

Notes from the Archive

THE UDYOG PARISHAD PAPERS, 1991–2002 V.S.: FINANCING INDUSTRIES IN LATE RANA-ERA NEPAL

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Synopsis of Early Trade and Commerce

The eight documents presented here are part of a larger set of documents covering fourteen files from the Kumari Chok Adda's papers on the Udyog Parishad preserved at Kathmandu's National Archives. They include the financial records of the Parishad from 1991 v.s. to 2002 v.s. (1935–1946) and bring to light details such as loans extended by the state to industries of varying scales, interest rates, names of borrowers, repayment mechanisms, grants and exemptions made in favor of these industries and the precariousness of the entire program. The Kumari Chok Adda, a precursor to the present day Office of the Auditor General, was in charge of reviewing and auditing government accounts and was linked to the Mulkikhana (the treasury) and the Khadganisana Adda (the office of the prime minister's seal). Apart from rigorous auditing, the Adda is fabled for the power it exercised in threatening and prosecuting nonpayers. It continues to be portrayed as such (Pande 1987; Paudal 1998) although evidence qualifying its notoriety is yet to be extracted. As with other administrative units of the Rana period, the Kumari Chok remains under-examined. Institutional specificities and comparisons between it and the more modern Office of the Auditor General do not exist. Such paucity of knowledge aside, the papers presented here inform interpretations of Rana era economy. Apart from making visible the auditing practices and sensibilities of the period, they are revelatory of the body that generated it, namely the Udyog Parishad. The documents also speak of the regime's engagements in an economic venture that continued to be bastioned by the state in spite of debts, losses and uncertainties.

Some studies portray Rana rule as having plundered the state coffers for the rulers' personal use mainly for frivolities such as the consumption

of imported luxury goods. Consequently, the rulers are depicted as revenue hungry and indifferent towards the welfare of their subjects. Investments in public works, health care or education are referred to as motivated by personal gains (Shrestha 2058 v.s. [2030 v.s.]; Stiller 1993; Liechty 1997, 2010). Other studies discuss the “*bikās*” initiated by the Ranas beyond the circumference of the Kathmandu Valley such as through the Public Work Madhes-Pahad Report Niksari Adda. For instance, Pangeni (2008) examines the budget for the year 1942 (1999 v.s.) in which, out of the total amount, the state allocated 24.58 percent for health alone with Rs. 51,703 for three different hospitals in Siraha, Dang and Bardiya and Rs. 8,000 for another in Doti. Smaller expenses for extending the telephone lines from Birganj to Kathmandu in 1915–1916 are also discussed by the same author as are initiatives such as the Pharping Sundarijal scheme and the Chandraprakash Bijuli Batti Adda (see Pangeni 2061 v.s., 2072 v.s.). Complementing these are primary sources that speak of Rana era attempts to fund hospitals through *guthi* income (Raj, Aryal and Mishra 2016). While not all initiatives were acts of benevolence, increasing evidence point at the variegated nature of the Rana economy.

Established in 1935, the Udyog Parishad, previously known as the development board, is a case in point. It provided a platform for Nepal’s first attempts at industrialization mainly by extending financial loans and monopoly in production and sales to incipient industrial ventures in cotton, jute, mines, paper, bobbin, plywood, frames, sugar, dairy, soap and oil. General Bijay Shamsher, the son of Mohan Shamsher, was appointed its first director general. He proposed a twenty-year plan for infrastructure and “development” at 20 million rupees to be contributed by the state treasury as well as “the private fortunes of his father and uncles” (Rana, Rana and Rana 2003: 91). Such lofty schemes aside, Bijay Shamsher supervised the establishment of sixty-three industries (Kandel 2009: 273), many of which did not survive beyond the regime.

Preceding the Udyog Parishad was decades, if not centuries, of trade and commerce in which the Nepali state connected with markets across its northern and southern borders (Regmi 1971, 1988; Sen 1977; Upadhyaya 1992; Pangeni 2068 v.s., 2071 v.s.) with the Alaichi Kothi in Patna (Pandey 1984), the Calcutta buying agency (Kandel 2009)¹ and various trading

¹ As the name suggests, the Calcutta Buying Agency was responsible for import of goods from Calcutta to Nepal. Transactions were carried out through an account

posts in Tibet (Lal 2001) as examples. What differentiated the Udyog Parishad from earlier trade and manufacturing was its developmental justifications according to which industrial and economic development offered employment outlets to an increasingly belligerent *raitī* that viewed the rulers as despots (Gyawali 2017).

Apart from the recruitment of Nepali men into the British army beginning in 1885 for which the Ranas received Rs. ten lakh annually and which Des Chene (1993) describes as the “coin of trade,” there were other lucrative sources as well. Nepal was not only a transit for goods coming in from Tibet and India, it was an exporter of rice and other food grains as well as cardamom, timber, saltpeter, copper, herbs and elephants, many of which were products from the Tarai. The profits it made in these trades have been described in Regmi (1971), Sen (1977) and Upadhyaya (1992). According to figures for the year 1899–1900, British Indian imports into Nepal amounted to Rs. 13,374,745 and exports from Nepal to Rs. 20,934,021.² Of the total, export of food grains amounted to Rs. 3,442,890, of timber Rs. 699,206 and ghee Rs. 349,636 for the same year (referred to in Upadhyaya 1992: 157, 162–163, 166).

Early Rana prime ministers such as Jang Bahadur (r. 1846–1877) and Ranoddip (r. 1877–1885) were protectionist in their trade policies, an approach they presumably imbibed from Prithvi Narayan Shah. Quoting from Francis Buchanan’s 1809–1810 estimates of Nepal’s exports to India at Rs. 364,000 and imports of Rs. 71,000, scholars (Regmi 1971; Pangeni 2068 v.s.) emphasize Nepal’s favorable trade balance in the early nineteenth

at the Calcutta National Bank. A Subba was responsible for ensuring that payments were made to this account for Nepali timber and other goods exported to India. This Agency was preceded by the Patna Alaichi Kothi, a profitable trading post for cardamom and wax in Patna. Apart from *sawāls* (directives) issued in their names (Kandel 2009), we have scant information on the volume and nature of transactions conducted based on which comparisons between the two could be made.

² Although Regmi 1971, Sen 1977 and Upadhyaya 1992 use the word rupee, the currency then prevalent was either Company Note or Mohar Rupees. Two Mohars equaled one Rupee and 1-1/4 Nepali Rupee equaled one British Indian Rupee (Landon (1987[1928]: 329). However, according to an evaluation of 1940 v.s., one Nepali rupee fluctuated between 16 and 24 or 25 *ānnās*. It was Chandra Shamsher who fixed one rupee at 25 *gandā* and who replaced the *sukī* with the paisa in order to ease calculations (Shrestha 2058 v.s.[2030 v.s.]: 8–9).

century. Favorable trade balance with India continued in the 1880s and even until 1914 with the year 1912–1913 witnessing exports of rupees 46.5 million and imports of rupees 22.2 million, as is discussed in the British residency records (Upadhyaya 1992: 159).³ For the British however, unfavorable trade balances were a cause of exasperation. They were thus on the lookout for ways to reverse the balance in their favor but were also aware of a population that was “self-independent” and “whose requirements are frugal, who receive through long established sources a considerable supply of such things as they are not able to raise for themselves” (British Resident C.E.R Girdlestone’s 1877 assessment quoted in Sen 1977: 113).⁴ The existence of a self-reliant population that was disconnected from price fluctuations and luxury imports of a monetized economy is also discussed in a little known book from 1891 (see, Shrestha 2058 v.s.[2030 v.s.]), thus suggesting caution when generalizing the impacts of Nepal’s external trade on a socio-economically and culturally heterogenous population. However, in the absence of studies on Nepal’s aggregate economy, it is to external balances that we return.

The reversal in Nepal’s balance of payment is said to have occurred in the 1920s. Beginning with Chandra Shamsher’s (r. 1901–1929) assistance provided to the Younghusband mission (1903–1904), for which Nepal lost its monopoly over trading routes to Tibet and culminating with the 1923 Treaty of Friendship with Britain, Nepal’s external trade began witnessing gradual downturns. While exact statistics are unavailable for the 1920s onwards, Stiller (1993) assigns the 1923 treaty as pivotal. This treaty relaxed restrictions on imports of military and consumer goods and opened the floodgates for luxury consumption by the elite (Liechty 2010). Since trade figures after 1923 remain unexplored, the contribution of military and luxury imports to the negative trade balance cannot be numerically substantiated nor

³ Apart from British India, Nepal’s trade relations with Tibet have been discussed in, among others, Manandhar 1999, Manandhar 2001 and 2004, Pangi 2068 v.s., Uprety 1998[1980] and various issues of *Ancient Nepal*. While the notes presented here are limited, a comprehensive analysis of Nepal’s trade and economy during the pre-Rana and Rana periods will require assessment of trade volumes and patterns with both its neighbors.

