

THE BRITISH MUSEUM LIBRARY AND THE INDIA OFFICE

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SOME five years after an encouraging approach to the Colonial Office concerning colonial copyright deposit,¹ an active Trustee of the British Museum and a personal friend of Panizzi, Lord Elgin,² was appointed as Viceroy of India. Winter Jones quickly reminded the Principal Librarian of

a conversation Mr. Watts and myself had with you sometime ago respecting the difficulty of farming [*sic*] for the Museum Library the books printed in the East Indies. It was suggested on that occasion that the appointment of the Earl of Elgin to the post of Governor General [*sic*] of India might perhaps present an opportunity of facilitating somewhat the collection of the works in question if his Lordship could be induced to give directions upon the subject.³

As a result of this memorandum and following instructions which he encouraged the Trustees to give him, Panizzi wrote in March 1862 to Lord Elgin:

Knowing the lively interest your Excellency takes in all matters that tend to the advantage of the Museum, the Trustees have directed me to submit for Your E's consideration whether it might not be possible to devise measures for obtaining with the co-operation of the Indian Government, and as opportunities occur, such works already published or printed in India as are wanting in the Natl. Lib. as well as for procuring regularly and speedily the works hereafter published or printed in that part of the Empire.⁴

Elgin replied from Calcutta on 21 May requesting more specific information about the deficiencies and what was wanted. However, he pointed out that he knew of only three classes of works published in India:

1st Works published by the Govmt. – you can no doubt obtain a regular supply of these from the India Office if you apply.

2nd Works published or republished by the Asiatic Society here – I daresay that I could arrange to have copies of this class of works sent to you regularly if you desire it.

3rd Works of the day that issue in the ordinary way from the press – most of the native publications are I apprehend of little value – but some may be interesting – Would you wish a selection to be made of the best of them for the Museum?⁵

To this response Panizzi wrote an official reply on 8 July informing Lord Elgin that the



*Fig. 1. Lord Elgin, Viceroy of India 1862–3.
IOLR Photo 303/1(37a)*

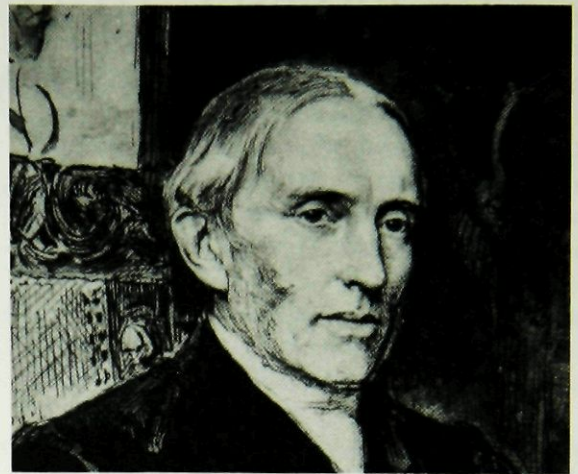


Fig. 2. Sir Louis Mallet, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, 1874–83. IOLR P1627

Trustees had not met since his letter was received and adding that he thought they would direct him, Panizzi, to apply, as Elgin suggested, to the India Office for the regular supply of works published by the Indian Government. He also assured Elgin that the Trustees would be indebted to him if he could obtain a complete set of the Asiatic Society publications. Panizzi then continued:

With respect to the works published in the ordinary way, it is considered important that the whole of them should be obtained for the Museum if possible; as a selection, upon whatever principles... would not afford the requisite materials for forming a definite judgement upon the state and the progress of the literature of so important a part of the Empire. The Copyright Act 5 & 6 Vict., Cap. 45 Sect. XXIX enacts, 'That this Act shall extend to the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and to every part of the British Dominions.' The British Museum is, therefore, legally entitled to a copy of every book, map, print, &c. published in India; and I would beg leave to submit for your Excellency's consideration, how far and by what means that Act could be made operative in India by the Authority of Your Excellency's Government.⁶

He followed this on 10 July with a private letter telling Elgin that he had replied in the absence of the Trustees so that His Lordship could 'give directions with respect to the subject to [his] subordinates'. Panizzi further emphasized that, in general, documents, papers and tracts, of little importance to private individuals were very desirable in a public collection where they would be preserved and might, in the course of time, prove of great use historically or otherwise (see fig. 3).⁷

Shortly after this, on 28 July, Panizzi was able to send a note to Winter Jones telling him that information had been sent from the Secretary of State for India that Dr Ballantyne, the Librarian of the India Office in Cannon Row,⁸ had been authorized to furnish the Museum Library with copies of any works printed in India of which there were duplicates in the library of the India Office. Ballantyne had also been instructed to give any further information and assistance that it might be in his power to render.

Winter Jones was, therefore, to place himself 'in communication' with Ballantyne for the purpose, and to report the results to the Trustees.⁹

Although this approach and the responses seemed straightforward and promising, when it came to fulfilling requests from the British Museum the situation soon became very complicated. As early as 1795 regulations had been passed in some provinces of India under East India Company jurisdiction for the control of printing and for the despatch of items to the Honourable Court of Directors of the Company in London. In 1847 an Act was passed for 'the encouragement of learning ... by defining and providing for the enforcement of the right called Copyright'¹⁰ but this emphasized registration and did not provide for deposit.

