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*Negotiating Intersectionality in Anglophone and Francophone
Historiography: An Enquiry into the Print Cultures of Colonial
French India*

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Negotiating Intersectionality in Anglophone and Francophone Historiography: An Enquiry into the Print Cultures of Colonial French India*

Abstract

Following the rout of 1761, it was assumed that the French colonial presence had all but come to an end. However, post-1816, India continued to be 'culturally' important in the French imagination, with the misleading title 'l'Inde française' (French India) signifying a cohesive entity rather than five far flung territories—Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Mahe, Yanam and Karikal. Print cultures in colonial French India has been a neglected field of inquiry till now, but an examination of the print catalogues of Imprimerie Nationale reveals that there was a fair amount of interest in Indian languages (primarily Sanskrit, Bengali, Telegu, Tamil, Persian) and the publication of travelogues, grammars and dictionaries along with a steady series of translations—both into and from French—from the sixteenth century onwards. It is important to note that by 1827 Pondicherry had a public library (the Calcutta public library opened in 1836) and by 1850 controls were in place for registering and regulating print in French India (the Indian Press and Registration of Books Act in British India comes in 1867). In this paper, the focus is on specific instances of local print practices, within the triangular formation that Kate Marsh has suggested of the colonised (India), dominant colonizer (Britain) and the ancillary colonizer (France), after contextualizing the work within the historiography of print culture studies in India and France. The argument is that given its singularity, a history of the book in the French comptoirs would only be possible within the intersecting French and British colonial spaces, as locating the work solely within one archive would either lead to erroneous findings, or the perpetuation of the idea that a print culture studies project was either not necessary or not possible given the alleged inconsequentiality of the region.

Keywords: French colonial India, Print Cultures, Francophone historiography, Censorship, Book history in India

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For the French, control of India was closely linked to their rivalry with the British, and following the rout of 1761 it was assumed that the French colonial presence had all but come to an end. However, post-1816, India continued to be ‘culturally’ important in the French imagination, with the misleading title *l’Inde française* signifying a cohesive entity rather than five far flung territories—Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Mahe, Yanam and Karikal.¹ Print cultures in colonial French India has been a neglected field of inquiry till now in both Anglophone and Francophone discourses, despite Book History being a thriving genre in India—a lacuna that this essay wishes to address by exploring the possibility of the study of print in French India, post-1816. I begin by contextualizing my work within the historiography of print culture studies in India and France and follow it up with a discussion of the peculiar nature of the history of French India: the five *comptoirs* to which it had been reduced after 1816 and its alleged insignificance. In the third section, I point out how the intersecting regulatory regimes—British and French—influenced the scene of print in French India, sometimes inadvertently. By focusing on specific local print practices, such as looking at the timeline of print for French India and how it was affected by Franco-British wars, along with reading the cases of the newspaper *Projabandhu* and the journal *Prabartak*, I argue that given its singularity, a history of the book in the French *comptoirs* would only be possible within the intersecting French and British colonial discourses, as locating the work solely within one archive would either lead to erroneous findings or the perpetuation of the idea that a print culture studies project was either not necessary or not possible given the alleged inconsequentiality of the region. In using both the French archives and the India Office Records, I have emphasized on the fact that the colonial relationship between France and India cannot be understood through a binary prism, and needs to be located within the triangular model that has been posited by Kate Marsh for comprehending the Franco-British-Indian relationship, with France’s subordinate status in the sub-continent playing a major role in it.²

I. Locating the Work within the larger Historiography of Print Culture Studies

Print Culture Studies, which is used interchangeably with Book History, has been responsible for the understanding of the book as a material object, whose production, transmission and reception are as important as the ideas that it conveys. Here, ‘book’ is of course a comprehensive term and could refer to periodical, pamphlet, newspaper, graffiti, manuscript or hypertext. Book History also challenges the notion that meaning can be located

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and generated out of the linguistic operations of the text, almost as an abstraction, which had been the *de facto* position in traditional humanities.³

Book History established itself as a field of scholarship in its own right through a series of phases, culminating finally in the 1979 *magnum opus* of Elizabeth Eisenstein—*The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*.⁴ As Nicholas Hudson has argued, the above work gave the field a new ideological colour. Before Eisenstein, Gutenberg's invention was seen as a liability by scholars like Marshall McLuhan, as having a deadening effect on the western soul, but Eisenstein portrayed movable type as the seed of cultural rebirth during the Renaissance.⁵

While for the next two decades Eisenstein's influence can be witnessed in the trajectory that the genre took, between the years 1997 and 2000 several scholars had called into question her assertions, especially Adrian Johns who in his introduction to *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* wrote that Eisenstein's conception of print culture as the foundation of 'veracious knowledge' is 'substantially false'.⁶ What he was challenging was the alleged 'fixity' of the printed book and its capability to circulate without fail, the same information.

Eisenstein was also challenged by Roger Chartier in the early 1980s, albeit from a different perspective, through his assertion that the invention of printing was not necessarily a revolution, rather the printed book was to be seen in continuation with the manuscript book which in its later stages with its *codex* and its *quires* was very similar to its successor. As he explains in his essay "Frenchness in the History of the Book: From the History of Publishing to the History of Reading", his edited work along with Henri-Jean Martin, *L'Histoire de L'Édition Française* in four volumes, published between 1982 and 1986, stood in opposition to both Eisenstein's hypothesis as well as that of Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin's 1958 book *L'Apparition du Livre*, which had postulated that the book is a relatively new object, which began its journey in the mid-fifteenth century, with printing.⁷ However, between 1958 and 1982, French Book History underwent a major paradigm shift and moved away from its dependence on the methods of economic and quantitative history with its analysis of notarial registers, system of privileges, and an exclusive nationalist emphasis to an understanding of how important it is to concentrate on the history of reading practices, with all its variations across ages, milieu, gender and classes, rather than viewing it as a universal practice with little or no variations as the early French Book historians did.⁸

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These points would become clearer if one considered the history of the book in France in brief. It is marked by the two tendencies which mark French politics as well—the tendency of state control and the absolute centrality of Paris in all matters pertaining to print, which is continually challenged but never successfully so.⁹ While the Latin Manuscript Book has been around in France since the second century C.E. with only 10 percent of the population literate, its production and trade were confined to the monasteries before the universities appeared in the thirteenth century.

In the sixteenth century while printing was connected with the spread of the reformation, with the condemnation of Luther by the Paris Faculty of Theology and the parliamentary approval of the church's control over all religious publications, this period also witnessed widespread religious conflicts. These culminated in the St. Bartholomew Massacre of 1572 and resulted in the exodus of printers from Paris to Geneva, which became the principal centre of 'dissident religious texts printed in French'.¹⁰ Printing was altogether banned for quite some time in early 1535, and the Paris-centric system of privileges and controls became prominent from Richelieu's time. By the eighteenth century a system of absolute state control was in place, so was a highly efficient system of piracy and evasion of censorship which also resulted in almost 35 percent of French books being printed in Germany and Holland.