⁴ Since such pronouncements are not accompanied by internal trade figures, comparisons between external trade and internal markets, manufacturing and consumption will have to wait until such sources are retrieved.

can comparisons between pre and post 1923 trade be made. What became of Nepal's primary exports such as food grains, cardamom, timber, saltpeter, copper, herbs, etc. after the 1920s? If there was a decline in export of these, what were its causes? Also what percentage of a population described by Girdlestone as "self-independent" and "frugal" only forty years earlier become a luxury consuming one so as to impact the trade balance negatively? Additionally, what kinds of internal markets, what ways of exchange and what types of goods were available for the non-luxury consuming majority? Such gaps hinder our understanding of local and national economy and its links to trans-national economies. It also encumbers the contextualization of initiatives such as the Udyog Parishad and the various factors that necessitated it.

Nevertheless, countering the negative impact of imports was among the causes for the establishment of the Udyog Parishad while employment as a means to curbing political disaffections is unstated and appears to have been a covert aim. *Svadeśī* manufacturing became a publicized aim of the Parishad almost a decade after the 1923 treaty as an attempt to check the influx of imported goods (Gorkhapatra 1996 v.s.).⁵ The industries that were set up followed earlier policies such as was practiced since the time of Jang Bahadur in which "monopoly rights were sold to favorite merchants, who remitted a share of their huge profit to the Prime Minister" (Upadhyaya 1993). Upadhyaya categorizes "monopoly" in the early Rana period into two kinds: direct monopoly also known as the *amānat* in which monopoly was under government officials and indirect monopoly, also known as *ijārā* or *ṭhekā*, controlled by a *ṭhedār* or a contractor (Upadhyay 1993). Subba Dharmanarayan, Sahu Ram Das, Kharidar Krishna Prasad and Bhairav Prasad, and even a few Iraqi merchants were recipients of earliest trading monopolies.

The Udyog Parishad documents from the Kumari Chok collection do not specify whether the awards made to small and medium scale industries were *amānat* or *ijārā*. They do specify that contracts were accompanied by *salāmī*, royalty and other customary fees (Images 1 and 8). Additionally, while collaterals did not figure in the early Rana period because they were awarded in return for earlier borrowings, the Udyog Parishad turned to these as ways of securing returns. The Udyog Parishad was not an isolated experiment but

⁵ While the Ranas must have certainly imbibed from the *svadeśī* movement in India, such influences are muted in their speeches.

a successor to centuries of trade and commerce conducted through exchanges of contracts and loans between the rulers and their favorites. It was also a response to changing socio-economic developments for which it innovated and modified previous economic practices. The section below will outline some of the characters of the Udyog Parishad.

The Udyog Parishad

The prime ministers and state officials had been indirect participants and beneficiaries in trade and commerce since the days of Jang Bahadur. State sanctioned loans combined with private capital such as those accumulated by traders in the course of trading contracts had been the source of trade and commerce since earlier times (Pangeni 2068 v.s.). However, the institutional extension of loans by the Nepali state was a phenomenon begun late during Rana rule. According to Pande (2044 v.s.), a Nepal Trading Corporation was established in 1989 v.s. (1932/33) to provide loans to Nepali merchants as a stimulus towards competitive global trade. The provision was later extended towards the Marwadi community residing in Nepal as recognition of their service during the great earthquake of 1934 (Pande 2044 v.s.). The extension of loans for the activities of the Udyog Parishad, such as for the purchase of raw materials and machinery and for commercial production point to the state's involvement in manufacturing economy and not just in trading economy.

Whether or not such a state involvement was prevalent in the decades preceding the Udyog Parishad is open for scrutiny. Copper manufactures and oil pressers appear to have been exempted from taxes on imports and customs duties although the details of such exceptions are inadequate. Industrialization through state assistance becomes prominent only with the initiation of the Udyog Parishad. We do not know the exact conditions under which the Udyog Parishad granted loans since the *sanads* issued for it remain undisclosed. The available Udyog Parishad documents indicate the following: loans were provided for machinery and raw materials upon a written request. In some cases, imported machinery and raw materials were exempt from taxes. The loan amount ranged between one to several thousand rupees and could be settled in installments. The applicants were initially not asked to provide securities for repayment or collateral. It is only in documents from 2001 v.s. that collaterals (*jethā, dhanjamānī*) were secured. This is perhaps because borrowers were repeatedly unable to pay back loans. These

documents do mention constant requests for deadline extensions and the Udyog Parishad's agreement rather than reprimand or arrests. Additionally, some documents from 1996 v.s. mention borrowers requesting that they be allowed to terminate their venture on account of failures and the Udyog Parishad's concession after obtaining specified salutations (*salāmi*). In some cases such as a dairy farm, the outstanding amount got reimbursed (*bakas kharca*) [Image 4] or written off as contingency (*haste kharca*). While all these cases run counter to the fabled notoriety of the Kumari Chok, they do not explain why the Udyog Parishad continued to extend loans to unfeasible ventures.

Not all the documents deal with the Udyog Parishad's interest ridden loans up to a few thousand rupees. There are some exceptions such as a five year monopoly granted to procure and process crude oil, an initiative that involved private capital of twenty thousand (whether this was in Company Rupees or Mohar is not specified) for which the government would receive two hundred as *salāmi*. Similarly a larger loan of Company Note two lakhs provided to one individual for the Biratnagar Jute Mills on four percent interest is unmatched and appears to have had stringent mechanisms to prevent misuse when compared with the flexibilities discussed above. Yet another describes the permission granted to a needle maker to export (does not specify where) three hundred dozen needles per month on conditions that such export do not lead to scarcity within Nepal.⁶

The Udyog Parishad documents refer to two kinds of industries. First were ventures such as hydropower generation from Lohendra river, a cotton mill in Biratnagar or graphite extraction in Ilam where prospectors were required to submit royalty or *salāmi* to the Nepali state upon being granted permission to operate such. The second were initiatives on a smaller scale such as paper making, match factory, wood seasoning and frame making, etc. that mention no *salāmi*. The former were registered as limited companies and the latter

⁶ Interestingly, the Nepal Bank Limited (est. 1937), a contemporary of the Udyog Parishad, was also set up in order to finance “schemes for the development of education, trade, arts, industries, agriculture” and to conduct “financial transactions on behalf of the government” (Prasad 1975: 265). Its objectives do not specifically mention the extension of loans via the Udyog Parishad nor does it explicate how the Parishad stood in relation to the bank. Such ambiguities indicate organizational duplications between the Bank and the Parishad. I thank Yogesh Raj for pointing out this overlap.

were called *gharelu* (cottage industry). Although Pande (2044 v.s.) heralds the former as the earliest “private” initiatives in Nepal, the documents themselves do not specify whether they were private limited or public limited. Neither are they helpful in determining how a limited company was then defined. Hydropower for the Lohendra river, for instance, was to be registered under the Nepal Company act as “limited” (Image 1). This was in 1936 when the Private Company Act of 1944 was yet to be passed. Kandel’s (2009) claim that the act of 1936 did not encourage private investments and hence the need for the Private Company Act is partly supported by the case of the Lohendra hydropower. Kandel also mentions that while a total of eighteen industries were registered under the Company Act of 1936, the numbers soared after the Private Company Act of 1944 with 120 industries and 193 trading firms registered under the latter (Kandel 2009: 273).

A limited company was translated as “limited by share” with financial initiative undertaken by four or more individuals (Udyog 2001 v.s.: 3). According to a notice published in the *Gorkhāpatra* in 2001 v.s., those willing to open a private company were required to register with the Udyog Parishad specifying the amount of share contributed by each individual (quoted in Kandel 2009: 467, also see Khanal and Bhandari 2049 v.s.: 249–250). While the private company act made registration compulsory, public and private were still blurry categories. The Udyog Parishad documents are a useful source for exploring the slippery separations between the two as well as the achievement of the act of 1944 in encouraging private ventures.

Based on the above acts, it is possible to go back to the documents and classify the initiatives of the Udyog Parishad according to their capital requirements. There were small-scale cottage industry (*gharelu ilam*) that received loans up to several thousand rupees from the government and there were larger capital-intensive limited companies such as the Biratnagar Jute Mill, the Birganj Cotton Mill and the Morang Hydroelectric Supply. However, this classification is only tentative since it excludes other factors—the technology used, the number of laborers employed and laws governing these industries—about which we know very little. Additionally, there were paint, chemicals, plywood, bobbin, wood seasoning as well as craft based industries such as copper and silverware which fell between capital intensive industries and the *gharelu*, some of which received financial assistance from the government and others such as copper and silverware for which loans are not mentioned. How does one classify this assortment?