In 1863 the Royal Asiatic Society, London, which, like the British Museum, was pressing the India Office to help it obtain publications from India, suggested that if the actual works could not be supplied it might be possible to have quarterly lists of titles collected for the India Office Library 'according to the tabular form proposed by R.A.S.'¹¹ so that those interested in obtaining Indian publications would at least have an idea of what had been produced. It seems likely that these approaches had some influence on the Indian Government Act of 1867. This specified which details of each title were to be registered in a memorandum of books (the memorandum to be published quarterly); also that delivery of 'three printed copies' was to be made to an officer of the local government: one to be transmitted to the Secretary of State for India, another to be disposed of as the Governor General of India in Council should direct and the remaining copy to be deposited in such public library as the local government should determine. The Act also stated that if the book was for sale the officer to whom it was supplied should 'pay the publisher for the ... copies at the rate at which the book shall be ... sold ... to the public'.¹² The registers were often printed as supplements to the provincial official gazettes.

The Trustees of the British Museum urged the Government of India to send multiple copies of the lists to their Library so that they could be used for selection purposes.¹³ However, Trübner, the Museum's main agent for India, was frequently more successful than were the Indian authorities in obtaining both the lists and the books. Some copies of the registers held in the archives of the former Departments of Printed Books and of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books bear Trübner's stamp and his many invoices show clearly which items, selected from the lists, he supplied to the Library.

With many other difficulties facing them and with the practical impossibility of enforcing overseas the deposit provision of the 1842 Copyright Act the Museum officials were, as we have seen,¹⁴ willing to purchase required works when they became available. Nevertheless, with India, as with the Colonies, regular efforts were made to obtain what the Library staff considered their due. A summary of the tortuous and frustrating negotiations between officials at the British Museum and those in various sections of the India Office exists in both the India Office Records and in the archives of the British Museum's Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts.¹⁵ From the point of view of the India Office, Col. Yule noted in 1878 that:

Musical Museum
July 10th 1862

My Dear Lord

I have had the honor of
receiving your Lordship's letter
of the 21st of May to which I
beg to return a sort of offi-
cial answer thinking that
your Lordship will have to give
directions

with respect to the subjects
to which it refers to your co-
ordinator.

Permit me to add in gen-
eral that documents, paper
tracts & of little importance
to private individuals are very
desirable in a public col-
lection

lection where they are
preserved and may prove of
great use historically or often
use in the course of time.

There is nothing new here.
I believe the government is
determined to persist in carrying
out the separation of the National
history

history collections from the
rest of the Museum. The
Duke of Portland has nominated
the Earl of Ellesmere Hon-
orary Treasurer in the place
of Earl Canning. With great
truth & respect

Your Excellency's
most obliged
Panizzi

Fig. 3. Letter of Panizzi to Lord Elgin, 10 July 1862. IOR, MSS Eur F 83/24, pp. 827-30

There is sure to be confusion about this matter from the fact that the correspondence seems to have gone on in the Public Department and part in the (so-called) Statistics and Commerce Dept. ... there is one Minute Paper and India letter from the former Dept. and one with several drafts in the latter... And independently of this there are matters here that want a little disentangling.

- (1) We requested the Govt. of India ... to transmit ... only such works as appear of interest, and to retain any others, a catalogue of *all works* being periodically forwarded to this office.

The reply to this ... is that it would be so impracticable to arrange for the selection of works 'of interest', that they propose to continue to require the deposit of books under the Act, but not to forward any to England except those that Dr. Rost¹⁶ may name, for transmission, from the Quarterly Catalogue.

The books not asked for will be resold in India to the best advantage.

- (2) In October 1876 the Librarian of the B. Museum addressed Ld. Salisbury,¹⁷ pointing out that under the Copyright Act the Trustees are entitled to receive a copy of every work published in India, but ... [noting that the] difficulties ... of ... enforcing [this] ... [are] very great. The Trustees however now informed that by Indian law a publisher is obliged to deposit 4 (really 3) copies of every book with Govt., for which he receives payment, ... suggested whether it might not be arranged to have a 5th (really a 4th) copy deposited at the same time for which the BM would pay.¹⁸

Believing that the Museum authorities were willing to pay for publications they received, the Secretary of State forwarded the request from the Museum, and a reminder that the other copyright libraries also had a claim, to the Government of India via the Statistics and Commerce Department.¹⁹ The response, received through the Public Department,²⁰ and sent to the British Museum by Sir Louis Mallet,²¹ was that the Copyright Act had never been enforced, but that the Indian Government had determined to amend their own Act of 1867 so as to meet the request of the Trustees and the requirements of the English Copyright Act. Three copies of each work were required for deposit in India, but it was not clear 'except that there might perhaps be some technical difficulties' why no provision was made to supply the British Museum.²²

The Trustees soon discovered that Indian publications were much more numerous than they had originally supposed, and that adherence to their former proposal would, according to the India Office, 'saddle them with a larger expenditure than they could afford' as well as with some books that they did not require. Winter Jones, now Principal Librarian, had written on 16 November 1877 to Lord Salisbury that the

Trustees decline to *pay* for all Indian publications: especially as they are entitled to all works gratuitously. They therefore suggest that it might not be difficult to collect (claim for the Museum) a fourth copy (i.e. in addition to the three *purchased* ... by the Indian Government).²³