The nineteenth century is marked by a general trend towards democratization, typographical success and a spectacular growth of newspapers and the periodical press, which were finally liberalized by the law of 29 July 1881. The twentieth century had its own challenges with the two world wars, especially the second war, during which parts of France were occupied and censorship was imposed by the Nazis, but paradoxically this led to further growth in readership. French bibliophilia has been in place since the time of the manuscript book and it remains an enduring phenomenon, as witnessed in the robust trade in antiquarian books and the thriving genre of the *histoire d'livre*.

Outside France, Book History has taken a turn towards the transnational and transcultural with most national book history projects either having been completed or being on the verge of completion. In the Indian context, while the differences in print cultures in diverse languages have been the focus of research over the past two decades, a national book history project was considered untenable given the extent of cultural and linguistic diversity involved. The editors of the *Book History in India* series instead chose to 'reconstruct' the history of the book in the Indian sub-continent, citing the high degree of mobility enjoyed by the book across linguistic, regional and national divides.¹¹ The aim was also to 'draw

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attention to the fact that there are not one but many histories of the book in India'.¹² Although printing with moveable type took place for the first time in 1556 C.E. in Portuguese Goa, it would be another two centuries before its impact became widespread through the developments in Bengal towards the end of the eighteenth century. Majority of the studies have concentrated on colonial encounters and exchanges in various provinces of British India. A great number of these have focused firstly, on Tamil which was the first Indian language in which printing took place in 1577 in Portuguese Goa and secondly, on Bengali, given its importance within the Nationalist and British colonial discourse.¹³ Some work is being done in other colonial cultures like Portuguese by Rochelle Pinto and Danish by Esther Fihl and A. R. Venkatachalapathy.¹⁴

Here I would like to draw attention to two divergent developments in the Indian context which inform my work: one, the development of Book History in the early twenty-first century which I have been discussing till now. This borrows from early French Book History its quantitative and empirical methods while developing as a 'dialogic discipline' with focus on the materiality of the book as well as the sociology of print culture.

The second development is the transformation that disciplines such as English Studies and Post-Colonial Studies underwent in the late 1980s and 1990s and the primacy that print came to occupy in these genres: the questions that determine the politics of print cultures in British India were the factors that led to the formation of the public sphere through voluntary associations, eventually culminating in the political project of Nationalism towards the end of the nineteenth century.

The discipline of English Studies was implicated within the 'dominant narratives of empire and nation'¹⁵ while the framing of the literary domain by broader discursive structures was being investigated. Print also took centre-stage through the influence of Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* and Partha Chatterjee's responses to it.¹⁶ The Subaltern studies group was instrumental in pointing out the exclusionary effects of nationalist concerns for subjects outside its immediate ambit. The research on print in British colonial India was determined by these discourses.

So in "Under the Sign of the Book: Introducing Book History" Gupta and Chakraborty, while acknowledging that there was an impressive body of work in English as well as other Indian languages on print also lamented on the lack of dialogic engagement with the materiality of the book¹⁷ which made it necessary to establish a new discipline to give primacy to various aspects of the production, transmission and reception of print without

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it being subsumed under the weight of pre-decided notions of significance or insignificance of other disciplines. The difference is in the approach to print—even when nearly similar material is being dealt with. Studies on Marginalia in Kipling, Chinese Printing in Serampore or, the making of *Abol Tabol*,¹⁸ to name only a few, would not have been a part of studies of print from disciplines like post-colonialism, as they do not get readily subsumed within the nationalist paradigm, under the aegis of which print culture studies has generally been conducted in these disciplines.¹⁹

One final point before I conclude this section. As I have noted earlier, most of the research has concentrated on British India with the exception being Rochelle Pinto's monograph—*Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa*. Her work on colonial Goa is important in the context of my research as she draws attention to the fallacies of universalizing the specific conditions of colonial British India. When she began her book, she had expected this inquiry into the linguistic politics of Goa to yield identifiable if slightly different results, but it increasingly became clear to her that it was a very different process in Portuguese India, with issues like proselytization, which are absent from the British Indian discourse, taking centre-stage.

As Goa was colonized from 1510 and the Portuguese government did not encourage a bi-lingual public sphere of print, the scenario was very different, with Konkani publishing happening from Bombay.²⁰ Also, it was not just the situation in India which had to be considered but also the position of Portugal in Europe which was in a state of decline in the nineteenth century. Pinto warns against conceptualizing the framework for print in colonial Goa as a series of absences against the norm of British India and emphasizes the need to name 'British India as a historically and perhaps conceptually different entity'²¹ – a position that I wish to reiterate in my study of print in the context of French Colonial India, which is integrally connected to the political and geographical entity that it had become post-1816, as well as the political and cultural connotations that it carried in the French metropolitan discourse regarding India.

II. *L'Inde Française* or French India—it's peculiar geographical, political and cultural characteristics

Les établissements français dans l'inde (the French Establishments in India) or the more commonly used *l'inde française* (French India) which signifies a cohesive territory under the control of the French in the Indian sub-continent was a misleading term as French

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India had dwindled to five geographically discontinuous trading posts—Chandernagore, Pondicherry, Mahe, Yanam and Karikal by the treaty of 1814 and as such its political and economic significance was reduced considerably. The total land area of these territories was 508 sq. km and the total population was recorded as 2,83,000 in 1908.²² Only ten percent of the population spoke French, and despite all the animosity with the British, English continued to be one of the languages of instruction²³ along with Bengali in Chandernagore and Tamil in Pondicherry and the other trading posts, acquiescing to the practical demands of the population of having to search for a livelihood in the British presidencies of Calcutta and Madras. One can find advertisements and articles on the justification of learning French as late as the 1880s, which signifies that it wasn't a *de facto* language to be acquired. In the 22 August 1884 issue of the newspaper *Projabandhu*, for instance, one finds the advertisement of a lecture by Babu Pran Krishna Chowdhury on the importance of learning the French language in India and in the French colony of Chandernagore in particular.²⁴ And again, in another advertisement on 2 October 1885 for a volume of French vocabulary by Shashi Bhushan Chattopadhyay of the Gondolpara Reading Club, Chandernagore, it was stated, 'The general public can easily speak in French with the help of this book. It contains the Bengali meanings and pronunciations of French words. For the benefit of the *sahibs*, the Bengali meanings have also been inserted in the English language and in English letters.'²⁵

Salt came from colonial British India, as did paper, and on account of the imposition of the restrictive sea-borne freight tax regime by the British, the profits from this colony were adversely affected. Despite the common administration, and because of their far-flung geographical locations, the *comptoirs* retained their distinctiveness. Pondicherry remained peculiarly Tamil in its identity, as reflected in its architectural as well as its linguistic heritage as did Karikal, while Malayalam and Telegu remained the dominant languages in Mahe and Yanam respectively. Chandernagore retained its particular Bengali characteristics and continued to be influenced by Calcutta and its politics. There was such little commonality between the five *comptoirs* that Ian Magedera, who has described these places as existing in a state of 'arrested development'²⁶, suggested that these *comptoirs* merited, at best, a series of micro-histories.

