has not had any very close connection with the more technical departments of the Government of India. These have, for the most part, evolved gradually, but the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council has been required for their establishment on a systematic basis, for the constitution of the several cadres and for the fixing of the pay and terms of service of the higher staff. The great Survey of India Department, with its headquarters at Dehra Dun in the United

Provinces (also the centre of Forestry research and of the training of Indian recruits for the Forest Department) may be said to have originated in the appointment in 1767 of Major Rennel as Surveyor of the Company's dominions in Bengal, and in the "mathematical and geographical survey" begun by Colonel Lambton in the Deccan in 1800, under the direct encouragement of Colonel Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington. The present department arose from the amalgamation in 1876 of the existing Trigonometrical, Topographical and Revenue Surveys. The name of Sir George Everest (Superintendent of the Trigonometrical Survey from 1823 to 1843) is perpetuated in the highest peak of the Himalayas. As early as 1818 he set his assistant, Dr. Voysey, to begin geological survey work, and this was started more systematically by Dr. Oldham in 1856, but the Geological Survey Department was not established until 1876. Officers of the Royal Engineers have played a leading part in the Indian Surveys, and Indian subordinates have done much exploration of a hazardous and adventurous kind beyond the frontiers of India.

Astronomical work was pursued throughout the nineteenth century, and in 1875 the Meteorological Department was established. The practical importance of observation of the monsoons is obvious in a country where the failure of the rains means misery to the cultivator and financial stringency through the whole field of administration, and the storm warnings issued by the department are a life and death matter to shipping in the Indian seas.

Indian Archæology

The early works of man in India provide as fascinating a study as the operations of the forces of nature, but, in spite of the individual efforts of Government officers, the story of Indian archæology covers chapters of official neglect and ignorant desecration. The early nineteenth century was terribly utilitarian, and perhaps the high watermark of the scorn of the practical Englishman for relics of musty antiquity was reached when an inscribed pillar of the Emperor Asoka was used as a road-roller, a purpose for which no doubt its size and shape were admirably adapted. Archæology is not every man's hobby, and when we remember the constant destruction in these islands of prehistoric remains and mediæval buildings by farmers and townsmen alike, we can hardly reproach the peoples of India for indifference to the monuments of their own past. But in fact Hindus, until affected by European culture, were strangely indifferent to the claims of history, and the magnificent architectural work of Muhammadan rulers was often neglected by their descendants. Anyone who has visited the wonderful series of mediæval tombs that covers the plains for miles to the south of modern Delhi must be struck by a notable difference between Muhammadan and Western ideas about the memorials of the dead. In Europe a cathedral became not only the centre of religious worship but the place in which it was thought fitting to commemorate famous men. In Hindustan, however, while great congregational mosques

like the Jama Masjid of Delhi have provided permanent places of worship, a separate tomb, often with a mosque attached, was built for each great ruler. (It must be remembered that here a "tomb" means not only the actual resting place of the dead, but very often, a magnificent building—such as the Taj Mahal at Agra or Humayun's Tomb near Delhi—erected over the grave.) Princes of successive dynasties find a common resting-place at Winchester or Westminster, but almost every Emperor of Delhi was given his own huge mausoleum, and as dynasties fell and were forgotten, their monuments were left to decay. We have sometimes been guilty of vandalism in India, but we have done more than any Indian rulers to preserve the memorials of the past, and if enlightened Indian opinion is now alive to the duty, as a matter of national pride, of guarding the great works of Indian architects, the impulse has largely come from England. Lord Canning in 1860 appointed Sir Alexander Cunningham to take charge of archæological work, and, as far as in it lay, the India Office has encouraged the efforts of those Governors-General who realised the importance of the subject. Sixty years ago the Secretary of State in Council urged that "the preservation of the historical monuments of India and their accurate description by competent observers were objects well deserving the attention of Government," and though the Government of India under Lord Lawrence abolished the six-year-old Archæological Department, the Duke of Argyll as Secretary of State pressed for its restoration. Dr. Forbes Watson of the India