Yule noted that 'as three copies of all works published in India are *now* collected by the Govt. [which are *paid for*] there could be little difficulty about collecting a fourth for the Museum',²⁴ but he believed that it was highly improbable that the Government of India would introduce a bill to facilitate the operation of the English Copyright Act in India

by enforcing the delivery there of a copy of every book, 'without payment for the B. Museum' and in any case it would not meet the demands of the Act which required that 'in the Br. Dominions outside the United Km. [books] shall be delivered on behalf of the publisher *at* the Museum, within 12 months from publication'. However, the Trustees, conscious of their responsibilities to ensure the appropriate use of 'public money'²⁵ wished to have the matter raised with the 'Governor General' and a telegram was sent to India on 11 January 1878 stating that the British Museum declined to pay and that legal advice was to be sought of 'those most competent to judge'. This, as had been predicted, produced the statement that 'it is not incumbent by Indian Law on publishers to supply works to Government gratis'.

Erskine Perry, a member of the India Office Council,²⁶ suggested that the India Office should tell the British Museum the course they meant to adopt and offer to ask for the Museum copy whenever the India Office thought it expedient. Further, it was proposed that to meet the Museum's objectives still more fully without difficulty or expense to the Trustees they might be asked to pay for the 'duplicate *selected* books and their carriage', and for 'the *carriage only* of our *rejected* books (which the Govt. of India continue to collect and might continue to send to us)'. In this way the Museum would have 'at very small cost a *complete set* of Indian publications'. In order further to assist the Museum a promise was made to supply, regularly, the quarterly book lists and to give every facility to any agent deputed for enquiry or inspection at the registration office in India. The lists were to be marked by Dr Haas,²⁷ the Museum's selector of Indian books, in conjunction with Rost to save the trouble and expense of employing an agent in India for both libraries. All books were to be sent 'in one consignment to the Indian [*sic*] Office'. The India Office agreed to supply six lists as requested and to forward them when marked.²⁸ Two notes were added to the memorandum in the India Office. One by Sir Robert Montgomery, another member of the Council,²⁹ agreeing with Perry's suggestion and the second by W. G. Pedder, Secretary, Correspondence Department, Revenue, Statistics and Commerce³⁰ who wrote

I have spoken to Mr. Newton³¹ (acting Librarian BM) once on this subject. I do not think he desires any more than we do here to obtain all the trash published in India. But there are some who think with Lord Macaulay³² that what is considered trash now may be valuable matter some hundred years hence. However we have nothing to do with B. Museum views – and if they desire to get copies of every work they must trust to their own devices and obtain them...

Luckily not all those involved had such a parochial outlook and in March 1878 the Keeper of Printed Books, Bullen, was able to report to the Trustees that the Government of India was willing to undertake the duty of procuring and transmitting to England the books selected for the Trustees from the quarterly catalogues. He promised the Trustees that he would ensure that a selection of suitable works was made and that he would pay for them out of the annual grant.³³ The Indian Government Resolution no. 1641, of September 1878 noted

7...the books selected for the Museum and for the Indian Library, *i.e.* those marked in the quarterly catalogues by Dr. Haas of the Museum, and Dr. Rost of the India Office, may be sent home in the same consignment...five copies of the catalogues may be sent for the use of the British Museum in addition to the one [already] asked for.³⁴

Over the next few years the arrangement developed uncertainly. Books and quarterly lists went missing, invoices were disputed and the correspondence was at times acrimonious especially when offers were made and then rescinded without adequate explanation. Eventually it was agreed that the books should be gathered in book depots by local government officers in India, sent to the India Office and forwarded from there to the Museum while payment for the items was made by the Indian government and then claimed from the Museum via the India Office in London. But this did not work any better and in 1881 some of the items were wrongly labelled as 'Presented'.³⁵ In December 1882, Pedder wrote to the Principal Librarian that the 'whole question of the supply of books and of charges to be made for them remains at present in some confusion'. By April 1883 a more straightforward system was thought to have been agreed and a letter of confirmation was sent to the Museum from the India Office stating:

a) that, on receipt of information expected from the Government of India, a definite claim will be made for publications already sent to the Museum of which no accounts have as yet been received at the India Office.

b) that, from the beginning of the present year, a regular system is proposed, viz: that parcels addressed to the Museum be forwarded from the India Office on receipt, and a claim transmitted at the end of each quarter for the value, as far as ascertained from the Indian government.³⁶

However, in May 1883, Bendall, the Assistant who had succeeded Haas in the care of the Museum's Indian collections, wrote to W. Thacker & Co. at Newgate Street, London, that the Trustees had directed the employment of an agent in India and that the Keeper of Printed Books desired 'to ascertain terms on which you would be willing to accept'. The services required were:

(1) to receive from the Registrars...the quarterly lists which the Indian Government has agreed to supply to the British Museum...of their publications from each of the Presidencies and Provinces; namely Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Mysore, Punjab, the North-West Provinces, Assam and Burma: occasionally also...the Hyderabad Assigned Districts and...the Central Provinces...