Beginning in 1667, when the first ship of the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales* (The French East India Company), landed in Surat, the French had experienced a steady rise in their fortunes. Between 1667 and 1746, the French had co-existed with the British, Dutch, Portuguese and Danish in India for commercial gains. From 1746 onwards, however, with the

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first battle of Carnatic, conflicts began for political control of India, culminating in the defeat of the French in 1757 in Plassey and 1761 in Wandiwash. This coincided with the Seven Years' War ending in 1763, and the signing of the treaty of Paris in the same year, which effectively demilitarized the trading posts, forbade further fortifications and permitted the French to maintain only paramilitary police to manage and control the Indian population.

The historiography of French India either ends with the recall of Dupleix to Europe in 1754 or the defeat of Napoleon, with the retrospective acknowledgement that acquisition of Indian territory was effectively stopped after 1763. Of course, there are some books which focus on the period between 1947 and 1954 when following the Indian Union's liberation from British domination, the French comptoirs witnessed protests against foreign rule.²⁷ S. P. Sen's two-volume history of the French in India ends with 1816—with the second Treaty of Paris, which was signed on 20 November 1815, following the defeat at Waterloo and the second abdication of Napoleon Bonaparte.²⁸ The underlying rationale behind such dating was that post the rout of 1761 and through the turmoil of the decades till 1816, it was assumed that the French colonial presence had all but come to an end in the Indian subcontinent.

And yet, recent works by Kate Marsh, Nicola Frith and Ian Magedera have brought out the 'cultural importance' that India continued to occupy in the French imagination post-1816, and how the wilful misrepresentation of the Indian territory by using terms like 'les établissements français dans l'Inde' was important for France's self-articulation. As Ian Magedera points out, 'representations of India became more important for France itself in terms of the geographical situation of the nation, and how it measured itself up to its European competitors.'²⁹

Recognizing the fact that the relationship between France and India cannot be understood through a binary prism, shaped as it was by the associations that existed between France and Britain in Europe and elsewhere, Kate Marsh has posited a triangular model for comprehending the Franco-Indian relationship, with France's subordinate status in the sub-continent playing a major role in it. As she puts it in the preface to *India in the French Imagination: Peripheral Voices, 1754-1815*:

the present study posits a triangular discursive relationship between Britain, France and India. It aims to challenge two assumptions. First, it questions recent theories about the generation of colonial discourses and the establishment and maintenance of power. Within French cultural production, the trope of India was employed not as a means of imposing and maintaining colonial power, but rhetorically to oppose another colonizer: France's European rival, Britain.³⁰

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Nicola Frith, by basing her work on the triangular model suggested by Marsh, challenges the ‘East-West binarism that has formed the staple of postcolonial analysis from Said's *Orientalism* (1978) onwards’³¹ and emphasizes the need to examine the lack of fixity in the European self, following the ‘conflictual model’ of European colonialism suggested by Teltscher.³² Kate Marsh through her analysis of the fictions of 1947, and Nicola Frith, by focusing on the struggle of 1857 and the ensuing period of chaos and brutal repression till 1859, have pointed out how highlighting the fault lines in moments of crises in British colonial history gave the French a chance to imagine an alternative history of the sub-continent, where French rule would have been more liberating than the debilitating and repressive British colonial rule.³³ Their work was based on the understanding that:

[...] before the Sultans of Mysore were defeated in 1799, the establishment of British rule over India was neither inevitable nor unchallenged. Not all French parties with material interests in India accepted the Treaty of Paris as irreversible; nor did the British see their dominance on the subcontinent as inevitable as illustrated by Richard Wellesley's belligerence towards French personnel in India.³⁴

This latent hope that France would reverse the externally imposed restrictions on the acquisition of Indian territory and go into an expansionist mode, was attempted to be realized by Napoleon Bonaparte through his four attempts in 1801, 1802, 1805 and 1807-08 at renewing contacts with Indian rulers such as Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, or planning joint expeditions with the ruler of Russia. However, these were aborted right at the outset either because of developments in Europe or thwarted in the subcontinent by British intelligence. With the increasing realization of its marginalized position and the subsequent dominance of the British, especially post the treaties of 1814-1815, the discourse on India came to be articulated increasingly through ‘utopia, nostalgia, fantasy and other discourses of the non-real’.³⁵

The trope of *L'Inde Perdue* or Dupleix's ‘lost India’ was underlying the French language representations on India, and this loss became the yardstick against which other conquests of France, especially Indo-China in Asia and Algeria in Africa were to be measured: the attempt was to not repeat the mistake that had been made in India in the Anglo-French wars of the mid-eighteenth century. The myth of *l'Inde perdue* posited France as a liberating alternative to the repressive model of British colonialism. As Kate Marsh puts it,

The term “l'Inde perdue” did not become wildly popular until 1935, when it was used by the ardent supporter of empire, Claude Farrère; but the notion of a “lost” French Indian empire had been propagated as early as 1766 in the debates surrounding the

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culpability of Thomas Arthur de Lally for the defeat of the French in India, a debate that contributed to his trial and eventual execution in May 1766. Within metropolitan France, the functioning of the “lost” empire in India as a reference point became even more important under the colonial projects of the Third Republic.³⁶

When Pierre Loti writes *L'Inde sans les Anglais* (India without the British) in 1903, his title becomes an apt description of the utopian French project of imagining India. Loti came in search of the spirituality that India was known for and in travelling through the princely states of Hyderabad, Jaipur, Udaipur, Travancore and Tanjore, to name only a few, he could avoid dealing with the parts of India under direct British control. When he does describe colonized India, it is through the lens of starvation and abject poverty and with the lamentation of how it has been laid to waste by British policies. For instance, while in Hyderabad, he describes a starving village and draws a parallel with Rajasthan, where he had found a similar scenario:

At the entrance to the village, on the intersection, there were some children – one could very well call them skeletons – who were either singing some song or shouting, while holding their stomachs. Their abdomens had receded appallingly inside – had shrunk and deflated like empty leather bottles. Eyes widened in astonishment, they stood there probably wondering why they were having to bear so much pain.

To understand the full import of this song one needs to travel north-west, to Rajasthan, where hundreds and thousands of people have died for want of a fistful of rice.³⁷

He is disappointed with his experiences in India except for Benares, where he finds pandits who could answer some of his queries. The book ends with the realization that he might not be ready for spiritual salvation as yet as the *Vedas* can only be known in their entirety and depth to the religious scholars who devote their lives to these texts in complete isolation and devotion: reading it merely as a translated text cannot do justice to it.