How will such fragmented information help expand the narrative of the Udyog Parishad? Furthermore, in what ways do these documents contribute to our understanding not only of a certain historical period but of broader themes such as transitions in the economy, in social relations induced by economic changes and in the nature of markets upon which industrialization was attempted?

Significance of the Documents

Based on two hundred-year-old records of cloth merchants from Bandipur, Mikesell and Shrestha (1990) explain the collapse of the Bandipur textile under Juddha Shamsher's *gharelu* program. The authors argue that the merchants were unable to transform into a national industrial class as they remained dependent on Indian markets, particularly for import of threads. Nepal's cloth market, they argue, became the last step in the absorption of goods produced elsewhere instead of what was envisioned by the *gharelu*. Comparing Mikesell and Shrestha's claims with a lesser known book written retrospectively by Shrestha (2001 v.s.), himself a *sāhu* with stakes in the Bandipur cloth weaving, reveals the opacity of the *gharelu* which vacillated between profit motivated goals and those of household consumption. Apart from describing his experiences in establishing the Saraswati textile factory in Bandipur, the author makes references to spinning and weaving during "*fursad tāim*" for household consumption in which "looms woven by household members during their leisure" to fill up the needs of the household saved labor costs and expenses on fancy Japanese cloth (Shrestha 2001 v.s.: 51–52). According to Shrestha, domestic weaving co-existed with textile industry, commodification with subsistence.

Although not pertaining to the Udyog Parishad, Regmi (1999[1971]) focuses on external markets and the economic terrain of post-unification Nepal. His works also point towards the existence of state controlled internal markets (see, footnotes 55, 77, 81, 82, 84 of Chapter Eight in Regmi 1999[1971]). However, the nature of these markets; whether they were profit-led or exchange, competitive or redistributive, local, regional, cross-border or trans-geographic are not detailed. What exactly were these markets like upon which the Udyog Parishad later attempted commodity production? Furthermore, how can the documents of the Udyog Parishad augment the individual stories presented by Shrestha, and Mikesell and Shrestha as well as contribute to the under explored narrative of the Parishad itself?

To begin with, these documents and the supplementary information available in magazines such as *Udyog* indicate that not all the sixty-three industries that were established under the Udyog Parishad's banner were for export, particularly to meet demands for cheap goods during the Second World War (Kandel 2009). On the contrary, the documents are cautionary towards requests for export with the Parishad setting conditions that such exports not hinder local supply. The documents are also alert to requests from loan recipients for imports to be banned (Image 2). Complementing such caution are repeated calls for *svadeśī* manufacturing in these documents as well as in the magazine *Udyog*. While the 1923 Anglo-Nepal Friendship Treaty opened the way for imports, the Udyog Parishad was attentive to internal needs, as is revealed by the documents presented here. Had the industries been targeted solely to supplying war related goods, dairy, match, paper, oil mills and wood seasoning mentioned in these documents and fruit juice, confectionary, perfumes and soap mentioned in the magazine *Udyog* would perhaps not have received encouragement. They point to the presence of an internal market, passingly acknowledged as *hāṭis* and *maṇḍīs* by scholars (such as Upadhyaya 1992). However, their nature, the volume of trade and comparisons with external markets are areas open for further research.

Industrialization began with the belief that the availability of “natural resources” and “labor” were augmenting factors to “industrial development” and that such a development was a panacea to Nepal’s “decadent economic situation” and to the accompanying “dearth of occupation.”⁷ However, a significant percent of Nepal’s population were occupied in subsistence agriculture. Although telltale signs of the proto-commodification of labor are available (Pangeni 2071 v.s.), the extent to which it estranged laborers from their caste affiliations or their village roots such that a “proletariat” exodus to neighboring Indian cities manifested already in the nineteenth century (Regmi 1999[1978]: 152) is open to further study as well. Additionally, there is little information on agro-based trade and commerce in the Tarai hubs which, by early twentieth century, may have driven demographic and economic growth. Thus while the impact of the Udyog Parishad’s industries on an agrarian economy is unclear, the documents presented here shed light on the constraints—both internal and external—faced by the industries. The mismatch between initial assumptions and subsequent handicaps such as

⁷ Letter from the Prime Minister of Nepal to H.M.’s Minister in Nepal, External Affairs, 616–X, secret, 1937, serial nos. 1–16, National Archives of India (NAI).

those described below reveal the precariousness of early industrialization efforts.

Loans, whether they were interest ridden or tied to collateral, were difficult to recover. There are examples such as in the case of petromax, dairy and battery manufacturing where the Parishad bore the losses upon itself by pardoning unrecovered amounts and where return of profits and interest do not receive any mention. There are also examples of the Parishad urging certain industries such as the *kuṭ* farm to curtail its expenses, to not expand but to protect the plants that remain and to save costs by exploring various residential options for its staff. Similarly, the obscure nature of capital is also evident. For example, funds from the Mulkikhana, the treasury, were sourced as seed funds for the first bank (Image 5). This treasury was also used for the Rana prime ministers' personal expenses and was a source of various reimbursements (*bakas kharca*) mentioned in these documents. Although various *māl aḍḍās* in the Tarai were also sources for larger loans, such as a loan of Rs. two lakhs provided to the Biratnagar Jute Mills, these *aḍḍās* eventually fed the treasury and were not supplementary sources. Thus while the Mulkikhana continued to finance industrial ventures, returns were low or even negative. This was compounded by the absence of private sources of capital (the Private Company Act of 1944 notwithstanding) and by the tendency to provide monopoly rights to various individuals, both of which impeded competitive expansion of industries within Nepal. Such an industrialization riding on the *svadeśī* rhetoric was unable to counter the inrush of goods from India as is revealed by the document pertaining to dry cell battery (Image 2). The rapid but short-lived industrialization during Juddha Shamsheer's regime (r. 1932–1945) indicate the existence of a market that was adjusting to profit, supply, distribution and consumption.

Presented here are eight documents from the Udyog Parishad collection along with their facsimiles, Devnagari transliteration and English translations. In transliterating the documents, I have maintained the line breaks as they appear in the original. I have also tried to adhere to the original layout as far as it was permissible; for deliberate blank spaces, I have used -- sign; for erroneous spelling, word repetition or inconsistency I have used the exclamation mark; the question mark indicates doubtful reading; ×()× sign indicates strikeouts in the original and ^()^ is used for insertions contained in the original. The dots scattered in between words have also been reproduced from the original in order to maintain accuracy. They indicate

deliberate ink marks made by the scribe. While the transliterations adhere to the original, on occasions where words with the alphabets व and ब are arbitrarily spelled, I follow the standards set in the *Nepali Vṛhat Śabdakoś* (NPP 2067 v.s.). While a literal translation of the Nepali texts was an option, late Rana administrative documents are less malleable to this technique. Hence I have opted for readability. As a result, the sequences in which sentences appear in the translation differ from the original without, however, interfering with its essence. For translations, apart from the dictionary mentioned above, I have also relied on Pant (2002) and Regmi (1978). For stylistic consistency, clarification and illustration, I have referred to Raj (2015), Raj, Aryal and Mishra (2016) and Mishra and Raj (2017).

DOCUMENT 1

Generating Electricity from Lohendra River

In 1996 v.s. the Udyog Parishad agreed to provide license to four persons including a certain Lieutenant Colonel Som Shamsher to generate electricity from Lohendra river in Dhankuta. This electricity was to meet the power needs of Dhankuta, Morang and adjoining areas where the Parishad attempted to encourage industrial ventures. The license thus provided was subject to renewal. The document also mentioned Rana government's right to acquire the license at its expiry and by reimbursing investment cost of manufactory and profit of the three year to the promoters (Image 1). Apart from the government receiving Company Rupees 500 as salutation, this document does not disclose financial details such as the amounts invested by the four prospectors each, the total revenue to be received by the state or the expected profits. What it does reveal is the state's support in the form of land tax and import tax exemptions, supply of wood for construction of workshop, etc. as well as in making available inhabited or uninhabited *raikar* and *birtā* lands for the purpose of construction and in setting up transmission poles. Electricity generated from the river was bound to the Nepali company law and the rights and benefits received were eventually to come under the Morang Hydroelectric Supply Company.