(2) *To supply books.* [The] lists [would be]...returned at once...marked...[In] Bengal, Bombay and Madras, the agent would...purchase...from the publishers or vendors and the same...[for] the Punjab...[The] remaining provinces...for the present to continue the existing arrangement, by which the several governments purchase the books for the British Museum. The Agent...simply...[to] receive and transmit the books.³⁷

This arrangement did not prove successful either and, just over a year later, in August 1884, Thacker, Spink & Co. of Calcutta wrote to

bring to your notice...the extreme difficulty we have experienced in our search for the books required...[These are] published by native presses, many of which are broken up and disappear very soon after being started,...other [publishers could] not read English, and living in outlying districts, were unable to get their letters translated. Other native publishers again positively refuse to sell...[For] the other two Presidencies [Bombay and Madras]...so great a distance from Calcutta...[we] would suggest...your communicating with a firm of Booksellers in each...with a view to their undertaking the supply of books in their respective Presidencies...

We had no idea... that the class of books required for the Museum would include so large a proportion of cheap publications...the difficulty of procuring which is greater than...the recompense for the labour involved.³⁸

In 1884 Bendall received special leave to visit India. Although he received a grant from the University of Cambridge to purchase for it Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in Nepal, he was not given any financial assistance by the Museum. He was, however, instructed to act on behalf of the Trustees in procuring some Sanskrit manuscripts and in visiting Messrs Thacker, Spink & Co. as well as searching for other agents.

The success of his trip is fully recorded in his June 1885 'Report of Tour'. Messrs Thacker, Spink & Co. had agreed to attempt to supply books from the whole of India except the Bombay Presidency and the North West Provinces. Bendall therefore urged that their commission should be raised from ten to fifteen or twenty per cent. He had also had several interviews with the Home Secretary of the Government in India who had expressed 'the most cordial desire to meet the wishes of the Trustees as to the book-supply'. Bendall recommended that the Trustees write to the Secretary of State for India requesting him to have instructions issued to various local governments which would assist the agents to obtain books published elsewhere than in the Presidency towns, 'it being understood that the agents remit to the Local Magistrate the value of the book in each case'.³⁹ For Bombay, Bendall suggested appointing the Curator of the Book Depot as agent (his commission to be five per cent as fixed by the Government of Bombay) and instructing him to send his accounts direct to the Museum. In the North West Provinces, he recommended the use of Bray Vhushan Das, bookseller of Benares.⁴⁰ Most of his suggestions were implemented. The Museum authorities did not, however, relax their efforts to press the claim for deposit copies and, according to a pencil note in the Oriental Department archives, H. Walpole⁴¹ of the India Office wrote to the Principal Librarian, Bond, on 22 August 1885 that Lord Randolph Churchill⁴² was concerned to see the proposed agency established and had communicated with the Government of India who had been requested to give directions for creating it.

In 1890 the Government of India revised its Copyright Act and the Museum was then able to claim a 'free copy of such new publications' as it required.⁴³ The Keeper, Garnett, immediately wrote to Burma, Bengal, Assam, Bombay, Northwest Province, Madras and Mysore calling attention to the 'New Copyright Act'.⁴⁴ But even this Act did not provide the Museum with a totally free set of Indian publications. The Madras Registrar of Books wrote to Bendall, 'In future, the Trustees of the British Museum will have to bear only the postage, Freight, Copyregister charges, but need not pay the selling

✓ 105	Kalidasa's Ramayana.	" "	" "
✓ 106	Ramayana with notes by Ram Charan Das	" "	6
✓ 107	Antiquities of India (Vol. 1) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 108	Antiquities of India (Vol. 2) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 109	Antiquities of India (Vol. 3) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 110	Antiquities of India (Vol. 4) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 111	Antiquities of India (Vol. 5) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 112	Antiquities of India (Vol. 6) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 113	Antiquities of India (Vol. 7) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 114	Antiquities of India (Vol. 8) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 115	Antiquities of India (Vol. 9) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 116	Antiquities of India (Vol. 10) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 117	Antiquities of India (Vol. 11) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 118	Antiquities of India (Vol. 12) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 119	Antiquities of India (Vol. 13) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 120	Antiquities of India (Vol. 14) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 121	Antiquities of India (Vol. 15) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 122	Antiquities of India (Vol. 16) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 123	Antiquities of India (Vol. 17) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 124	Antiquities of India (Vol. 18) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 125	Antiquities of India (Vol. 19) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 126	Antiquities of India (Vol. 20) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 127	Antiquities of India (Vol. 21) (50 p. in)	" "	" "
✓ 128	Antiquities of India (Vol. 22) (50 p. in)	" "	" "

Fig. 4. The Calcutta Gazette, 27 November 1889, containing a catalogue of books for the first quarter of 1889, with an attached list of books selected from it and received at the British Museum in 1891. OMPB Archives, Bengal Publications 1887 to 1889

prices of books'.⁴⁵ In 1891 Garnett wrote to the Secretary of the Government of India calling attention to the case of some 'very valuable works on philology and other sciences...printed at various Government Presses in India' but not registered in the quarterly lists.⁴⁶ The works which evaded registration continued to cause problems. Some of the collecting agents sent such books with invoices. These were paid.