India's importance as a site for perceptive battles of competing colonialisms becomes further emphasized on examination of the print catalogues of various presses of Paris especially the *Imprimerie Nationale*. The bibliography reveals that there was a fair amount of interest in Indian languages (primarily Sanskrit, Bengali, Telegu, Tamil, Persian) and the publication of travelogues, grammars and dictionaries along with a steady series of translations—both into and from French—from the sixteenth century onwards. Further, the establishment of *l'École Spéciale des Langues Orientales* (A special School for Oriental Languages) in 1795 and the creation of the first chair in Sanskrit in Europe, at the *Collège de France* in 1815, held by Léonard de Chézy, signal the academic importance that India continued to have in the French context. It would also be important to note that Pondicherry

had a public library which opened to Europeans on 16 May 1827 and to Indians from 1837—much before the Calcutta Public Library came up in 1836.

What is interesting is that it was not just the French metropolitan discourse which propagated the idea of itself as the antithesis of Britain's repressive colonialism but also the Indian Press in the *comptoirs*. *The Dhumketu*, for instance, published from Chandernagore, in its 26 August 1887 edition wrote that the French government was much better than the British and had granted self-rule long back in India.³⁸ The reference is to French India's supposedly republican ideals of liberty, fraternity and equality with universal voting rights since 1848, which was a myth. The reality was that caste was very much a determining factor of suffrage and two electoral lists were maintained—one for the Europeans and the local elite and the other for the working classes.³⁹ As Kate Marsh points out, this myth is very much in keeping with the metropolitan discourse where the Indian independence movement is seen as a progression of French republican ideology, as reported by newspapers like *Le Figaro* and *Le Temps*, with the situation in India being posited as a 'retarded Frenchrevolution'.⁴⁰

It needs to be remembered here that Chandernagore played an important role in the nationalist movement in Bengal in the early twentieth century, effectively becoming the centre of seditious printing as well as the unofficial headquarters of the armed revolutionary activities. In this context, the British mulled over taking direct possession of Chandernagore by exchanging it for some other territory, on account of the problems that they faced as a result of the liberal French arms laws, the French laxity in repatriating revolutionaries to British India as well as the lengthy procedural difficulties of prosecuting French citizens. This seemed to be a longstanding idea: *Projabandhu*, in its 30 October 1883 edition mentions the intention of the British of purchasing Chandernagore⁴¹ and later, *Matribhumi*, published from Chandernagore since 1907 which was otherwise critical of French colonial rule, was quick to come to the defence of the French government and point out how big a loss it would be for the French.⁴²

It is necessary to remember here that unlike British India, the French establishments did not witness a nationalist struggle against colonial rule.⁴³ When Chandernagore is talked of as a centre of sedition and revolutionary terrorism, the target was British colonial rule and not French. Whatever has been chronicled as struggles against the French colonial government be it the revolt of Mahe, or the referendum in Chandernagore in 1948 or the protests in Pondicherry, begin after 1947, with the impetus coming from India's independence from British rule; the newly formed Indian government wanted all foreign pockets to go as an

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assertion of its sovereignty.⁴⁴ In this context, the fight that France put up to retain Pondicherry, Mahe, Yanam and Karikal, post the loss of Chandernagore in 1948, also points towards the importance that India continued to occupy in the collective French psyche. From censorship of news to violent suppression of protests, to the threat of going to the NATO, the French government tried everything till it had to hand over the territories in 1954 to the Indian Union.⁴⁵ As the Governors' reports from the period 1948-54 reveal, France was not only keeping a close watch on the Indian and international press to gauge public opinion, but also on Portugal's handling of the Goa question, which was way more brutal in its repression of the Indian demands for freedom.⁴⁶ In this context, it is interesting to note that Jawaharlal Nehru gets marked as an 'imperialist' for his refusal to hold plebiscites on the grounds that free and fair referendum was not possible in the atmosphere of terror which was prevailing in the *comptoirs*, while France becomes the defender of democracy and 'republican values' with its insistence on not abandoning the people under its rule without knowing their will!⁴⁷ India finally agrees to pay 3 crores rupees as a part of the settlement in 1954,⁴⁸ with the actual transfer taking place in 1962.

Through this account of the specificities of French India what I am trying to bring to the fore is that the history of the place certainly does not end with the 1754 recall of Dupleix or the treaties of 1814 and 1815 rather, through its de facto political and economic insignificance and its status as an inversely proportional heightened cultural symbol, presents a rather complicated and singular history. An examination of the data, chronicling the political relations between the French and the British for the period 1816-1954 from the French Archives as well as the India Office Records, makes it clear that despite France's almost abject economic dependence in the sub-continent, the negotiations between the two are not one-sided rather informed by the changing scenarios in Europe, where these two nations are allies in the two World Wars. However, the tone of animosity persists. It is almost a passive-aggressive relationship, where the governors of French India acquiesce to British demands on paper but make the actual execution impossible through lengthy procedures or other delaying tactics. There is also the constant tone of superiority on the part of the French, drawing upon their supposed republican and liberal values in administering India, as opposed to British repression. To put things in perspective, it needs to be mentioned here that the Pondicherry farmers were paying tax at the rate of fifty percent of their produce, during the 'liberal' French rule.

However, given the fact that the French were dependent on the British, for the supply of paper as well as the market for its periodical press were the various provinces of British

India, a study of print cannot but be located within the triangular colonial formation that Marsh has suggested. In the next section, through my readings of various instances of local print practices, I will point out why a study of the French and British archives in conjunction becomes imperative.

III. Interrogating Local Print Practices as a Way of Mapping the Terrain

Before we go on to talk about when printing started in the *comptoirs*, it needs to be mentioned that the oeuvre on India by French writers goes back to the early seventeenth century and a greater part of the knowledge that Europeans acquired on India came from the works of French polymaths and travellers like François Bernier (1620-88) and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605-89).⁴⁹ The cultural positioning of such travelogues and their print-histories which shaped the Oriental discourse in Europe have been the focus of recent research: Nicholas Dew, for instance, looks at the specific cultural space that François Bernier's *Voyages de François Bernier* occupied and its relation with the circle around Thévenot, as a precondition of its publication in Louis XIV's France in 1670-71.⁵⁰

Despite the India-centric nature of such publications, the fact remains that these were being printed and published from various cities of Europe, which would be the case with Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil Duperron's works as well—a largely forgotten figure in the Anglophone world. He, however, has been credited with being the 'first French Orientalist',⁵¹ who introduced the Upanishads to Europe by translating them from Persian to Latin and French.⁵² In fact, Raymond Schwab, who brought Duperron back to the limelight in the Francophone world, with his book *Vie d'Anquetil-Duperron* (1934) believes that 'Anquetil's arrival in India in 1754 and that of William Jones in 1783' changed the course of the noetic world in the sense that:

For so long merely Mediterranean, humanism began to be global when the scientific reading of Avestan and Sanskrit scripts unlocked innumerable unsuspected scriptures. The workshops of the linguists generated for Europe—along with several other ideas, some fruitful, some murderous—the notion that there had existed an intelligence and soul apart from European.⁵³

Duperron's works —*Recherches historiques et géographiques sur l'Inde* was published in two volumes between 1786 and 1789 from Berlin whereas his *L'Inde en rapport avec l'Europe*, also in two volumes, was published from Paris in 1798. And again, his most important work

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Oupnek'hat or Oupanishad (Théologie des Vedas), a two-volume Latin translation of the Upanishads from Persian, was published from Strasbourg during 1801-1802.⁵⁴

Ananda Ranga Pillai's diary, written in Tamil between 6 September 1736 and January 1761, missed the chance of getting printed in Pondicherry, as his death coincided with the British seize of French India in 1761, in which a printing press was amongst the booty from Pondicherry. Pillai's diary is a curious amalgam of the personal and the professional, and gives an interesting overview of the eighteenth century functioning of a colonial *comptoir*, given his position as the chief *dubash* to Dupleix. The diary lay forgotten, till Gallois Montbrun translated selected portions, erroneously, from it in French in 1846, which for a long time was thought of as the diary in its entirety. It is only in 1870 that certain portions were translated into French for publication from Paris, and finally, in 1894, extracts till 1748 of the diary were included in a book titled *Les Français dans l'Inde* by Julien Vinsen.⁵⁵ It finally came out in an English translation from Madras in twelve volumes between 1904-1928.⁵⁶

In this context, mention could also be made of Alexandre Legoux de Flaix's *Essai historique, géographique et politique sur l'Hindoustan, avec le tableau de son commerce*, published from Paris in 1802, and Pierre Blancard's *Manuel du commerce des Indes orientales et de la Chine*, published from Paris and Marseille in 1806. One could add to this list scores of grammar and dictionaries on languages as diverse as Bengali, Tamil, Hindi, Tibetan, Javanese, Cambodian amongst others and translations of classics like Panchatantra and Vedic sutras primarily from the *Imprimerie Nationale* in Paris, but also from other publishers in Paris, and Montpellier, to name only a few. So, awareness of print would have been there in French India from the late seventeenth century onwards, even if printing didn't start there for another century.

As mentioned earlier, a printing press was seized from the French Governor's palace by Sir Eyre Coote,⁵⁷ during the British seize of Pondicherry in 1761: this was seen as a missed chance for the French to start printing early. It needs to be remembered here that after the truncated start in 1556 CE in Goa, James Augustus Hicky started the weekly newspaper *Hicky's Bengal Gazette* in Calcutta in 1780, after having set up the first known press in Calcutta in 1777. Bartholomew Ziegenbalg had, of course, printed the New Testament in Tamil in 1715, after the missionaries set up the press in 1712.

For a long time, it was assumed that printing began in Pondicherry in the early half of the nineteenth century—either in 1816 or in 1827 when the *Archives Administratives des Établissements Français de l'Inde* (the Administrative Archives of the French Establishment

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in India)—a periodic report on the French administration—began to be published. This subsequently became the *Bulletin des Actes Administratifs des Établissements Français de l'Inde* (1828-1866) and finally the *Bulletin officiel des Établissements Français de l'Inde* from 1867 onwards. This gives an idea of the permissions given for establishment for presses as well as the controls that were in place for regulating print. As far as Chandernagore is concerned, Harihar Sett's *Chandernagorer Samayikpatra O Granthaparichay* published in 1924 in *Prabashi*,⁵⁸ begins with the first Bengali newspaper *Projabandhu* published from Chandernagore in 1882 and focuses more on the first half of the twentieth century. It would be interesting to note that by 1850 controls were in place for registering and regulating print in French India (the Indian Press and Registration of Books Act in British India comes in 1867).

However, a printing press was brought to Pondicherry as early as 1758 and evidence of a functional press is assumed from the laws that were put in place in 1778. As Francis Cyril Antony notes:

Articles 36 and 37 of the *Règlement de Police* of 1778 prohibited the printing of certain types of material in the press without the approval of the Lieutenant of Police. Contrary to the usual practice the *règlement* in question referred to the press as a singular entity instead of referring to it in its plurality. This leads us to the conclusion that there must have been a press in Pondicherry then.⁵⁹

The India Office Records dates printing in French India with greater certainty to 17 October 1778, based on the text of the French surrender to the British. As Graham Shaw, in compiling *South Asia and Burma Retrospective Bibliography*, noted:

A press was brought out to Pondicherry from France in 1758 by the Comte de Lally, together with a printer named Charles Dellon. The only items known to have printed on it before its removal to Madras by the British in 1761, were notes of credit in the autumn of 1760. After Pondicherry's restoration to the French in 1765, another press must have been brought out from France for the earliest known Pondicherry imprint is the text of the articles of the French surrender to Sir Hector Munro dated 17 October 1778, the printer being one Jean Fischer. The town was not restored to the French again until 1785 but the press remained active even under British occupation and in 1784 issued a treatise on the use of Indian sepoy's entitled *Manuel de Cipaye*.⁶⁰

Another text which was printed in Pondicherry in 1792 was *Instructions de Bertrand, Ministre de la Marine, pour la mise à application des deux lois du 28 septembre 1790 sur l'organisation des pouvoirs et l'administration des colonies*.⁶¹ Given that it gets ascertained that—printing started much earlier than it was assumed, even if it was intermittent and despite all the disruptions of the inter-war years between 1763-1816 – on the basis of diverse data in the Anglophone and Francophone discourses, the necessity of utilizing them both for a print history cannot but be underlined.

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According to the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Archives Nationales d'outre-mer, Aix-en-Provence, there are several newspapers from 1850 onwards in Bengali, Tamil, French and English published from Chandernagore and Pondicherry primarily, but also from Karikal—a development which had been anticipated by the ordinance of 23 July 1840. This ordinance which was further ratified by the one of 1873, had allowed surveillance measures to be put in place on the press in the colony, and had outlined the permissions needed for printing as well as the penalties, in case of violation.⁶² A quantitative and cultural analysis of the newspapers gives us an idea about the circulation, readership as well as the market, which are some of the biggest determinants of the survival of any publication. For the newspapers of French India, the primary market was British India although judging from the separate pricing it can be assumed that there was a European market as well. The reading of the French and British archives in conjunction, given their intersectionality, becomes even more necessary as evidenced from the cases of two publications—the prohibitory orders on the newspaper *Projabandhu* in 1889 and the journal *Prabartak* in 1925 by the Government in British India and their concomitant aftereffects.