Image 1 Continued: License Permitting the Generation of Electricity from Lohendra River

२. प्रस्तावना के अंतर्गत एक इच्छा है कि वन विभाग को एक लाइसेंस जारी करने का अधिकार प्राप्त हो सके।
 ३. प्रस्तावना के अंतर्गत एक इच्छा है कि वन विभाग को एक लाइसेंस जारी करने का अधिकार प्राप्त हो सके।
 ४. प्रस्तावना के अंतर्गत एक इच्छा है कि वन विभाग को एक लाइसेंस जारी करने का अधिकार प्राप्त हो सके।
 ५. प्रस्तावना के अंतर्गत एक इच्छा है कि वन विभाग को एक लाइसेंस जारी करने का अधिकार प्राप्त हो सके।
 ६. प्रस्तावना के अंतर्गत एक इच्छा है कि वन विभाग को एक लाइसेंस जारी करने का अधिकार प्राप्त हो सके।
 ७. प्रस्तावना के अंतर्गत एक इच्छा है कि वन विभाग को एक लाइसेंस जारी करने का अधिकार प्राप्त हो सके।
 ८. प्रस्तावना के अंतर्गत एक इच्छा है कि वन विभाग को एक लाइसेंस जारी करने का अधिकार प्राप्त हो सके।

प्रस्तावना के अंतर्गत एक इच्छा है कि वन विभाग को एक लाइसेंस जारी करने का अधिकार प्राप्त हो सके।

Devanagari Transliteration

भा

उद्योगपरिषद्बाट खड्गनिसाना सदरगराउन खड्गनिसाना अडा चलां
भयको रीपोर्टको पंजीका --

सङ्ख्या १६।८।२५।१

धंकुटा इलाकाको लोहेन्द्रा नदीस्मेतको पानीबाट बीजुली पैदा गरी धंकुटा,
मोरङ्ग र जोडि

एका जिल्लाहरूमास्मेत पावर सप्लाई *गर्नालाई तपसील बमोजिमको शर्तमा श्री ले.क.

सोम शम्शेर जङ्गबहादुर राणास्मेत जवान ४ का नाउमा लाइसेन्स गरीदिनेबारेको --

तपसील

१६।८।२८।४ मा

भा

लाइसेन्सको म्याद ३० तिस वर्ष दिने-----१

हस्ते स्ही डी मोहंवीलास गुभा(जु)

साल एकको करू ५०० पाँच सय सलामी सरकारमा बुझाउने --२

लाइसेन्सको म्याद भुक्तान भएपछी वर्ष १ एकभीत्र सरकारबाट कारखाना लिन
चाहेमा कारखानामा परेको रूपैजा र आखीरी ३ तीन वर्षको मुनफा दि लिबक्स
ने लिबक्सेन भने फेरी १५ पन्द्र वर्षको म्याद् थप पाउने यही रीतसंग थप म्याद्
भुक्तान भयेको १ एक वर्षभीत्र सरकारबाट लिबक्सेन भने १५।१५ पन्द्र पन्द्र
वर्षको म्याद् थप पाउदै रहने-----३

येस कामको कारखाना घर इत्यादि बनाउनलाई चाहिने लकडी दरखास्तवाला
तरफबाट कटानी हुवानी गरी बेदाममा पाउने -----४

येस कालाई चाहिने जगा पायेसम्म पर्ति रैकर जगाबाट लिने नपाये अवादी
रैकर विर्तास्मेत खुसखरीद गरी लिने पर्तिजगा परेको जतिको इलाका माल
मा लगतसम्म कसीराखने पोत दस्तुर केही लिनु नपर्ने-----५

पावर एक ठांडबाट अर्को ठांड ट्रान्समिशन लाइन राखी लैजानुपर्ने हुंदा सो लाई
न लानालाइ आवादी पर्ति रैकर विर्तास्मेतमा लड्डा जडान गरी लैजान
पाउने ----- ६

यो कामलाई चाहिने मेसीनरी कलसामां इत्यादि बनाउनालाई सीमेन्ट कंकट
कर्कट पाता सतरी इत्यादि पैठारी गरी ल्यायमा पैठारी महसुल केही नलागने ७
सो दरखास्तवालाहरूले पायको लाइसेन्सको अधिकार सुविधा र हकस्मेत
मोरङ्ग हाइड्रो इलेक्ट्रीक सप्लाई कम्पनीको नाउमा नामसारी गरी दि सोकं
पनी नेपाली कम्पनी कानूनबमोजिम लिमिटेड कम्पनी गरी रजिष्टरी
गरीदिने-----८

इतिसम्बत १९९६ साल मार्ग -- गते -- रोज शुभम् -----१६।८।२३।६ मा

English Translation

seal A hand note of the report sent from the Udyog Parishad to the Office of the Prime Minister's Seal (Khadganisana Adda) to endorse the seal of the prime minister (*khaḍḡanisānā*)

Endorsed on
96/8/25/1

Regarding a license permitting four persons including Sri Lt. Col. Som Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana to supply power to Dhankuta, Morang and adjoining districts after generating electricity from the waters including that of Lohendra River in Dhankuta Area subject to the following conditions -

Particulars

To provide license with a validity period of 30 thirty years—1
 To submit to the government Company Rupees 500 per year as salutations—2
 Within one 1 year upon expiry of license, the government may acquire the factory if it so wishes by paying the costs incurred and the net profit of the last 3 three years.
 If not acquired, the validity for license will be added for 15 fifteen years again.
 In this manner, if the government does not acquire within one year of expiry of the validity, it will be extended every 15/15 years—3
 Wood cut and hauled to construct factory and building etc. for the purpose can be obtained by the applicants without charge —4
 When possible, uninhabited state-owned taxable land⁸ is to be acquired for this work.
 Otherwise, inhabited state-owned taxable land (*raikar birtā*) can be purchased on consensus (*khuskharid*). The details of

seal
On 96/8/28/4
through
Dīṭhā
Mohanvilas
Gubhaju
signature

⁸ Regmi (1978:183) translates *raikar* as state-owned, taxable lands, which could be granted as *birtā* or assigned as *jāgir*.

uninhabited state-owned taxable land, if included therein, are to be kept on record only (*lagatsamma*)⁹ at the Area Land Revenue Office but not to be

levied customary tax (*dastur*)¹⁰ or land tax (*pot*) — 5

As transmission lines are needed to transfer power from one place to another, the poles for carrying the lines can be raised on inhabited as well as

uninhabited state-owned taxable lands —————6

To make machineries, engines and goods etc. that are required for this work, cement concrete corrugated sheet, *satarī* (?) etc. when imported will not

be liable to import tax—————7

The license rights, allowances inclusive of benefits received by the applicants will be transferred to the Morang Hydroelectric Supply Company and the Company will be registered as a limited company according to the Nepali

Company Law—————8

seal

On the day -- of *Mārga* in the year *Samvat* 1996. Be auspicious --

On 96/8/23/6 —

⁹ *Lagat* is a list including a description of the total cash and goods required for an activity (NPP 2067 v.s.: 1092).

¹⁰ *Dastur* is a customary tax (Pant 2002: 132).

DOCUMENT 2

Manufacturing Dry Cell Battery

This document pertains to the request by one Gopal Das Shrestha for the termination of imports of Eveready batteries by an agent called Nepal Oil Store. Shrestha received monopoly rights and loans from the government to manufacture dry cell batteries within Nepal and claimed to have been selling two to three hundred batteries per month. The entry of Eveready battery posed a threat to this venture. Upon Shrestha's appeal, the meeting of the Udyog Parishad decided to halt the import of batteries if Shrestha agreed to supply them at the current selling rates (Image 2). The document does not disclose the rate at which Gopal Das was selling these *svadeśī* batteries nor does it reveal the price of imported batteries. Nevertheless, this document is one example of the precarious conditions of local manufacturing regardless of the *svadeśī* rhetoric. On one hand, the government was encouraging local industrial and commercial initiatives and on the other, it welcomed foreign alternatives to goods that were being experimented in Nepal. While the Udyog Parishad's decision to eventually stop the import of foreign batteries perhaps stemmed from the one thousand rupees loan extended to Shrestha, the document raises questions about the assumptions underlying *svadeśī* manufacturing and foreign trade.

Image 2: On Selling Dry Cell Battery

Handwritten text in Nepali script, likely a document related to selling a dry cell battery. The text is arranged in several lines and columns, with some lines appearing to be a list or inventory. The script is dense and somewhat faded, but legible. The document is oriented vertically on the page.