As already mentioned, the India Office treated official publications as a separate issue. Lord Elgin in his correspondence with Panizzi had suggested that a regular supply of Indian government documents could be obtained by applying direct to the India Office. This was done and Resolution no. 1641 summarized the position regarding their supply:

In January 1877, the Secretary of State decided that, as a rule, a copy of each official publication received from India should be presented to the following institutions:—

British Museum	Advocates' Library, Edinburgh
Bodleian Library, Oxford	Trinity College, Dublin
University Library, Cambridge	Royal Asiatic Society

2. Home Department Resolution No. 61-2548, dated 10th October 1874, regarding the distribution of official publications, [states that these] might be sent to the Secretary of State for transmission to the British Museum.

In 1879 Bullen reported to the Trustees that 'three parcels of Books, consisting of official Reports and Documents, in 110 vols. and parts, have been presented to the Museum by the India Office'.⁴⁷

When, in 1883, the Government of India was asked by the Treasury Committee considering the exchange of official documents if it wished to establish a complete interchange of its public documents with Great Britain the Under Secretary of State replied that it was impossible to make a practical distinction between the India Office and the three Governments in India, and that the latter should be treated as foreign governments. In any case the objective of the Committee which was to investigate the potential benefit of such a suggestion was already attained under existing arrangements as

Copies of all books published by the Secretary of State for India, and of all official documents published by the different Governments in India, so far as numbers are available...are regularly furnished to the British Museum...[although] official publications are occasionally issued in India, copies of which are not sent home, or are not sent in numbers sufficient to...[transmit] a copy to the Museum.

However, an assurance was given that the 'Governments of India, of Madras and of Bombay' would now be requested to forward a sufficient number of copies of 'all their official publications to ensure a regular and complete supply to the British Museum of all those which that Institution is prepared to receive'.⁴⁸

This promise was not apparently honoured. In 1892 C. J. Lyall, Secretary of the Government of India,⁴⁹ wrote to the Chief Commissioner, Burma. Firstly, he noted the four classes of works which should be supplied to the British Museum:

- (1) books registered under Act XXV of 1867 as amended by Act X of 1890
- (2) official publications
- (3) publications exempted from registration under Act XXV of 1867
- (4) books presented to the Museum by authors, publishers and others.

He then remarked on the complaints by Museum officials about the 'omission to supply' official publications under Home Resolution no. 1641, which specified that local governments and administrators were to send 'ten copies' to the Secretary, Statistics and Commerce Department, India Office. Furthermore, the Home Department Circular no. 8-1037-46 of 31 August 1883 had called attention to this Resolution and it had 'requested more regular transmission to the India Office [for] the British Museum'.⁵⁰

In a 'Memorandum relative to the supply of Indian Official Publications to the Library, British Museum', prepared in 1894 to assist the Principal Librarian in writing to the India Office, Frank Campbell⁵¹ gave details of the various publications issued by the several Governments of India which were almost totally unrepresented in the Museum Library. These were (i) Imperial and provincial gazettes, (ii) military publications, (iii) publications relating to patents and designs. There were also serious deficiencies in the collections of works issued by the Legislative Department and the Office of Reporter on Economic Products, India. He concluded that, as far as could be estimated, although the number of Indian official publications received was considerably greater than in past years, the Museum still was only receiving 'perhaps half the number of Reports actually published by the Governments of India during the year'.⁵²

At the end of the century Campbell left the Museum because of a dispute with the Trustees over the publication of his *Index-Catalogue of Indian Official Publications in the Library, British Museum*.⁵³ The responsibility for recording and arranging works, both official and commercial, received by deposit from the colonies and from India in the Department of Printed Books passed to his 'boy', F. D. Cooper.⁵⁴ In both that Department and in the Oriental Department works published in India continued to be selected from the quarterly lists. These were requested from India and sent to the Museum at regular intervals. From 1937 onwards the number of items despatched from the sub-continent decreased markedly.⁵⁵ Following independence the new Dominion of India Government decided in May 1948 'to terminate the copyright privilege forthwith in respect both of the [India Office] Library and of the British Museum'.⁵⁶ A. S. Fulton, Keeper of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, reported to the Trustees in July 1949 the unsatisfactory state of Indian acquisitions 'owing to the breakdown in India of the machinery whereby for the past eighty years such books were procured and despatched to the Museum free of cost'.⁵⁷

In an attempt to find a solution to the problems of the supply of South Asian publications, Fulton met in November 1950 with Stanley Sutton, Librarian of the India Office and James Pearson, Librarian of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University. They proposed to seek the services of D. M. Horsburgh, a former Assistant Keeper at the India Office Library who had recently gone out to India.⁵⁸ As

London booksellers were found unable to supply the books required, it was felt that the only solution was 'to have a skilled agent on the spot' who could compile lists of current publications and who could also give advice on which Indian booksellers might provide a consistent service. For the supply of official publications Museum officials negotiated exchanges. As with some of the other colonial or commonwealth countries, publishers who either distributed their books in the United Kingdom or who wished to have them recorded in the General Catalogue of the Department of Printed Books sent works to the British Museum Copyright Receipt Office. The struggle to ensure that a full range of publications was received by finding regular, reliable suppliers is outside the scope of this article.⁵⁹

Perhaps the greatest paradox in this story is the fact that on 1 April 1982 the India Office Library was united with its former rival, protagonist and supplicant, the British Museum Library, which from July 1973 had become part of the newly constituted British Library. Then, at the beginning of 1991, the collections of the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, already under the same management as the India Office Library and Records and renamed the Oriental Collections, were moved to the same building as those of the former India Office and have now become the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library. These two major resources for the study of South Asia, now combined, have become what is perhaps the greatest oriental library in existence. Certainly, when they join the other humanities, social sciences, patents, science, technology, map and manuscript collections in the British Library's new St Pancras building in 1996 they will become part of one of the foremost library collections to be gathered under one roof.