Office drew up in 1869 a report on the best means of illustrating the archaic architecture of India, though it was left to a non-official, James Fergusson, to produce the first notable book on Indian architecture, which may be said to have paved the way for all later students. Archæological work when reopened was left in the hands of the several Provincial Governments (in 1874 the Secretary of State had to urge Madras to fall into line), and it was not until the enthusiasm and energy of Lord Curzon were brought to bear that the work of archæological survey was put on a fitting basis. Lord Curzon's dismay at the appalling results in certain places of neglect or of unintelligent restoration galvanised officialism into energy. Not only have the well-known monuments of the past been placed at last under competent guardianship, but the explorations and excavations conducted by Sir John Marshall, the Director-General of Archæology, have recovered forgotten chapters of Indian history. Admirable work has been done in the field, and the museums at Calcutta, Madras, Lahore and Peshawar, have provided students with inspiring collections of Indian sculpture and ancient relics. The Government Schools of Art, at first too much inclined to force incongruous Western methods on Indian students, have come to understand the beauty and value of the Indian fine arts. But there is still abundant scope for such unofficial activities as those fostered by the India Society of London and kindred associations in India. It can fairly be said that the India Office, while claiming no *expertise* in the worlds of art and archæology, has

on occasion opposed successfully the efforts of "sophisters, economists and calculators" to withdraw Government aid from archæological research.

Literary Patronage

The London School of Oriental Studies in Finsbury Circus has from the first been subsidised by the Secretary of State in Council, who is represented on its Governing Body. Apart from any questions of encouraging, on general principles, the teaching in England of Indian languages, he is directly concerned with this School, as with the Indian Institute at Oxford (for which also a grant is made), because Selected Candidates for the Indian Civil Service who pass their period of probation at London University now receive their instruction at the Oriental School, while the lectures to Indian Civil Service probationers at Oxford are delivered in the Indian Institute there.

How far the Government of India and the India Office should support from State funds the publication of works of learning is a difficult question which in the past has been answered with varying degrees of liberality. Given the conditions of Indian administration, it is of direct interest to Government that there should be good dictionaries and grammars of the Indian languages. Scientific works on Indian subjects do not stand in quite the same position and when we pass to history, theology, and literature in general, more difficult questions arise. The patronage of letters is a fine tradition in Asia. Students of Persian literature will remember how Mahmud of Ghazni was satirised for his

niggardliness to poets while other monarchs were lauded for their generosity. State patronage was capricious. Sa'adi complains that a king might punish for a compliment or reward an insult with a robe of honour. But the principle has always been acknowledged in India, and the British authorities, though they have never appointed an Indian laureate, recognise the learning of distinguished Pundits and Maulvis by honorific titles and pecuniary grants. There would be obvious objections to the award from Indian funds of literary pensions to European writers, and it is rightly held that authors in this country, even if they have devoted their studies to Indian matters, must look (not very hopefully, perhaps) to the British Civil List pensions for aid if they fall into need. But the case is rather different as regards the provision of financial aid for the actual production of learned works which will be of service to India. A Secretary of State was responsible for the production under the editorship of Sir Joseph Hooker of the great work on the Flora of India, and the elaborate and comprehensive series of works on the Fauna of India, now under the editorship of Sir Arthur Shipley, is supported by the India Office. The Committee of 1877, already mentioned, laid down the sound principle that "it is inexpedient to expend the revenues of India in literary patronage, except in cases where it appears that the work itself will be useful to India, and when either from its costliness or other causes, its publication cannot be expected to repay private enterprise." Patronage in the form of ordering a very large number of copies of a book had been somewhat

indiscriminately applied in the past, but a definite "Literary Grant" was established after the report of this Committee. This has varied in amount, and has had to cover not only patronage of new works, but the expenses of the Library (other than the salaries of its officials) the publication of Library catalogues, and all outlay on repairing, binding and occasionally publishing the India Office Records. Amongst non-official publications which have been "patronised" by the India Office may be mentioned the Sacred Books of the East, the Encyclopædia of Islam, Hunter's "Indian Empire," and Schlich's "Manual of Forestry," besides several Anglo-Oriental dictionaries. It has been arranged that for the future all questions of literary patronage outside India shall be handled by the High Commissioner in London.