The *Projabandhu*, the weekly Bengali newspaper mentioned earlier, was brought out from Chandernagore. The *gérants* or managers of the press were Tinkari Banerjee, Sreemonto Sur and Ashutosh Sen for the various years till 1887 and it was printed at Byas Press, Chandernagore. While the *Bibliothèque Nationale* collections begin from Vol. I, no. 47 dated 4 September 1883, the long editorial in the 19 September 1884 issue celebrating the completion of its two years, permits us to ascertain the date of the beginning of the newspaper to 19 September 1882. The newspaper continued till 1889 but issues till 1887 only are accessible at the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, except for the six articles from the year 1889 available in the India Office Records, which were translated to prosecute the paper for sedition, and which led to its eventual prohibition.⁶³ I will be basing my observations on these. Right from the outset, the *Projabandhu* establishes itself as a newspaper which is brutally critical of the British Raj. Along with reportage on elections within French India and a regular section on World Affairs, the newspaper devotes half of its space to minutely following the lapses of the British empire, especially the failures of the legal system following the controversies surrounding the introduction of the Ilbert Bill in 1883.

The *Projabandhu* was not alone in ridiculing the Raj, most of the other newspapers from Chandernagore and especially *The Beaver* were also critiquing it for its false claims of fairness and justice. The furore against the idea of Indian judges trying Europeans was seen

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as revealing the true mentality of the British towards Indians and articles on how to achieve a nationalist mentality began to be published. Vol. 3, Issue 15 of 16 January 1885, for instance, carries an imaginary account of the *Sahebs'* hatred for the Bengalis and it has lines like 'Bloody Nigger, *kala Bengali amader dui chokkher balai*' (the Bloody Nigger, Dark-skinned Bengali is the object of our utmost hatred). The next issue of 23 January 1885 mulls over the importance of cultivating a nationalist mentality in articles such as– 'Jatiyo Jiban Labher Upay Ki'.

The newspaper also follows, over several issues, the cases of rape of Indian women by British men and the absence of legal consequences for such actions. The 2 January 1884 issue, under the title *Pashob Engrajer Atyachar* (the Tortures inflicted by the Bestial British) chronicles the case of a 15 year old girl who was raped by a British man. What the paper focuses on is that the complaint was not initially registered, and when it was, the judgement was not only given in the absence of the uncle who had made the complaint, but a further case was filed against the uncle for cooking up a false case. A similar report on the rape of a coolie woman in Assam is reported in the 9 May 1884 issue. In a follow-up to the case, on 8 August 1884, the British government is viciously critiqued for the minimal punishment meted out to the *saheb*, and the attempted muzzling of the Indian press which was seen as being too critical of the Raj. The greatest criticism is reserved for the lawyer of the accused, Babu Rashbehari Ghosh, who had successfully brought down the incarceration to a mere 3 months for this heinous crime.

The editorial of 19 September 1884 sums up this critique aptly. Beginning with the assertion that the completion of two years of the newspaper comes at an opportune moment, the editor goes on to state,

The British rule in India had placed the Indians under an inexplicable spell. [...] In the aftermath of the Ilbert Bill and the establishment of the European Protectionist Assembly, the Indians have understood that the English are not fit to be our 'Gurus' which we had believed them to be, rather they are merely committed to a self-centred pursuit of earning money and making their triumph over Indians conspicuous. [...] What is becoming clearer is the hatred and contempt that the British as a Nation have towards the Indians.⁶⁴

This vitriol doesn't go unnoticed by the British government. In a letter, of the India Office Records, dated 22 October 1889 to the Secretary of State, initiating legal proceedings against the paper *Projabandhu*, it is highlighted that, the paper 'has long been noted for its scurrilous and seditious tone'.⁶⁵ The Bengal government summoned Tinkari Banerjee, one of the proprietors and managers of the Byas Press, as he was employed as a clerk in the office of

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the Director of Public Instruction in Calcutta. The other proprietor employed by the British Government was Prasanna Nath Bose, who was in the Military Pay Office. The Bengal government was initially reluctant to prosecute Banerjee. In a letter dated 16 September 1889 to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, C. H. Tawney, the officiating Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, had written, 'Baboo has been made a catspaw and a tool in the hands of others more clever than himself. He is, I hear, a native of Chandernagore, and he entered into the concern apparently to make money.'⁶⁶ The Bengal Government in its letter to the Home Department, on 23 September 1889 expressed the view that since Banerjee had no connection with the paper, as he had explained in his letter, the lieutenant governor did not want to 'take any further action in the matter.'⁶⁷

C. J. Lyall, Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, on 21 October 1889 wrote back,

He has offered no apology for allowing his newspaper to be used for the purposes of scurrilous attacks on the government which he serves and of promoting disaffection. The articles referred to are of such a character that if the paper had been published within British India the Editor and Publisher would have been indicted under the Indian Penal Code. By issuing it from Chandernagore, which is Tinkari Banerjee's native town, he evades prosecution, but he had been guilty of gross misconduct and disloyalty to the Government whose pay he enjoys, and he cannot be permitted to escape altogether with impunity.⁶⁸

It is finally decided that Tinkari Banerjee will be immediately dismissed from the service of the government and the circulation of *Projabandhu* would be prohibited in British India under the provisions of Section 19 of the Sea Customs Act, VIII of 1878, and Section 60A of the Indian Post Office Act, XIV of 1866, with a notification in the Gazette of India.

The effect that this prohibition had on *Projabandhu* was momentous. How dependent the newspapers published from French India were on the market that was British India becomes evident from the fact that Byas Press which was publishing not only the *Projabandhu* but also an English newspaper *The Amateur Workshop* goes bankrupt and none of the papers could be published beyond 1889. This situation doesn't change even in 1925 as Motilal Roy, the founder of the Prabartak Ashram and the editor of the journal *Prabartak* rues in the 1925 issue that the ban imposed by the British government would lead to a lot of financial difficulties for them.⁶⁹ This time, the Government of Bengal mulls over the possibility of imposing the Law of Sedition on Prabartak Publishing House and the Sadhana Press from where the book *Kanailal* had been published.