TABLE I. REGISTERS AND RECEIPTS FOR PRINTED BOOKS RECEIVED BY
COLONIAL COPYRIGHT HELD IN OMPB

Ajmer Merwara	1883-1942
Ajmer	Sept. 1946-May 1948
Assam	1874-1912, 1933-June 1934, Mar. 1924-Dec. 1940
Bangalore, see Mysore	
Bengal	1830-70 (1863*), 1874-90, 1903-54*, May 1914 (II quarter, 1912)-June 1928 (I quarter 1927), Mar. 1932 (IV quarter, 1930)-Nov. 1948 (IV quarter, 1945), Apr. 1960
Bihar & Orissa	1912-39
Bihar	1936-52, Aug. 1956-Dec. 1957
Orissa	1936-54
Bombay	1867-1948, Dec. 1897 (III quarter 1896)-May 1918 (II quarter 1916), Sept. 1932 (IV quarter 1929)-Mar. 1948 (II quarter 1945)
Official Publications	Sept. 1892-Mar. 1901
Central Provinces	1875-1948
Ceylon	1885-1957, 1960-4, July 1896 (I quarter 1890)-Aug. 1929 (I quarter 1927), Mar. 1958-July 1960, Sept. 1959-Oct. 1960
Cochin State	1937 (IV quarter)-1947 (III quarter)
Cyprus	Dec. 1893-1930*, 1933-7
Delhi	1929-46
Hong Kong	July 1888-Mar. 1915, Sept. 1922-Dec. 1931, June 1933-Sept. 1947, Sept. 1954
Kannada	Mar. 1936-Apr. 1947

Madras	1869-1946*, Nov. 1912 (I quarter 1912)-Nov. 1925 (III quarter 1923), Feb. 1933 (I quarter 1929)-Sept. 1948 (II quarter 1946)
Malta	1888-1909, Apr. 1910-July 1912
Mauritius	Sept.-Dec. 1948
Mysore & Bangalore	1905-15
Bangalore	1884-5, 1889-1904, 1916-47
Mysore	1874-86, 1889-1904, 1916-54
North West Province & Oudh	Oct. 1898 (I quarter 1896)-Jan. 1925 (IV quarter 1923)
North West Province	1869-1902
Oudh	1873-7
Patiala & Kapurthala States	1924 (13 books & tracts worthy of notice), 1925 (15 books & tracts worthy of notice)
Punjab	1874-1958, Dec. 1897 (III quarter 1894)-Feb. 1926 (IV quarter), 1926, 1928, 1931 (1 book or tract worthy of notice for each year)
Sind	1936-42
Straits Settlements	May 1887-Dec. 1938, Apr. 1910-July 1912, Mar. 1937-Mar. 1941
Singapore	Dec. 1946-Mar. 1954
United Provinces	1903-57

Miscellaneous volumes

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| (1) United Provinces & Madras | 1925-31 |
| Bengal | 1927 (II quarter 1926)-June 1928 |
| Madras | Jan. 1925-Nov. 1931 (I quarter 1928) |
| United Provinces | Apr. 1925 (IV quarter 1923)-Jan. 1930 (II quarter 1925) |
| (2) Bombay & Miscellaneous | May 1918 (II quarter 1916)-Feb. 1932 (IV quarter 1930) |
| Burma | |
| Bihar & Orissa | |
| (3) Miscellaneous | Nov. 1897 (I quarter 1897)-Apr. 1919 (II quarter 1918) |
| Central Provinces | |
| Assam | |
| Hyderabad Assigned Districts | |
| Ajmer-Merwara | |
| Burma | |
| (4) Miscellaneous | Apr. 1919 (II quarter 1917)-Aug. 1931 (IV quarter 1930) |
| Bihar & Orissa | |
| Ajmer-Merwara | |
| Burma | |
| Assam | |
| Central Provinces | |
| Bengal | |
| Punjab | |
| (5) Miscellaneous | Jan. 1941-Dec. 1947 |
| Ajmer | |
| Bengal | |
| Bihar | |
| Burma | |
| Central Provinces & Berar | |
| Ceylon | |
| Delhi | |
| Government of India | |
| Madras | |
| Orissa | |
| Punjab | |
| Sind | |
| United Provinces | |

These are a mixture of printed lists, many marked with selections for the British Museum, and receipt books for items actually received. The dates within brackets show the year and quarter in which titles appear in the printed lists.

* incomplete set.