Devanagari Transliteration

छाप
खड्गनिसाना सदर गराउन उद्योग परिषद्बाट जाहेर गरेको रिपोर्टको पं
जीका-----

ड्राईस्येल • व्याटारि बनाउने • काम • ५ वर्षलाई एकलौटी • पाएको मदत • सडर ९६ साल माघ
कम हुँदा (!) सर्कारि १,००० रूपैया सापट् लि कां • गरि मैनहाको २।३ सय १३ गते ६ मा
व्याटारि • बिक्री हन्दै (!)आएकोमा हाल ईभरेडी व्याटारि नेपाल अए हस्ते डी मोहनवीलास (गुभाजु)
ल थोरलाई • एजेन्सी दीयो भन्ने सुनेकोले सो व्याटारि आएमा मे ९६।१०।१५।१ मा
रा काम नचलि • लोप हुने हुन्दा • विदेसि व्याटारि बन्द गरी पाउ भनि म
हाबौध बस्ने • गोपाल • दास श्रेष्ठले • दखास्त • दिएकोमा • हाल वि •
क्री भैरहेका • दरमा • दिने कबुल • गरछ (!) भने • दिने भनि मिटीङ्बाट •
ठहराए बमोजिम • विदेसि ^ (टर्चलाईटको) ^ व्याटारि • बन्द गर्ने ठहराई • रिपोर्ट सदर • भ
यापछि भन्सार गोश्वरामा • पठाउने गरी उद्योग परिषद्बाट जाहे
रगरेको रिपोर्ट-----

ईतिसम्बत १९९६ साल माघ १३ गते रोज ६ शुभम्-----
(९)६।१०।१२।६ मा

English Translation

seal | A hand note of the report submitted from the Udyog Parishad to endorse
the prime minister's seal

Having obtained the monopoly to manufacture dry cell
batteries for 5 years,
an insufficient help, took a loan of 1000 Rupees from the
government, worked and have been selling 2-3 hundred
batteries per month. Now I hear
that Nepal Oil Store has been given the agency of (importing)
Eveready batteries. If that battery enters, my work will decline
and disappear, stating thus Gopal Das Shrestha,
a resident of Maha Boudha, has submitted an application,
requesting the ban of foreign batteries. The meeting has
decided to approve (his demand) if he commits (himself)

Approved on
the year 96
Māgh 13 Friday
through Dīttā
Mohanvilas
Gubhaju on
96/10/15/

to supply at the current selling rate. The Udyog Parishad sends this report, to stop foreign torchlight batteries, and to send the report to the General Customs Office (Bhansar Goshwara) once it is approved (by the Office of the Prime Minister's Seal).

On Friday, *Mārga* 13 in the year *Samvat* 1996. Be auspicious—————
On 96/10/12/6

DOCUMENT 3

The Juddha Match Factory

Simal trees were required in order to manufacture matches at the Juddha Match Factory. The factory was permitted to collect a hundred such trees from the forests near Chhapkaiya, Thori in the year 1997 v.s. The trees were to be cut and hauled by the factory itself after the Chhapkaiya, Thori Gate was directed to provide such through a signature from the director general of the Udyog Parishad. However, the factory was not to cut all hundred trees at once nor were trees to be provided for free. The price of each tree was determined at two *ānnās* per foot (Image 3). The number of trees to be provided and the time when they were to be cut depended upon the discretion of the director general. This document was referred to an office responsible for endorsements related to the eastern Madhes by the Udyog Parishad so that the former could issue an order in the name of Thori Gate who was to take the mentioned fees. This document is an example of the logistical and organizational details of the Udyog Parishad.

Image 3 Continued: Simal Trees for Juddha Match Factory

ॐ श्री
 जूझोपरीमठ. वाट
 वीविका
 दिजुंझ मे न भमाकरी को कोवाटि आ क्रो. तर्फ वाट फारो चुवागे जतुगरी. फो. कु. ल. म. का. इ. व. मो. ल. लो. मा.
 शिमल को पुर १०० अ गल नवो गुरोरो. डाइ. म. ए. जान र. व. का. त. म. कि. वा. हीने वार को भ. क.
 को उजोपरीमठ का म. डि. को. री. पा. स. ड. र. बो. ए. उ. डी. लो. म. डी. त. रा. म. ठ. त. प. र्द. सा. न. का. यु. मा.
 गजोपरीमठ ६. यु. मा. म.

Devanagari Transliteration

छाप

उद्योग परिषद्बाट खड्गनीशाना सदर गराउंन खड्गनीशाना चलां भएको
रीपोटको पंजीका—

नाछ

दि जुद्ध मैच फ्याक्ट्रीको कांलाई आफ्नै तर्फबाट कटानीधुवानी गर्ने गरी फी
फुटका

सडर ९७ साल
फागुं ९ गते ५ मा

दर्ले मोल ली ज्मा सीमल्को रूख १०० येक्सय बक्सेको छ जुं बखत जती
जती रूख

२७ दिनु पर्ने उद्योगपरिषदका डाइरेक्टर जनरलले मुनासिव ठहराई दस्षट् भै आउंछ
उती उती नीकासा बक्सेको सो १०० रूख नपुगुंजेल जंगल नबीग्रने गरी
कटाउंन दी

फी फुट २ दुई आना मोल लि छोड्पुर्जि गरीदिनु भंन्ने छपकैया ठोरी द्वारका
नाउंमा

चाहिने बेहोराको सनद गरिदिनु भने म. री. नी. पुर्व फाट्का नाउंमा सडर गराउंनु
पर्ने ठहराई उ. प. बाट जाहेर गरेको _____ १

छाप

ईती सम्बत १९९७ साल फागुण गते रोज— छाप
१७/११/७/३ मा

ॐ श्री

छाप उद्योग परीषदबाट

बुझेको -----

दि जुद्ध मैच फ्याक्ट्रीको कांलाई आफ्नै तर्फबाट कटानी धुवानी गर्ने गरी फी फुटका दर्ले मोल ली ज्मा
सिमलको रूख १०० जंगल नबीग्रने गरी डाइरेक्टर जनरलका तजविजले दीने वारेको षनं २७
को उद्योग परीषदका नाऊको रीपोट सदर थां एक बुझी लीजू ईति सम्बत १९९७ साल फागुण
१० गते रोज ६ शुभम् _____ छाप

English Translation

seal

A Hand note of the report sent from the Udyog Parishad to the Office of the
Prime Minister's Seal (Khadganisana Adda) to get the prime minister's seal
(*khadganiśānā*) endorsed.

27 For the work of the Juddha Match Factory, one hundred 100 Simal trees to be cut and hauled (by the factory) itself have been provided for a fee at the rate of two *ānnās* per foot. The occasion and the number of trees to be provided will be up to the discretion of the director general of the Udyog Parishad through a signature, which upon ensuring that the forest will not be destroyed those granted trees can be allowed to (be) cut not exceeding 100. This report has been submitted by the Udyog Parishad for getting an endorsement in the name of Eastern Division of the M.Ri. Ni. (Office of the Madhes Report Endorsement) [so that it could issue an order] in the name of Thori Gate, Chhapkaiya for the latter to issue a release note after taking fees at the rate of two *ānnās* per foot ————— 1

Endorsed on
97 Fālgū
9 at 5
seal

seal On the day -- of *Fāguṇa* in the year *Samvat* 1997. Be auspicious. seal
On 97/11/7/3

Om Sri

seal Received by the
Udyog Parishad -----

Received a copy of the report in the name of the Udyog Parishad, numbered Sa. No. 27, on the subject of providing 100 Simal trees to be cut and hauled by (the factory) itself is to be provided on the discretion of the director general for a fee at the rate of 2 *ānnās* per foot while ensuring that the forest will not be destroyed. Friday, *Fāguṇa* 10 in the year *Samvat* 1997. Be auspicious.

seal

DOCUMENT 4

Organizing a Dairy

In order to operate a dairy, one Krishna Prasad had taken loan of *not* rupees 7,200 from the government. The dairy suffered losses and was acquired by the government including the remaining shed and livestock, the cost of which was calculated to be *not* rupees 5,290. This left *not* rupees 1,910 insufficient. Of this remaining amount, the government reimbursed MoRu. 835/77 financed through private sources but whether it referred to the promoter's own funds or to those procured from other non-state sources is unclear. Similarly, the document is silent on the remaining amount which was most likely a loss to the state coffers. The dairy was entrusted to either of the two: Gauri Prasad or Mukunda Prasad, both of whom were trained in dairy farming. One of them was to receive a monthly salary of (MoRu.) 50 for running the dairy (Image 4). This document reveals the inception of dairy farming as an industrial enterprise with at least one person, if not more, having received training in dairy industry outside of Nepal. While the ownership remained with the government, this venture was unlike dairies of the past that were meant for the aristocracy. This document is useful in comparing dairy farming of the pre-Udyog Parishad period with dairy "industry" attempted by the Parishad.