The book *Kanailal* was a tribute to the martyr Kanailal Dutta, who had been hanged to death in 1908, along with Satyendranath Basu for murdering the approver Narendranath

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Goswami in the Alipore Bomb Conspiracy. As the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Political Department notes in his letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, on 26 September 1923,

The photos of Kanailal Dutt are numerous and include one of his dead body bedecked with flowers before cremation. There can be no doubt that the book has been published with the two-fold object of discouraging anarchists from turning into approvers when captured and of inciting the youth of Bengal to imitate the assassins whose eulogies are set forth in its pages.⁷⁰

The French government suspended the press license of *Prabartak* for three months in early 1925, on being prodded by the British government⁷¹ but this wasn't enough to deter the magazine. The British Government finally decided to apply section 167 of the Sea Customs Act, to confiscate the book and prosecute anyone who brought the book into British India, since the book was not punishable under section 124A of the Indian Penal Code or section 99A of the Criminal Procedure Code. The prohibition was further extended to all books and journals published from the Prabartak Ashram and printed at the Sadhana Press, effectively crippling them. This is corroborated by the India Office Records:

On this subject, I am to report that the governor of the French Possessions in India took no exception to the action which has been taken. He gave an assurance that the administrator would continue his endeavours to control the publications of the Prabartak Publishing House, but it was agreed that in view of the prohibition of entry into British India, it was unlikely that anything would be published. The Governor in Council has received information to the effect that the prohibitory order has been felt by the members of the Prabartak Sangha at Chandernagore as a serious check on their efforts to spread sedition in Bengal.⁷²

In the tortuous negotiations that go on between the French and the British government over legal procedures, what becomes evident is what I had called a passive-aggressive approach earlier. The Governor of the French Settlements refuses to forbid the work *Kanailal* in his letter of 4 January 1924 to the Governor of Bengal, and regarding the question of criticism of the government which the British had considered seditious, goes on to state in an assertion of French superiority:

I believe that if the government of your Excellency could proceed in the same fashion in respect to the newspapers and writing appearing at Chandernagore, which attack simply a form of Government, and to which one cannot impute any criminal intention in the author or editor, you would give me the opportunity of respecting completely the liberty of the Press proclaimed by our institutions and which forms a permanent regime in our territory.⁷³

He, however, acquiesces to the Bengal government's demands of posting police in disguise in Chandernagore for surveillance on political refugees and their friends, thereby not rejecting

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all British demands. To sum up, while a printer in colonial British India had to grapple only with the literary surveillance put in place by Act XXV (Press and the Registration of Books Act) of 1867 and the subsequent amendments to it, a printer in French India not only had to navigate the French Press Laws and the changing relations between the French and the British, but also had to deal with the prospect of bankruptcy and unemployment on account of British laws, despite being a citizen of French India, as Tinkari Banerjee and Motilal Roy found out the hard way.

For a history of the press of French India to be written, a detailed study of the Franco-British relationship in the subcontinent becomes necessary, not only because of their intertwined histories and France's subordinate position, but also because this history does not lead to any easy classification. As it becomes evident from the India Office Records,⁷⁴ the British had to be very cautious regarding taking the European alliance for the Wars between themselves and the French for granted, in disregarding the convoluted French laws in India. There was always the danger that the French Radical opinion would argue for the rights of the political refugees in Chandernagore and Pondicherry and the question of interference in French sovereignty in the Indian context would arise, thereby making the prosecution of fugitive political offenders of British India even more difficult.⁷⁵ The perception of French liberalism and the ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity—which the French themselves were so eager to propagate—could work against them, as the critique by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the bonhomie between the two nations during and immediately after the First World War shows.⁷⁶ That cordiality which led to greater surveillance and prosecution of the press in French India was seen as a betrayal of the essential French values. Thus, the sense of camaraderie that the French sometimes demonstrate in trying to be more accommodative of British demands, which were recognized as essential for maintaining and regulating an (unjust) colonial regime, can very well work against them. At other times the danger was the underlying tone of hostility which existed towards the British, manifested in circuitous methods of creating obstacles for British colonial demands. Under both circumstances the Press in French India suffered—by being prohibited by the French and British governments during an *entente* and by losing its market during times of conflict, as the discussion of individual publications demonstrates here.

To conclude, as I have pointed out in the course of the essay, an enquiry into the print cultures of French India is both imperative and a possibility, in contradistinction to the accepted notion that the inconsequentiality of the area under French control, post-1816, did not merit such a study. This has been one of the factors behind the absence of interest in the

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region, despite the robust tradition of Book History in France, which has led to the print being studied in detail in its colonies, like erstwhile Indo-China as well.⁷⁷ Basing my observations on recent research in the area as well as my readings in the archives, I have emphasized upon the fact that the history of French colonial India did not end with the 1754 recall of Dupleix or the treaties of 1814 and 1815, rather through its de facto political and economic insignificance and its status as an inversely proportional heightened cultural symbol presented a rather complicated and singular story. The intersecting regulatory regimes which influenced the development of print in French India, with the publications being dependent on British India as the primary market necessitates the contextualization of such a study at the convergence of British and French colonial discourses. Further, along with filling a gap in both Anglophone and Francophone historiography, such a study could lead to a more nuanced understanding of print cultures in the Indian sub-continent, which has been erroneously synonymous with the experiences and paradigms of British India.

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¹⁷Abhijit Gupta and Swapan Chakravorty, "Under the Sign of the Book: Introducing Book History in India", *Print Areas*, 1-16.

¹⁸*Abol Tabol* by Sukumar Ray, was a collection of nonsense limericks meant for children, which could also be read as political satire.

¹⁹See Siddhartha Ghosh, "Abol Tabol: The Making of a Book", *Print Areas*, 242-251; Abhijit Gupta, "A Note on Chinese Printing in Serampore", *New Word Order*, 160-172; Alexis Tadié, "A Kipling Reader: Modes of Appropriation of Books in Colonial India", *Moveable Type*, 78-93.

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²⁴*Projabandhu*, 22 August 1884 (Source: BnF).

²⁵*Projabandhu*, 2 October 1885 (Source: BnF). The translation is mine from the original Bengali.

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³⁸*The Dhumkatu*, 26 August 1887 (Source: BnF).

³⁹It needs to be remembered here that the attempt at imposing universal adult suffrage irrespective of religion and caste, in the French colonies met with resistance at various levels and the French government had to give in to the local populace's demands of adhering to caste distinctions, more often than not. For a detailed discussion see Raphaël Malangin, *Pondicherry, That Was Once French India* (New Delhi: Roli Books, 2015), 78. Also, Animesh Rai, *The Legacy of French Rule in India (1674-1954): An Investigation of a Process of Creolization*, Pondicherry: Institute français de Pondichéry, 2008. Jacques Weber believed that France had made a mistake in attempting to assimilate French India to France through institutions rather than through its culture. See Jacques Weber, *Pondichéry et les comptoirs de l'Inde après Duplex: La démocratie au pays des castes* (Paris: Éditions Denoël, 1996).

⁴⁰Cited in Ian Magedera, "Arrested Development: The Shape of 'French India' after the treaties of Paris of 1763 and 1814", 338.

⁴¹*Projabandhu*, 30 October 1883 (Source: BnF).

⁴²Cited in Sailendra Nath Sen, *Chandernagore: From Bondage to Freedom*, 36-37.

⁴³See Sailendra Nath Sen, *Chandernagore: From Bondage to Freedom*; Arghya Basu, *Recognizing Alternative Discourses on the Colonial*, Foreword, Basabi Pal (Burdwan: Avenel Press, 2017).