TABLE 2. LIST OF AGENTS IN INDIA SUGGESTED TO THE TRUSTEES, 1885

North West Provinces	The Curator of Government Books, Allahabad
Punjab	Lala Ram Kishan, Official Registrar, Education Department, Lahore
Central Provinces	Curator of the Government Book Depot, Nagpur
	Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces
Burma	Superintendent of Government Printing, Rangoon
Assam	Inspector of Schools for Assam, Shillong
Hyderabad Assigned Districts	Books to be forwarded if they are required through Trustees' Agent at Bombay
Bangalore & Mysore	C. W. Rarenshaw, (First) Assistant to the Resident in Mysore, Bangalore, India
Bengal	Pandit Haraprasad Sastri, Librarian of Bengal Library, Calcutta
Madras	Rao Bahadur V. Krishnamachariar, Registrar of Books, Old College, Madras
Bombay	The Curator, Government Central Book Depot, Bombay

- 1 *British Library Journal*, xvii (1991), pp. 61–82. As with my earlier article on 'The British Museum Library and Colonial Copyright Deposit', the main sources of information are reports and correspondence in the British Museum, Central Archives, (BM, CA), the archives of the Department of Printed Books, (DPB), those of the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books, (OMPB), and the India Office Records, (IOR). Material in the British Museum, Central Archives, is printed by permission of the Trustees, and Crown Copyright material in the India Office Records is printed by permission of the Comptroller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- 2 James Bruce, eighth Earl of Elgin and twelfth Earl of Kincardine (1811–63), Viceroy of India 1862–3. As the son of Thomas Bruce, seventh Earl, who sold the 'Elgin marbles' to the nation, he was a family Trustee from 1841 to 1863. Elgin died in India following an accident in 1863.
- 3 DPB, DH2/6, 5 Feb. 1862, Winter Jones to Panizzi.
- 4 BM, CA, CE27/58, Letter Books, 11 March 1862, p. 374, no. 1181, and IOR, MSS Eur F 83/24, p. 297.
- 5 IOR, MSS Eur F 83/17, 21 May 1862, p. 8.
- 6 BM, CA, CE 27/59, Letter Books, 8 July 1862, pp. 152–3, no. 4930, and IOR, MSS Eur F 83/24, p. 831.
- 7 IOR, MSS Eur F 83/24, 10 July 1862, p. 827.
- 8 James Robert Ballantyne (d. 1864), orientalist, Librarian of the India Office 1861–4.
- 9 DPB, DH2/2, 28 July 1862, Panizzi to Jones, and DPB, DH2/6, 31 July 1862, Jones to Ballantyne.
- 10 Act No. XX of 1847, *Copyright Act*.
- 11 IOR, L/E/2/58, 24 July 1863, no. 1223.
- 12 Act XXV of 1867, *An Act for the regulation of Printing-presses and Newspapers, for the preservation of copies of books printed in British India, and for the registration of such books*.
- 13 Table 1 gives details of the *Quarterly Lists* held in the archives of the Department of Oriental Manuscripts and Printed Books.
- 14 *British Library Journal*, xvii (1991), p. 64.
- 15 An internal memorandum of Jan. 1878 written by Col. Henry Yule, C.B. (1820–89), Member of Council of the India Office 1875–89, on the 'Questions connected with the despatch from India of copies of books published in that country for this Library and that of the British Museum' summarizes and comments on details contained in IOR, L/E/2/58, 1876, no. 1223 and 1238; L/E/2/59, 1876, no. 1412; L/E/3/647, 1877, Despatch no. 6; L/E/3/180, 1877, pp. 1817–22; L/E/2/66, 1877, no. 2321; L/E/3/648, 1878, Despatches nos. 38 and 39. OMPB, Indian Correspondence, 1878–96, 'Abstract of Correspondence (1877–82) as to the supply of Indian Books' gives the British Museum perspective.
- 16 Reinhold Rost, Librarian of the India Office 1869–93, was Sec. of the Royal Asiatic Society 1863–9.
- 17 Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil (1830–1903), Sec. of State for India 1866–7, 1874–8.
- 18 IOR, L/E/2/66, 23 Jan. 1878, no. 2321.
- 19 IOR, L/E/3/647, 11 Jan. 1877, no. 6.
- 20 IOR, L/E/3/180, 30 July 1877, no. 56.
- 21 Sir Louis Mallet (1823–90), Permanent Under-Sec. of State for India 1874–83.
- 22 IOR, L/E/3/647, no. 6, op. cit.
- 23 OMPB, Indian Correspondence, 1878–96, 16 Nov. 1877, Abstract, op. cit.
- 24 Yule, op. cit.
- 25 IOR, L/E/2/66, 16 Nov. 1877, no. 2321, Jones to the Sec. of State, India. A note in the margin reads 'English public money – Indian public money is of no consequence. The Librarian is