Devanagari Transliteration

उद्योग परिषद्बाट खर्ङ्गनीसाना सदर गराउन खर्ङ्गनीसाना अडा चलान भएको
रिपोट्को पंजिका—

देएरिर्को ईलम पढी • आएका • गौरिप्रसाद् मुकन्दप्रसाद् स्मेतलाई • वन्दोबस्त गर्नेबारे
भैआया वमोजिम • कृष्णप्रसाद्ले • सरकारसंग सापट लि चलाई आएका • देएरि नै सच्याउ
नालाई सापट लिएका • नोट् रू ७२०० को लगत काटी हाल महजुद् रहेका गोठ्वस्तु स

सडर ९८ साल
जेष्ठ २ गते ५ मा

हित सरकारबाट लि घैघरानाबाट परेका नोट्को मोरू ८३५।७७ स्मेत बक्स खर्च
लेखि सो देएरि सरकार तर्फबाटै • खोलाई बक्सनालाई • सालबसालि मोरू ७४०८ र
पटके मोरू ९३५०। सो देएरि पढी आउने मध्ये १ जनालाई मैन्हाको ५०। तलब ठे
की सो देएरि पढेर आउनेबाट कां गर्न लगाउनेबारे तपसील बमोजिं गर्न ठहर्
याई जाहेर गरेको रिपोट्—

नोट् रू ७२०० सापट लि देएरिर्को काम गर्न कृष्णप्रसाद्लाई सो कामबाट नोक्सा
न परि देएरि चलाउन नसकने भएकाले महसुद् रहेका वस्तु गोठ्को ठहरीन आ
एको मोल नोट् रू ५२९०। बाट नपुग नोट् रू १९१० हुन आएको सर्कारबाट साप
ट लिएका नपुग नोट् रू ६४६ मोरू ८३५।७७ स्मेत लागेको महिजुद् रहेका वस्तु
गोठ् सहिट् सरकारबाट लि घैघरानाबाट परेका रू ८३५।७७ बक्स खर्च लेखि
दिने र ७२०० को लगट् काटीने स्मेत तेजारथका नाउमा पठाउने गरि उद्योग प
रिषद्बाट जाहेर गरेको रिपोट्—

सडर ९८ साल
जेष्ठ २ गते ५ मा

नोट् रू ७२०० सापट लि देएरि कां गर्ने कृष्णप्रसाद्लाई सो कांबाट नोक्सां
परि देएरि चलाउन मुस्कील भएकाले महजुद् रहेको वस्तुको ठहरीन आए
को मोल नोट् रू ५२९०बाट नपुग रू १९१० हुन आएको र सरकारबाट सापट लि
एकाबाट नपुग नोट् रू ६४६ को मोरू ८३५।७७ स्मेत लागेको महजुद् गरेका वस्तु
गोठ् सहीत सरकारबाट लि घैघरानाबाट परेका नोट्को मोरू ८३५।७७ बक्स
खर्च लेखिदिनु भन्ने स्मेतबारे कौसीतोसाखानामा पठाउने ठहराई उद्योग परिषद्
बाट जाहेर गरेको रिपोट्—

सडर ९८ साल
जेष्ठ २ गते ५ मा

ईतिसम्बत १९९८ साल वैशाख -- गते -- रोज शुभम्

छाप

English translation

seal | A Hand note of the report sent from the Udyog Parishad to the Office of the Prime Minister's Seal (Khadganisana Adda) to get the prime minister's seal endorsed.

As per the (order) to make arrangements for Gauri Prasad (and) Mukunda Prasad together, who have returned after learning dairy work, by allowing a monthly

seal | salary of 50, to work at the improved dairy (previously) run by Krishna Prasad,

endorsed year
98 *Jes̥tha* 2 on 5

which was run with a loan from the government, by writing off the loan

of *noṭ* Rs. 7200, and the government taking the existing sheds and livestock

and reimbursing the MoRu. 835/77 financed through private sources,

and allowing a yearly MoRu. 7408 and MoRu. 8350 in installments

to operate the dairy by the government with the following particulars ———

Since Krishna Prasad, who has taken loan of *noṭ* Rs. 7200 for dairy work was

unable to run the dairy and was under a loss, of the loan amount, deducting the

worth of the remaining sheds (and) livestock is determined to be of *noṭ* Rs. 5290,

the wanting (amount) has come to be *noṭ* Rs. 1910, of the remaining *noṭ* of

endorsed year
98 *Jes̥tha* 2 on 5

646 borrowed from the government, MoRu. 835/77 borrowed from

private sources, this report submitted by the Udyog Parishad recommends that

the existing sheds (and) livestock be taken by the government and the loan of Rs. 835/77 from the private sources be

reimbursed

and an order be sent to the Office of Trade (Tejārath) to
 write off the 7200—
 Since Krishna Prasad, who has taken loan of *not* Rs. 7200
 for dairy work was
 unable to run the dairy and was under a loss, of the loan
 amount, deducting the
 worth of the remaining sheds (and) livestock is determined
 to be of *not* Rs. 5290,
 the wanting (amount) has come to be *not* Rs. 1910, of the
 remaining *not* of
 646 borrowed from the government and MoRu. 835/77
 borrowed from
 private sources, this report submitted by the Udyog Parishad
 recommends that
 the existing sheds (and) livestock be taken by the government
 and the loan of Rs. 835/77 from the private sources be
 reimbursed
 and an order be sent to the Treasury to write off the 7200—

endorsed year
 98 *Jeṣṭha* 2 on 5

On the -- day of *Vaiśākha* in the year *Samvat* 1998. Be auspicious.

seal

DOCUMENT 5
Income from Baglung *Kuṭ* Farm
and Regarding the Nepal Bank Limited

One Krishna Shankar Upadhyay, the manager of a *kuṭ* farm in Baglung, made a request to the Udyog Parishad that out of his annual salary of MoRu. 1,800, his salary for one month amounting to MoRu. 150 be given to an acquaintance by the name Yogkanta Upadhyay. This request was prompted by fear of the money sent to his family in Nepal being stolen. This document is an example of the way monetary transactions were conducted when a proper banking system was rudimentary (Image 5). It reveals the kinds of vigilance and approval that monetary transactions as straightforward as remunerations were then subject to. It also indicates the various offices involved in this remuneration—the Baglung *kuṭ* farm, the Rakam Bandobasta Adda and the Udyog Parishad.

The Nepal Bank limited was established with a starting capital (initial expense) of MoRu. 33,362/89. Out of this total amount, Company *not* rupees 7011 from the Calcutta Buying Agency and Company *not* rupees 3,500 from the Mulkikhana¹¹ were deposited after converting them into MoRu. at the rate of 140. Thus, the total initial expense deposited at the Nepal Bank Limited was 14,715/40 in MoRu. A shortfall of MoRu. 18,647/49 was provided as a royal grant in 1998 v.s. Apart from revealing the various sources of the starting capital for the Nepal Bank Limited and the exchange rate prevalent then, this document is an example of the ill-defined boundaries between the Mulkikhana and the Rana Prime Minister’s personal assets. This document does not clarify the connections, overlaps and financial flows between the bank and the Parishad.

¹¹ For details regarding the Mulkikhana, see Pande (2038–2045 v.s., vol. 5: 19–20).

Devanagari Transliteration

उद्योग • परिषद्बाट खर्ङ्गीनीसाना सदर गर्नालाई खर्ङ्गीनीसाना अडा चलां भएको सनदको

पंजिका •

बाग्लुङ कुट्टखेति भएका • ठाँउ १७।१८ कोस फरक भएकोले • नेपाल घरका जाहा •
नलाई • खर्च पठाउन • चोरि हुने दर हुँदा • ९८ साल वर्ष १ को तलव मोरू १८००।
मध्ये मैन्हा १ को मोरू १५०। रूपैया • मेरा मानीस • रकम बन्दोवस्त • का ना.रा. यो
गकान्त • उपाध्या • य बालाजुलाई दिनु भन्ने • नीकासा पाउ भनि • बाग्लुङ कुट्ट •
खेतिका मेनेजर • कृष्ण शङ्खर उपाध्याएले • जाहेर गरे बमोजिम • मैन्हा १ को मो-
रू • १५०। का दर्ले • ×(दिनु भन्ने कौसीका नाउको)× उद्योग परिषद्बाट रोकावट नआ
एसम्म नीज मेनजरका मानीस रकम बन्दोवस्तका ना.रा.योगकान्त उपा-
ध्या हस्ते दिनु भन्ने बारेको कौसीका नाउको सनद—