⁴⁴J. B. P. More, *Freedom Movement in French India*; Sailendra Nath Sen, *Chandernagore: From Bondage to Freedom*; K. S. Mathew ed., *French in India and Indian Nationalism*.

⁴⁵See FM/1AFFPOL/417/7, Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM), Aix-en-Provence.

⁴⁶FM/1AFFPOL/417/7, ANOM, Aix-en-Provence. Also, FM/1AFFPOL/2271/3, ANOM.

⁴⁷FM/1AFFPOL/417/7, ANOM.

⁴⁸FM/1AFFPOL/417/7, ANOM.

⁴⁹Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Reprint., English Translation of John Phillips Esquire, 1677(1676; 1677; Calcutta: Bangabasi, 1905); François Bernier, *Voyages de François Bernier contenant la description des États du Grand Mogol* (Amsterdam, 1724) (Source: Gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), accessed on 23 May 2020).

⁵⁰Nicholas Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 155-167.

⁵¹Jacques Anquetil, *Anquetil Duperron: premier orientaliste Français: biographie* (Paris: Presses de la Renaissance, 2005).

⁵²Raymond Schwab, *Vie d'Anquetil-Duperron suivie des usages civiles et religieux des Parses par Anquetil-Duperron* (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1934); Edward W. Said, "Foreword", Raymond Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East, 1680-1880*, Trans., Gene Patterson-Black and Victor Reinking (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), xii-xiii.

⁵³Raymond Schwab, *The Oriental Renaissance*, 4-5.

⁵⁴For a detailed discussion of his works, see Jacques Anquetil, *Anquetil Duperron: premier orientaliste Français: biographie*.

⁵⁵AnandaRanga Pillai, *Les français dans l'Inde, Dupleix et Labourdonnais: extraits du journal d'Anandarangapoullé, courtier de la compagnie française des Indes (1736-1748)*, Trad., du tamoul par Julien Vinson (Paris: E. Leroux, 1894) (Source: Gallica.bnf.fr/BnF, accessed on 1 May 2020); For a detailed print history of Pillai's diary and an idea of the portions of the diary which are still missing see F.T. Price, "General Introduction", Price ed., *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Dubash to Joseph François Dupleix, Vol. I*, Trans., F.T. Price, assist., K. Rangachari (Madras: Government Press, 1904), xii-xviii.

⁵⁶F. T. Price trans., and ed., *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Dubash to Joseph François Dupleix, Vol. I-III*, assist., K. Rangachari, 1904-1914; Vols., IV – XII, trans., and ed., H. Dodwell, 1916-1928 (Madras: Government Press).

⁵⁷Abhijit Gupta, "The History of the Book in the Indian Sub-continent", 558; B.S. Kesavan, *History of Printing and Publishing in India: A Story of Cultural Awakening, Vol. I – South Indian Origins of Printing* (New Delhi: National Book Trust of India, 1984), 62.

⁵⁸Harihar Sett, "Chandernagorer Samayikpatra O Granthaparichay" [An Introduction to the Books and Newspapers of Chandernagore], *Prabashi*, Aswin BS 1331, 24 Bhag, Khanda I (Volume 24, Issue I, September 1924).

⁵⁹Francis Cyril Antony ed., "Newspapers and Periodicals", *Gazetteer of India: Union Territory of Pondicherry, Vol. II* (Pondicherry: Administration of the Union Territory of Pondicherry, 1982), 1490.

⁶⁰*The South Asia and Burma Retrospective Bibliography, Stage I: 1556-1800*. Comp., Graham Shaw (London: The British Library, 1987), 8.

⁶¹Edmond Gaudart, *Catalogue de quelques documents des archives de Pondichéry* (Pondichéry: Imprimerie Moderne, 1931), 17-18 (Source: Gallica.bnf.fr/BnF, Accessed on 1 May 2020).

⁶²"Lois, décrets et règlements relatif aux régime de la presse en Inde", FM/SG/INDE/519/916, ANOM.

⁶³These were: "The Englishman's Crooked Policy", 12 July 1889; "The Famine Fund", 23 August 1889; "Government and Cashmere", 30 August 1889; "Thoughts suggested by the Cashmere Question", 6 September 1889; "Cashmere", 13 September 1889; "Englishmen, The Benefactors of India", 20 September 1889. See India Office Records (IOR): L/J&P/6/264, File 2009, 22 October 1889.

⁶⁴*Projabandhu*, 19 September 1884. The translation is mine from the original Bengali (Source: BnF).

⁶⁵IOR: L/J&P/6/264, File 2009, 22 October 1889. It is first established that *Projabandhu* is a disreputable paper as its previous editor Ashutosh Sen had been sentenced to three months rigorous imprisonment and had to pay a fine of one thousand francs for publishing a defamatory article about the Reverend Father Santa Maria of the Bandel Church. A note observes that he, "still works as a compositor in Vyas press, by which *Projabandhu* is published, and is supposed to continue to edit the paper".

⁶⁶IOR: L/J&P/6/264, File 2009, 22 October 1889.

⁶⁷IOR: L/J&P/6/264, File 2009, 22 October 1889.

⁶⁸IOR: L/J&P/6/264, File 2009, 22 October 1889.

⁶⁹ See the Editorial, *Prabartak* (Pratham Barsha, Issue I, Baishakh BS 1332 (Naba Parjyay)[I year, Issue I, April-May 1925, New Edition]. The Translation is mine from the original Bengali.

⁷⁰IOR: J&P (S)9074/1923, No.58, Govt. Of India Home Department (Pol.). Copy of a letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Political Department to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department No.1164 P.D., dated 26 September 1923.

⁷¹IOR: P&J (S) 918/1325. Extract from "The Masses of India", No. 6, June 1925. See Letter to M. Ferdinand Buisson, President of the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, Paris by Andre Hesse, Ministry of Colonies of the French Government.

⁷²Confidential Letter from L. Birley, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 3840-P., dated the 3 April 1925, IOR: L/P&J/12/6 (1918-1935).

⁷³IOR: L/P&J/12/185.

⁷⁴See especially, IOR: L/P&J/12/6 (1918-1935), The Relations Between British and French Local Authorities; P&J (S), 2315/18, IOR: L/P&J/12/7, (1936).

⁷⁵ P&J (S), 394/33, 1933, IOR: L/P&J/12/6 (1918-1935).

⁷⁶Extract from Weekly Report of the Director, Intelligence Bureau of the Home Department, Government of India, Delhi, 28 January 1925, IOR: L/P&J/12/6 (1918-1935).

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⁷⁷Shawn Frederick McHale, *Printing, Power, and the Transformation of Vietnamese Culture: 1920- 1945* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1995); Shawn Frederick McHale, *Print and Power: Confucianism, Communism, and Buddhism in the Making of Modern Vietnam* (Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003).