- quite aware that the Indian Govt. pay for the copies supplied to them!'
- 26 Sir Thomas Erskine Perry (1806–82), Chief Justice, Bombay Supreme Court 1847, Member of the Council of India 1859–82.
 - 27 Ernst Haas, Assistant 1866–82.
 - 28 Yule, op. cit., and OMPB, Indian Correspondence, 1878–96, Abstract, op. cit.
 - 29 Sir Robert Montgomery (1809–87), Member of the Council of the Sec. of State for India, 1868–87.
 - 30 William George Pedder, Junior Collector and Magistrate, Bombay 1856–79, Secretary, Correspondence Department, Revenue, Statistics & Commerce 1879–88.
 - 31 Sir Charles Thomas Newton, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, was acting Principal Librarian for four months in 1878 during the illness of Winter Jones.
 - 32 Macaulay, an elected Trustee of the British Museum 1847–59, was a member of the sub-committee which directed Panizzi to apply to the Colonial Office for assistance in obtaining publications from the colonies.
 - 33 OMPB, Indian Correspondence, 1878–91, 20 Mar. 1878, Bullen to the Trustees.
 - 34 IOR, P/1202, Home Dept (Public) Proceedings, Oct. 1878, no. 171.
 - 35 OMPB, Indian Correspondence, 1878–91, 3 Nov. 1881, India Office to the Principal Librarian. They may have been confused with official publications of the Indian government which were usually presented.
 - 36 DPB, DH2/80, 14 Apr. 1883, *Indian Publications*, A report to the Trustees on proposals put forward by Louis Mallet in a letter of 8 Feb. 1883.
 - 37 OMPB, Indian Correspondence, 1878–91, 2 May 1883, Bendall to W. Thacker & Co.
 - 38 Ibid., 26 Aug. 1884, Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta to Bendall.
 - 39 Ibid., 4 June 1885, *Report of Tour*, Bendall to Bullen.
 - 40 For the full list of suggested agents, see Table 2. Messrs E. J. Lazarus & Co., Medical Hall Press, Benares, were also supplying works from the N.W. Provinces in 1886.
 - 41 Sir Horatio G. Walpole (1843–1923), Private Sec. to the Permanent Under Sec. of State, India (Herman Merivale) 1866–74; Assistant Under Sec. of State, India 1883–1907; Clerk of the Council of India 1877–[86?]. There are more details of Merivale's relations with staff of the British Museum Library in *British Library Journal*, xvii (1991), pp. 68–9.
 - 42 Churchill was Sec. of State for India 1885–6.
 - 43 OMPB, Indian Correspondence, 1887–96, 11 Sept. 1890.
 - 44 Ibid., 25 Sept. 1890. Act No. X of 1890, *An Act to amend Act XXV of 1867*.
 - 45 Ibid., 25 Mar. 1891. Some authorities continued to charge for books, others for freight only. Examples from OMPB archives are: (1) Bengal, 14 May 1894, freight and charges. Rs 24; (2) Punjab, 15 May 1895, books, freight, packing, etc. Rs 33.3.0; (3) Bombay, 2 Feb. 1897, charges during 1896 for freight, packing, etc., and for transmission to the India Office, of books required for the British Museum. Rs 54.14.9 (£3.4s.9d.); (4) Mysore, 5 Feb. 1897, charges incurred for the transmission of books to the British Museum during 1896. Rs 26.1.9; (5) *Memo of account*, 21 Nov. 1939, railway and steamer freight for a box of books from Lahore to London. Rs 50 [?].
 - 46 OMPB, Indian Correspondence, 1887–96, 18 June 1891.
 - 47 DPB, DH2/22, 9 May 1879, Section I, :80, Bullen to the Trustees.
 - 48 IOR, P/2051, Home Dept (Books and Publications) Proceedings, Sept. 1883, no. 8 reporting no. 910 R.S.C., dated India Office, 24 May 1883, The Sec. of State for India to the Sec. to the Treasury.
 - 49 Sir Charles James Lyall (1845–1920), Sec. to the Government of India, Home Dept 1889–94.
 - 50 OMPB, Indian Correspondence, 1887–96, 18 Jan. 1892. A memorandum in the IOR, Home Dept, 'Books and Publications', Sept. 1883, gives details of works which were exempted from registration; according to Home Dept, Notification no. 1294, 12 Mar. 1868: all books, maps, sketches, charts and papers printed or published under orders of Government, or for official purposes; by Home Dept, Notification no. 5793, 30 Dec. 1870: all reprints and translations, without comment or annotation, of Acts of the several Indian Legislatures published in British India; and by Home Dept, Notification no. 5604, 21 Dec. 1871; reprints without additions or alterations, Acts of Legislative Councils without notes or commentaries, price lists and tradesmen's circulars, catalogues of books, etc., advertisements, playbills, decisions of courts

without notes or commentaries, petitions and appeals to constituted authorities, testimonials of private individuals or public officers, annual reports of schools, banks, societies and firms, almanacs and calendars, and labels affixed to articles of commerce.

- 51 Francis Bunbury Campbell, Assistant 1889–99. For details of Campbell's career at the British Museum, see Gordon Spinney, 'Frank Campbell, 1863–1905', *Government Publications Review*, iv (1977), pp. 21–9.
- 52 OMPB, Selected Correspondence Relating to India, 1876–1914, 15 June 1894.
- 53 Spinney, op. cit.
- 54 Frederick Daniel Cooper, Boy Attendant 1895–99, Clerk 1899–1931, Assistant Keeper 1931–45, retained temporarily to 1948.

- 55 See Table 3, *British Library Journal*, xvii (1991), p. 78.
- 56 OMPB, Monthly and Annual Progress Reports, 1936–50, Report by S. Sutton, Librarian, India Office, L/197/1950, Nov. 1950.
- 57 OMPB, Monthly and Annual Progress Reports, 1936–50, 9 Nov. 1950, *Supply of Books from India*, Fulton to the Trustees.
- 58 David Michael Horsburgh (b. 1923), Assistant Keeper, India Office Library, Sept. 1949–Sept. 1950.
- 59 For more information on recent developments, see Diana Grimwood-Jones, 'British Library Acquisition of Material from the Third World', *Library Acquisitions: practice & theory*, vii, no. 1 (1983).



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