सदर ९८ साल
जेष्ठ १८ ग
ते १ मा -----

नेपाल बाङ्क लिमिटेडना • मको बैङ्क खडा भै • प्रारम्भीक • खर्च लागेको मो
रू ३३३६२।८९ मध्ये कलकत्ता • बाईड एजेन्सीमार्फट • गएको नोट रू ७०११ का
दर १४०। ले • मोरू ९८१५।४० र ९५ साल चैत्रमा • मुल्कीखानाबाट गएको नोट-
रू ३५००×को दर १४०। लि मोरू ४९००। स्मेत जमा मोरू • १४७१५।४० नेपाल बैङ्क •
लिमिटेडलाई भर्ना गैसकेको हुनाले सो प्रारम्भीक • खर्चमध्ये मोरू १८६४७।४९
भर्ना हुन नै बाकी रहेको सो रूपैया बकस खर्च लेखि • ने.बा.लि.को का.मु.मेने
जर सर्भन र कोषाध्यक्ष उतमलाल श्रेष्ठ हस्ते दिनु भन्ने कौसीका नाउको •
सनद—

सदर ९८ साल
जेष्ठ १८ गते
मा-----

ईति सम्वत १९९८ साल जेष्ठ गते रोज—

English Translation

A Hand note of the Endorsement sent from the Udyog Parishad to the Office of the Prime Minister's Seal (Khadganisana Adda) to get the prime minister's seal approved. Since the location of the Baglung *Kut* farm is 17/18 kos far, there is fear that income sent to the families in Nepal will get stolen, of the one year salary of the year (19)97 of MoRu. 1800, that of one month MoRu. 150 rupees be given to my acquaintance, Na.Ra. of the Rakam Bandobasta Yogkanta Upadhyay of Balaju,

stating that such a grant be released, an application was submitted by the manager of Baglung *Kuṭ* farm Krishna Shankar Upadhya, accordingly, as long as there is no hindrance from the Udyog Parishad, MoRu. 150 be provided at the rate × (be provided in the name of *kausi*)× of MoRu. 150 monthly to the said manager's acquaintance, Yogkanta Upadhya, a Na.Ra.in the *Rakam Bandobasta*, stating which is the endorsement in the name of the Royal Treasury _____

Endorsed
in the year ^{seal}
98 *Jeṣṭha*
18

^{seal} A bank named Nepal Bank Limited was established with the initial expense of MoRu. 33362/89, of which *noṭ* Rs. 7011 from the Calcutta Buying Agency went at the rate of 140 making it MoRu. 9815/40, together with the *noṭ* Rs. 3500, sent from the Mulkikhana in *Chaitra* (19)95 at the rate of 140, making it MoRu. 4900, thus, a total of MoRu. 14715/40 has already been deposited at Nepal Bank Limited. Of the initial expense, MoRu. 18647/49, that is remaining to be reimbursed, be written as a royal grant and be provided to the N.B.L.'s acting manager Sherman and the treasurer Uttam Lal Shrestha, stating which is an endorsement in the name of the Royal Treasury.

Endorsed
in the year ^{seal}
98 *Jeṣṭha* 18

On the -- day of *Jeṣṭha* in the year *Samvat* 1998. Be auspicious.

DOCUMENT 6

Regarding Exchange Rate

In order to stabilize the exchange rates of Government Currency (G.C.) which had increased up to MoRu. 154/155 (from earlier rates of Rs. 140 for 100 British currency, although such is not stated in this document) in 1998 v.s., the Nepal Bank Limited incurred a loss of Rs. 244,776. Whether this is Company rupees or Mohar rupees is not specified. Nevertheless, as a way of recovering this loss, the bank was permitted, through a *lālmohar*,¹² to sell the following—a house, a warehouse, a guard house, lands under its possession such as the land on which a warehouse was built and empty land and the harvest of that particular year (Image 6). According to the decree, the measurements of the land were to be declared but the bank was not required to pay any customary tax or fees for such. The document does not reveal the mechanism through which the bank stabilized the exchange rates. Neither does it reveal the extent to which the bank was able to recover losses through the above measures. Did stabilization occur by replenishing foreign exchange or gold? Or did it occur by adjusting to the market for foreign exchange? This document is an example of the elementary nature of the central bank where it resorts to selling off its assets to recover losses.

¹²A royal document bearing the red seal, i.e., of the prime minister (Pant 2002: 132).

Devanagari Transliteration

छाप

उद्योग परिषद्बाट लालमोहर सदर गर्नालाई ख.नी. चलां भएको पजीका
 हाप्रो • मुलुकमा • जी. सी. नोटको • शटहिदर बढदै गै • मोरू १५४।१५५ सम्म
 पुगि •
 मोहरको भाउ • घटदै जान लागेको • रोकी • साविक • मुल्कीखानाको शटहि
 • दरमा •

८ ल्याउनालाई • नेपाल बैङ्क लिमिटेड्ले • रु २४४७७६। नोक्सान् • उठाई
 शटहिदर •
 कार्ये गराएको • हँदा (!) • सरकारबाट • बनाउन लगाई • बनी तयार भएको घर
 गोदाम •
 घरपाले • घर जमिन र बैङ्कतर्फबाट • खर्च गरि तयार गरेको गोदाम घर बनेको
 जमी
 न र • खालि जमीनस्मेत • तपसील्मा लखीयाका (!) ४ कील्लाभित्रको जग्गा ९८
 साल

सदर ९८ साल
 जेष्ठ १९ गते १ मा
 छाप

छाप

का बालिदेखिलाई • बैङ्कले • सुक्रीबिक्री स्मेत स्मेत (!) • गर्न पाउने गरि • जग्गा
 नाँपजा
 च र लमाई चौदाई खुलाई दैदस्तुर सलामिस्मेत केहि नलिने गरि पाहाड बन्दो
 वस्त विर्ता फाट्का नाउमा सदर गर्ने लालमोहर—

ईति सम्बत १९९८ साल जेष्ठ -- गते -- रोज—

English Translation

seal

A Hand note of the endorsement sent from the Udyog Parishad to the Office of the Prime Minister's Seal (Khadganisana Adda) to get the red seal approved.

The exchange rate of G(overnment) C(urrency) Notes, having increased in our country up to MoRu. 154/155 and the value of Mohar having decreased, to prevent this and bring

8 the exchange rate to the regular exchange rates of the Treasury under the Prime Minister

(Mulkihana), since Nepal Bank Limited has borne the loss of Rs. 244776 and has stabilized the exchange rate, the house with the land, warehouse, guardhouse, ordered to be built and established by the government, and the land on which the warehouse has been built with bank expenses as well as empty land, within the boundaries as stated below, from the harvest of the year 1998 can be bought and sold by the bank after disclosing the measurements of the land, length, width, for which no customary tax (*daidastur*) salutations is required, a red seal is endorsed in the name of the Division Administering the Tax Free Land Grants in the Hills (Pahad Bandobasta Birta Fant).

seal

endorsed
in the year
98 *Jes̥tha*
19 at 1

seal

On the -- day in *Jes̥tha* in the year *Samvat* 1998. Be auspicious.

DOCUMENT 7

The Charkha Mahaguthi

As part of his endeavor to promote the spinning wheel in Nepal, the Gandhi inspired Tulsimeher Shrestha had requested the Udyog Parishad to make available five-six *ropanīs* of land identified by him in Bhaktapur. Shrestha stated that he would use the land to grow cotton. The said land was granted to the Sri Chandra Kamdhenu Charkha Prachar Mahaguthi on condition that it could not be bought, sold or used for other purposes (Image 7). The Mahaguthi, to which Shrestha belonged, was established for the promotion of *svadeśī* cotton and textile. The establishment of a branch in Bhaktapur through the above land grant signals the expansion of the Mahaguthi. The document mentions an increase in the number of people learning spinning and therefore the need for a larger, more accommodative premises. Thus apart from land, the *guthī* was also able to obtain a portion of a house in Thimi to teach spinning on conditions that it be vacated during festivities and worship. This document is informative of the assets made available to the Mahaguthi for the promotion of *svadeśī* spinning and the person driving the endeavor in Kathmandu and Bhaktapur. Additionally, it is an example of an amalgamation between industry and commerce and the social and charitable *guthī* system.

Renamed Nepal Charkha Pracharak Gandhi-Tulsi Smarak Mahaguthi, the organization is currently located in Gothatar, Kathmandu and describes itself as the oldest NGO in Nepal.