The Geographical Department

The India Office, which possesses a very large collection of maps, maintained for some years a separate Geographical Department, over which Sir Clements Markham presided. He rather fancifully traced the spiritual ancestry of his office back to Archdeacon Richard Hakluyt, appointed Historiographer to the East India Company in 1601, and his legatee the Rev. Samuel Purchas. At the end of the eighteenth century the Admiralty and the East India House shared a Hydrographer, but later on Sir Charles Wilkins, the Librarian, was in charge of the Indian geographical records. The great Atlas of India was begun in London by Mr. John Walker, who passed from the East India House to

the service of the Secretary of State, but the work was transferred to India in 1869. In the preceding year Mr. Markham had been put in charge of geographical work at the India Office, and his ten years' tenure of the post was marked by great activity, incidentally chronicled in his interesting Memoir* on the work of the scientific departments in India. From the continuation of the record by Mr. Black† we learn that in 1875 the Auditor paralysed the unfortunate geographical staff by calling for a complete detailed account of the stock of maps. One can picture weeks of dusty activity spent in unrolling bundles and counting their contents. The branch was not quite choked, but after Sir Clements' retirement it took a subordinate place, and finally found shelter in the Registry and Records Department.

The India Office Records

This department was formed in 1884: the earlier arrangements for handling Indian Records have been so fully described by Sir William Foster in one of his publications‡ that it is unnecessary in these pages to attempt to repeat the story. The department took over two definite functions, the handling of current correspondence and the custody of historical documents. A very good system of registration of papers is applied by the Registry

* "A Memoir of Indian Surveys," by Clements Markham, 2nd edition, 1878.

† "Indian Surveys, 1875-1890," by C. E. D. Black, 1891.

‡ "A Guide to the India Office Records, 1600-1858," by William Foster, C.I.E., London, 1919.

branches attached to each department, while the Central Registry and Mails branch, Telegrams branch and Parliamentary Records branch serve the whole Office.

Just as history has been defined as past politics, so current departmental papers by lapse of time become "records" and pass from the registries to the Records branch. In Government offices as in private households a balance must be struck between the rival human tendencies to destroy old letters as rubbish and to treasure every scrap of print or writing, and the weeding out of superfluous matter before departmental papers are bound up into volumes requires a nice discrimination. The India Office is more fortunate than most of the other branches of the Home Civil Service in that the Government Secretariats and Record Offices in India can sometimes supply for the benefit of the historical student papers that have not been preserved in London. Apart from actual correspondence between the Home and the Indian Governments, the latter produce annually an enormous mass of printed matter, either published for official use in the shape of Gazettes, "Proceedings" of their departments (i.e. reprints of the most important correspondence), Administrative Reports, and special reports on subjects so diverse as forests, fisheries, agricultural co-operation, archæology, educational progress or criminal tribes. The India Office receives copies of all these.

The historic Records cover not only the story of British intercourse with India, but a mass of information about the Asiatic policy of other

European Powers, and details of the Company's activities in regions as widely apart as St. Helena and the China Seas. The old General Records are open to students, while access to the older "Secret" papers kept in the Political Department, dealing with the conduct of Indian foreign policy, is allowed under special conditions for purposes of serious historical research. Much has been done in the way of calendaring, and the textual publication of, the East India Company's letters to its servants in the East; while a series of writers on Indian history, among whom may be mentioned Sir George Birdwood, Mr. F. C. Danvers, Mr. Sainsbury, Mr. S. C. Hill, Sir George Forrest, and Sir William Foster, have given to the public the results of their researches in the India Office Records.

Chapter XV

THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA

The Stores Department—The Students Department

The High Commissioner is an officer of the Government of India located in London, who acts under instructions from his own Government, and whose establishment is entirely distinct from that of the India Office.

Lord Crewe's Committee in 1919 considered that "the time has come for a demarcation between the agency work of the India Office and its political and administrative functions, and that the step would commend itself to all classes of opinion in India as marking a stage towards full Dominion status." It therefore recommended the transfer of all agency work to "a High Commissioner for India or some similar Indian Governmental representative in London." The Act of the same year made provision for the appointment of a High Commissioner by His Majesty by Order in Council, which might delegate to the new official any of the contractual powers of the Secretary of State in Council, and prescribe the conditions under which he should act on behalf of the Government of India or any Provincial Government.* The necessary Order in Council was made on August 13th, 1920, and Sir William Meyer, ex-Member of

* Cmd. 207 of 1919, p. 11. Government of India Act, S.29A.