Devanagari Transliteration

हा

- उद्योग परिषदबाट जाहेर गरेको सनदको पंजीका
 २५ सोदेसीको प्रचार बढाउन भक्तपुरमा • शाखा राख्न • श्री जगन्नाथजि
 को मंदीरको • वरि • परि ५।६ रोपनी जग्गाछ तेस ठाँउमा तहरा ईत्यादि ब •
 नाई • कपासको • ब्युस्मेत लाउनेछु • भनी • चर्खा प्रचारकका तुलसीमहे
 र • श्रेष्ठले • दिएको • दर्खास्त • परिषद्को • सभामा पेश हुँदा • मुलुकमा
 गृहउद्योग • बढाउने • गुठीको काम भएकोले • कसैले • खरीदबि
 क्री र • अरु काममा लगाउनस्मेत नपाउने गरि श्रीचन्द्र कामधेनु
 चर्खा प्रचार • महागुठीको शाखा राख्न • दिने ठहराई जाहेर गरेको मि
 मो सवारि मुकां अम्लेखगञ्जबाट १८।१०।१९ मा सदर भै आएको — १
 स्वदेसि प्रचारको नीमित • ठीमिमा • घर बालगीरि(!)लि • कां गराई
 आएको • मा मगन • चर्खा • मा धागो काटने • सिक्न आउने • मानी
 स्को संख्या बढदै आएकोले सो ठीमिमा कपडा बुन्ने काम सि
 काउन खर्डगलाल बसिआएको घर खालि पाउ भनि चर्खा प्र
 २६ चारका तुलसीमेहर श्रेष्ठले दिएको दर्खास्त • परिषद्को सभामा
 पेश हुँदा • सो मागेको ठाँउ • पर्व पर्वकाम्को • पुजाआजामा छाडने गरि
 ठीमि कोटघरको मुलचोकभीत्र • उत्तर पुर्वतर्फको तहरा श्रीचन्द्र काम
 धेनु • चर्खा प्रचार • महागुठीको • शाखा • राख्न दिने ठहराई जाहेर गरेको
 मिमो सवारि मुकां अम्लेखगंजबाट १८।१०।१९ मा सदर भै आएको

ईतिसम्बत १९९८ साल फागुण -- गते रोज — १

सडर १८ साल
 फागु १९ गते
 २ मा

हा

English Translation

seal

- A Hand Note of the endorsement submitted by the Udyog
 Parishad
 25 In order to promote *svadesī*, and to open a branch in
 Bhaktapur,
 5/6 ropanies of land near Sri Jagannath temple is available
 where
 I will build a temporary shed etc. and also plant cotton
 seeds, stating which

Endorsed in
 the year 98
 Fālgū 19 at 2

seal

an application was made by Tulsimeher Shrestha of Charkha Prachar, when the application was tabled in the Parishad's gathering, (it was decided that) since it is the *guthi's* work to expand cottage industry in the country, a branch of the Sri Chandra Kamdhenu Charkha Prachar Mahaguthi be allowed to be opened (there) on condition that it may not be bought and sold or used for any other purpose, stating which the memo has been endorsed and sent from the Royal Camp in Amlekhgunj in 98/10/19 —1

A premise was being rented in Thimi for the work of promoting *svadeśī*, since there has been an increase in the number of people learning spinning in the *Magan carkhās*, a request by Tulsimeher Shrestha of Charkha Prachar stating that the house in Thimi in which Khadga Lal resides be vacated to teach cloth weaving, when presented in the 26 Parishad's assembly, (it) allowed the use of the northeast portion of the main courtyard of the Koṭ house in Thimi by a branch of Sri Chandra Kamdhenu Charkha Prachar Mahaguthi, on condition that the space be vacated during festivities and for worships, stating which the memo has been endorsed and send from the Royal Camp in Amlekhgunj on 98/10/19.

On the -- day in *Fāguṇa* in the year *Samvat* 1998. Be auspicious.

DOCUMENT 8

On Cotton Mill and Paper Making

In 1998 v.s., one Seth Radhakrishna Chamarai was permitted to operate a cotton mill in Biratnagar in his capacity as director. Chamarai or anyone appointed by him were to continue as director of the mill for fifteen years provided they did not exhibit misconduct. The government was to receive Company rupees 2,500 as royalty for seven years. Thereafter it was to receive Company rupees four hundred from the said mill. Machinery etc. required for the mill were exempted from import fees for the first seven years. Thereafter the mill was to pay one percent customs fees (Image 8). This document does not specify whether this venture was collaborative or private. Another document, also from 1998 v.s., reveals that Chamaria had received a loan of *not* rupees two lakhs to operate the Biratnagar Jute Mills. Such overlaps in which a few individuals acted as shareholders or directors of more than one industry were common. It indicates the limitations in terms of finance, expertise and management within which the Udyog Parishad operated.

Similarly, in 1998 v.s., applications by, among others, the royal councilor Rajguru Bhogendraraj Pandit requested that forests be opened for paper making. It mentioned the decline of traditional paper makers, the need for paper within Nepal as well as demands from Hindustan. The Udyog Parishad's response was to allow all subjects access to forest resources required for paper making but emphasized that forests not be destroyed in the process. Contrary to the above decision on cotton mills, machinery required for paper making was subject to one percent customs duty for three years. This hints at the existence of paper trade which was perhaps interrupted by imports but which the Udyog Parishad was attempting to revive.

Devanagari Transliteration

- ६ उद्योग • परिषद्बाट खर्ङ्गनीसाना सदर गराउन खर्ङ्गनीसाना अडा चलांको
रीपोट्को पंजिका —————
- विराटनगर • मा • कटन मिल • राख्न सेठ राधाकृष्ण चमरियालाई ईजाजत बक्सने
७ वर्षसम्म • सदर ९९ साल
आषाढ ५ मा — छा
- कंरू २५०० तेसपछि कंरू ४००० रायेल्टी • लिने • राजीनामा • वा • बेईमानी
• नगरेसम्म १५ वर्ष •
- ९ लाई • नीज चमरिया वा • मुकरर गरेका • मानीसलाई मे. डाईरक्टर • नीयुक्त गर्ने •
• कपास • कलसा-
मन • को • ७ वर्षतक • महमुल नलाग्ने • तेसपछि • मोल्को सैक्रा १ भन्सार लिने
भन्ने • स्मेत ठहराई •
- उद्योग • परिषदकै नाउमा सदर गर्ने गरि जाहेर गरेको —————
- नेपाललाई चाहिने • जति कागज • पैठारि नभैरहेको • हिन्दुस्थानबाट माग आउने
गरेको •
- नेपाल कागज • बनाउने कागतेले काम छाडडै गएको हुँदा (!) • सो बनाउनालाई • सदर ९९ साल
आषाढ
जगलफुक
वा विविध कुराको को (!) सुविधा • पाया • लिमिटेड् खडा गर्छु • भन्ने बेहोराको
• श्री ६ राजगुरु
- १० भोगेन्द्रराज • पंडितज्यू • स्मेतको दर्खास्त परेको • सो कागज बनाउदा जंगल
नोक्सान् हुन
नपाउने गरि • ने.क.घ.ई.प्र. अडाबाट सदर गराएका स्कीम • बमोजिम गर्ने गरि
• सबै रैतिले
बनाउन • पाई • रहेसह • बनाउना पाउने • गरि चाहिने बेहोराको • सदन (!) • परिषद्बाट
गरि पठा
उने • यो कामलाई झिकाई आएका मेशिनरिमा • कंपनी रजिष्टर्ड भएका मितिले
वर्ष ३ सम्म
लाई • सएकडा १ भन्सार लिने ठहराई काठमाडौ गोस्वरामा • पठाउने गरि जाहेर
गरेको रिपोट्
- ६ इति सम्वत १९९९ साल आषाद् २४ गते रोज -- शु —————

English Translation

seal

A Hand Note of the endorsement sent from the Udyog Parishad to the Office of the Royal Seal to get the royal seal (*khaḍḡanisānā*) endorsed.

endorsed
year 99

To permit *Seṭh* Radhakrishna Chamarai to establish a cotton mill in Biratnagar, and take royalty of CoRs. 2500 for 7 years and CoRs. 400 for 15 years thereafter

on *Āṣāḍh* 5 seal

9 to appoint the said Chamaria or any one nominated (by him) as managing director as long as he does not resign or is not dishonest, and not to extract fees for (importing) cotton machinery for seven years, after which 1 percent customs be taken on the amount, stating which an endorsement is made in the name of the Udyog Parishad—

endorsed
year 99
on *Āṣāḍh* 5

Since all the paper required for Nepal is not being imported, there is a demand from Hindustan, and Nepali paper makers have abandoned their work, if forest is opened and various facilities are provided, (I) will set up a limited (company), stating which an

10 application was made by people, including by Sri 6 Rajguru Bhogendraraj Panditjyu, (it was decided that) an endorsement be sent by the Parisad approving that while making such paper, the forests not be destroyed, and the schemes approved by the Nepal Kapada Gharelu Ilam Prachar (Ne. Ka. Gg. Il. Pr.) be adhered to by all the subjects, and for the stated purpose, 1 percent custom duty be taken for 3 years for the machinery procured for this work, and stated thus a report to be sent to Kathmandu General (Customs).

signature

On *Āṣāḍ* 24 in the year *Samvat* 1998. Be auspicious.

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